

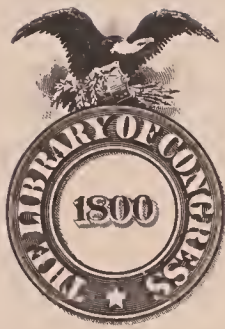


hISTORY  
OF

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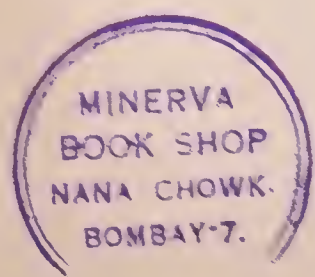












MINERVA  
BOOK SHOP  
NANA CHOWK.  
BOMBAY-7.





G Cook, Sculp.

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

LONDON, VIRTUE & CO. LIMTD.



THE  
HISTORY OF INDIA  
AND OF  
The British Empire in the East.

VOL. I.

by  
DR. E. H. NOLAN



TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT.

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See page 10

From a Sketch by W. Carpenter Junr.

SACRED TEMPLE AND TANK - UMRTSIR.

LONDON, VIRTUE & CO. LIMITED

Vol. 1, Pt. 1







AN ELEPHANT FIGHT.



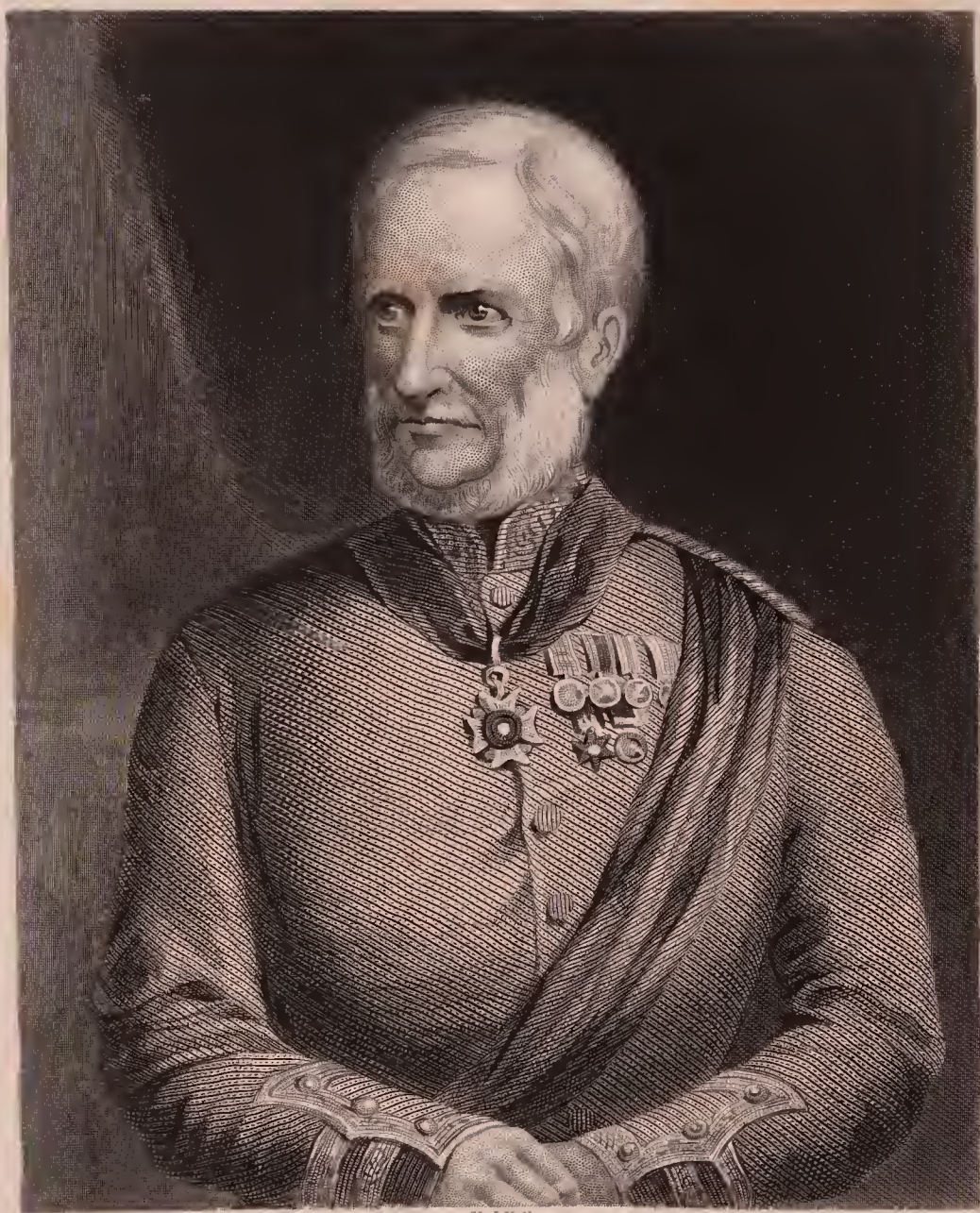




SHRINUGGUR — THE BRIDGE OF SHOPS.







Chas. Holl.

MAJOR GENL SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, K.C.B.

*From authentic Portraits in the possession of the Family.*







L. Lowenstam. Sculpt.

SUEZ - WORKS OF THE CHANNEL.













ENTRANCE TO THE CAVE OF ELEPHANTA.









NAUTCH GIRLS.









From a Photograph

T. W. Hunt Sculp.

LORD MAYO

LONDON: H. K. & C. 1882







DURBAR OF THE RAJAH OF TRAVANCORE.

RECEPTION OF GENERAL OUTRAM & STAFF

LONDON, VIRTUE & CO LIMITED.







PANORAMIC VIEW OF NEW & OLD DELHI & THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY.



- |                      |                   |                    |                               |                                |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. The Palace.       | 5. Jumna Masjid.  | 9. Lahore Gate.    | 13. Old Delhi.                | 17. Batteries in ruins.        |
| 2. Selim Ghor Fort.  | 6. Nigumbod Gate. | 10. Ajmere Gate.   | 14. Canal.                    | 18. Offset of the River Jumna. |
| 3. St James' Church. | 7. Kashmiri Gate. | 11. Toorkman Gate. | 15. Position of British Camp. | 19. Bridge of Boats.           |
| 4. Chandni Chowk.    | 8. Moree Gate.    | 12. Dehlee Gate.   | 16. Metcalfe House.           | 20. River Jumna.               |







SPORTS OF THE EAST — THE HUNTING CAMP.







Stodart

RUNJEET SINGH.

THE FOUNDER OF THE PUNJAUB EMPIRE

*From a Drawing by an Indian Artist*

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LAHORE - RUNJEET SINGH'S TOMB.







THE BATTLE OF GOJERAT.







THE BAY OF NAPLES

A. W. 1870

T. Allon





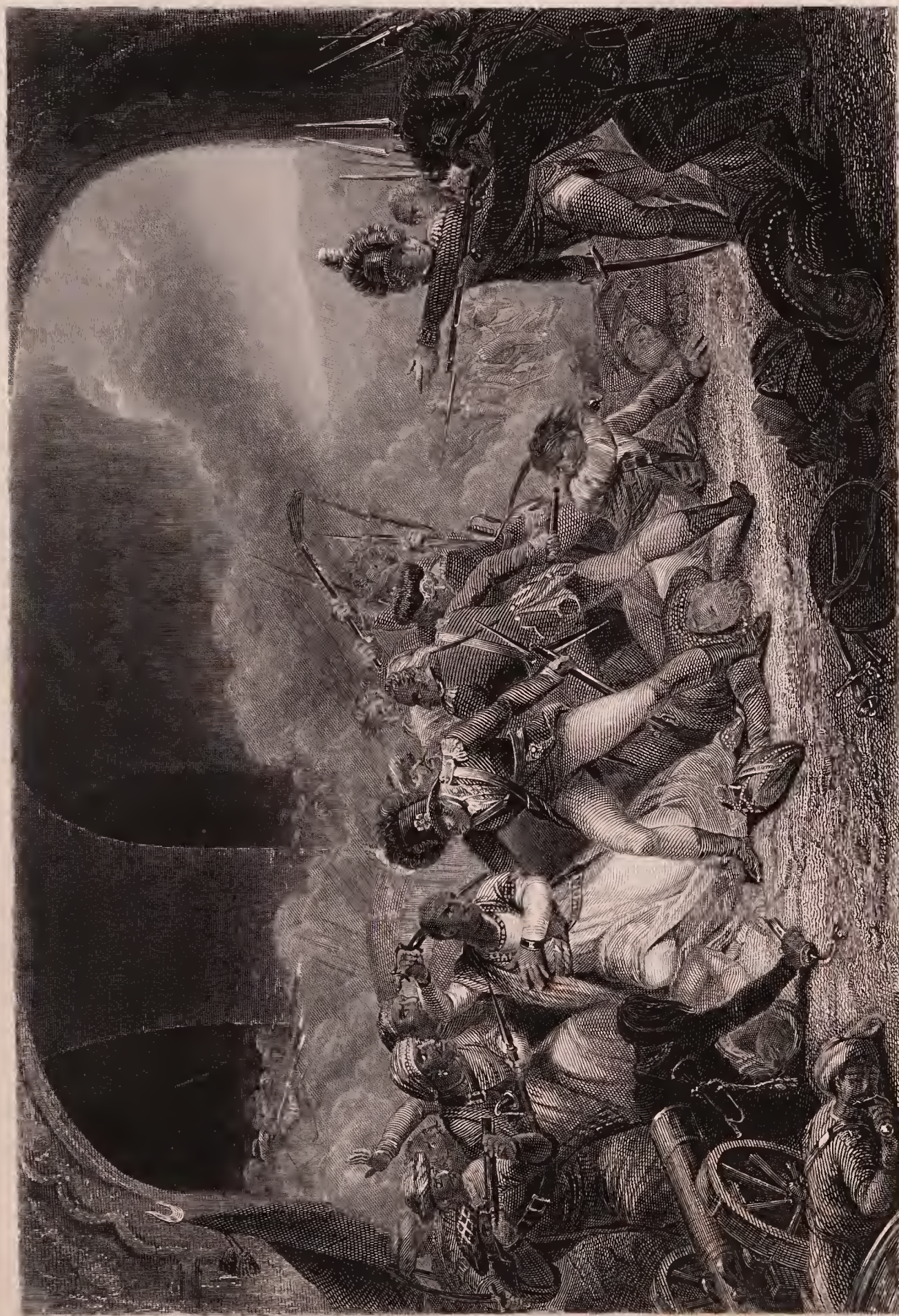


T. W. Hunt.

GEN. LORD CLYDE, G.C.B., ETC.







Singleton R.A.

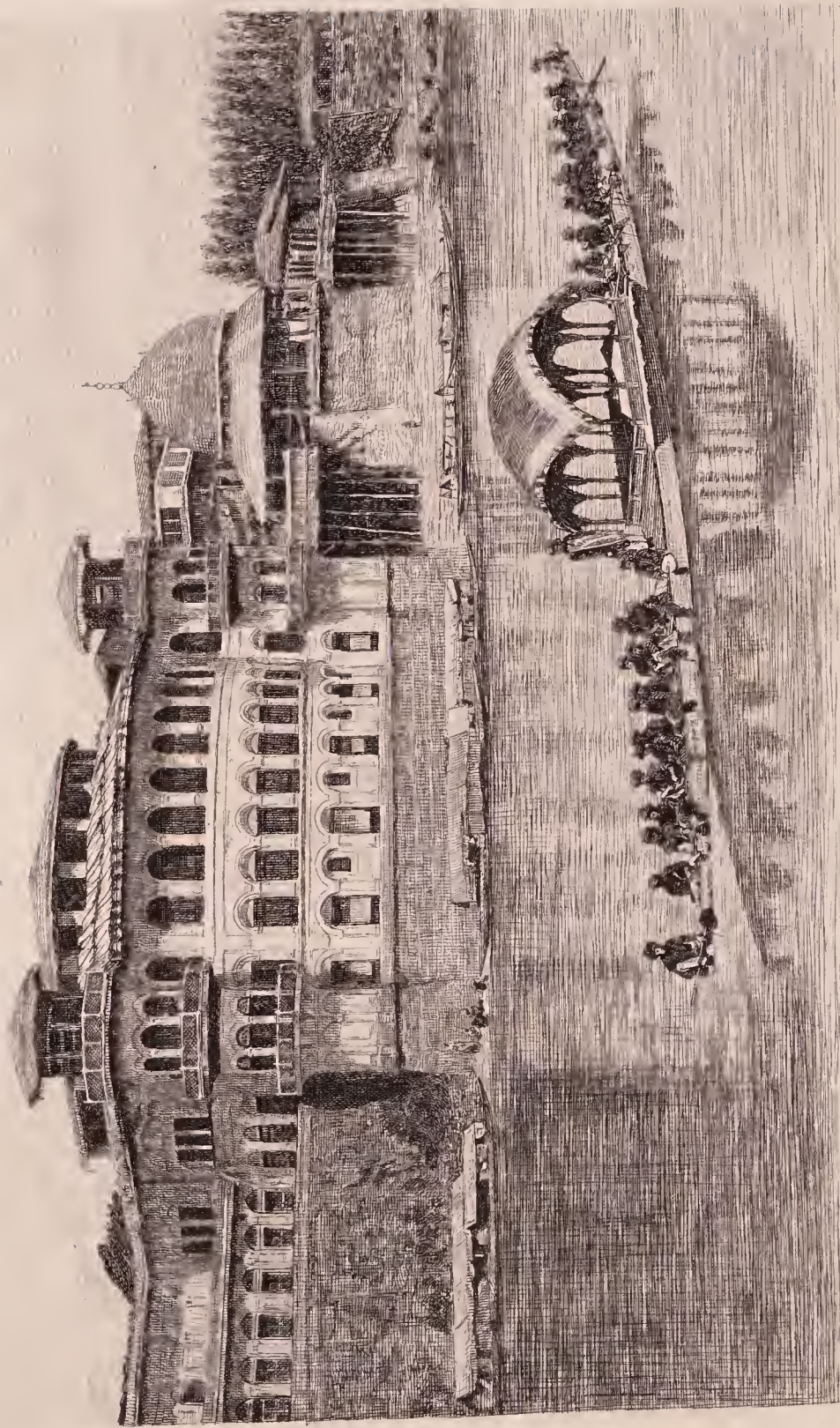
Walker

THE FALL OF TIPPOO SAIB.









L. Lowenstam Sculp.

CASHMERE - MAHARAJA PALACE.







From a Sketch by W. Carpenter Junr

PALACE & CITADEL.

BAUSHAH MOSQUE

TOMB OF JEHAŒIR

T. Roberts

# LAHORE.





# THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

OF THE

## BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA

### AND THE EAST.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### INDIA:—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION—GEOLOGY—CLIMATE—PRODUCTIONS.

IT is essential to an efficient study of the history of our empire in India, that a correct notion should be entertained of the extent, area, and characteristics of the territories now subjected to us,—the countries adjacent,—and those into which war has been carried more or less in connection with British Indian policy. Dr. Arnold well expressed the importance of geographical study in connection with the material and political condition of a people, when he observed, "Let me once understand the real geography of a country—its organic structure, if I may so call it; the form of its skeleton—that is, of its hills; the magnitude and course of its veins and arteries—that is, of its streams and rivers; let me conceive of it as a whole, made up of connected parts; and then the position of man's dwellings, viewed in reference to those parts, becomes at once easily remembered, and lively and intelligible besides."

India is perhaps more variously described, and with more discrepancy, than any other country in the world equally well known. It is customary to write of India, "on this side the Ganges," and "India beyond the Ganges;" the former including British India, with the tributary and allied principalities; the latter, the Birman empire, Siam, Malacca, Cambodia, Cochin China, Tonkin, &c. The country more properly and strictly designated India, is the central peninsula of Southern Asia. Its boundaries are generally distinctly marked by natural limits—such as the Indian Ocean on the south, east, and west; the two great arms of that ocean—the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea—washing the eastern and western shores respectively. The line

of coast comprises about 3200 miles, of which 1400 are touched by the Bay of Bengal. The peninsula extends from Cape Comorin, its southern point, to the north of Cashmere—a length of nearly 2000 miles; and from Assam to the river Indus it measures about 1800 miles. Along its northern limits rise the range of the Himalaya Mountains; on the north-west, the mountains of Affghanistan; the north-eastern limits are less marked, still the conformation of the country gives a distinct boundary. Assam, Chittagong, and Arracan, are the frontier lands in that direction. The superficial area is variously estimated, and cannot with exactness be stated; it is probably more than 1,300,000 square miles.

Insular India includes Ceylon, the Lacadive group, and the Maldives. Ceylon is separated from the south-eastern extremity of continental India by the Strait of Palk, and the Gulf of Manaar. The Lacadive Islands are off the Malabar coast, and the Maldives south of these.

Beyond the limits of India Proper, Great Britain possesses vast territories, most of them of very recent acquisition. She has made conquests from the Birman empire—Assam is hers, and Pegu has been ceded to her. Prince of Wales's Island (better known as Penang), Malacca, Singapore, Borneo, Hong-Kong (lately a portion of the Chinese empire), are British possessions. In the Straits of Babelmandel, Aden has been secured and fortified, enabling England to command the passage of the Red Sea, and to offer, in case of necessity, serious menace to the once proud and mighty dominion of Persia

It will facilitate the progress of description to notice first Insular India.

Ceylon is about 270 miles long, by 140 broad. Its conformation is oval, generally rising to the centre from the coast, the highest point being more than 8000 feet above the level of the sea; it is called Pedrotallagalla. The chief river, the Maharillaganga, takes its rise in the principal highlands, and finds its disembogement in the harbour of Trincomalee. The coast-line of the island is interesting, and the harbour just named is excellent as a place for shipping, and exceedingly picturesque. The island, generally, is lovely: rich in soil, genial in climate, its foliage and flowers luxuriant and beautiful, a perpetual summer smiles upon the favoured residents of that hospitable isle; the language of Heber is appropriate to it:—

“Where ev’ry prospect pleases,  
And only man is vile.”

The island is remarkable for its production of rare spices; the cinnamon grows more abundantly than in any other country. Beautiful wood, in great variety, is obtained, which is not only elegant and useful to the resident, but an important article of commerce. Ebony, satin-wood, and iron-wood, are exported in considerable quantities. The pearl fisheries on the coast are sources of profit; thence chiefly the much prized pearls are brought to other parts of the world. The conchology of the Indian Ocean is the most splendid of any body of waters on the globe. Ceylon shares this attribute; and on her coasts, and near her shores, shells of superior beauty, in vast numbers, are found. From a very remote antiquity Ceylon exported her products to remote parts; her spices, silk, and pearls, were known and appreciated many ages back; and an embassy from her prince, with especial reference to commercial objects, visited the court of the Roman emperor Claudius. Indeed, the antiquities of Ceylon are as remarkable as her climate and productions, and prove that it was once inhabited by a superior race. Magnificent works for irrigation, temples, mausolea, and palaces of great magnitude and singular architectural beauty existed there when in England men knew not how, for architectural purposes, to lay one stone upon another. When the English wrested the island from the Dutch, they were astonished at its beauty, fertility, ruined cities, and pagodas; its commercial importance had been long known to them, and its possession eagerly coveted.

The channel which separates the island from the mainland is about sixty miles. The name of Palk attached to the strait is derived

from a celebrated Dutch navigator. The Gulf of Manaar is represented to derive its name from a little isle on the Ceylonese side but the origin of the term given to the isle and gulf is lost in obscure antiquity. A ridge of small banks completely obstructs the channel for large vessels: this is called Adam’s Bridge, from a tradition that the island of Ceylon was the paradise of primeval innocence from which the first pair were banished. In the Hindoo mythology the divine hero Rama is said to have crossed to the conquest of the island by this ridge. In future pages of this History it will be necessary to give further description of the island; a general notice is all that is suitable here. The population is not much less than 2,000,000. They are a superstitious and servile race; yet when roused by an adequate appeal to their prejudices and passions, they are not destitute of spirit, and are capable of cruelty and treachery to a degree in common with most Asiatic peoples. They make good soldiers; and the battalions of the Ceylon rifle regiment frequently serve with willingness and efficiency in the Madras presidency. The ancient capital, Kandy, is in the interior; the British capital, Colombo, is on the coast.

The Lacadives are a group, seventeen in number, and are not in any way remarkable.

The Maldives, as the name implies, comprise more than a thousand isles and reefs. The word *mal* means thousand—a definite number put for an indefinite, which is common in the Malabar language; *diva* means an island. These isles and reefs run in a chain of 500 miles from north to south; they are never more than fifty miles in breadth. Generally they are rocky and barren, but there are lovely spots dispersed among them, covered with rich tropical verdure, and crowned with the Indian palm.

Continental India is variously designated: “the East Indies,” “British India,” and “Hindoostan,” are the names most generally applied to it. Hindoostan is properly the name of a portion of India only. This name was originally given by the Persians, to indicate the dark complexion of the inhabitants. It is difficult to trace back any name given by the Brahmins to the country over which their doctrines prevailed, whole sentences of different signification having been employed for this purpose. The word *Medhyana*, which means central, was sometimes used by them, because, according to their mythology, the world was supported on the back of a tortoise, and India, it was supposed, occupied the middle place. The term *Punyablunii* was also used to designate it, as the land of virtue, or more probably as meaning the land



ceremonially clean. According to one of their most treasured stories, a prince named Bharat was appointed by his father, called "conqueror of the universe," to reign over the peninsula, and hence the name of Bharat Kund was applied to it. At present the whole country, from the Cabul frontier to the Birman empire, from Thibet to Cape Comorin, is known by the general name of India, the word Hindoostan being generically employed to name the same territory, and specifically to distinguish the country in Northern and North-western India, of which Delhi is the capital.

Before describing the physiognomy of the country, it is necessary to notice its chief political divisions, as reference must be made to them in the descriptions necessary to present the general features of the country.

The territorial arrangements for purposes of government comprise three great provinces, each having certain dependencies, which are partly distinct—such as Scinde, the Punjab, Oude, &c. Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, are the names of these provinces. The first-named is very large, and is upon the east of British India. It is bounded on the north by Nepaul and Bhootan; to the south by the Bay of Bengal; on the east by Assam and Birmah; on the west by Bahar. To this province, for military and civil purposes, the Punjab is attached as a sub-government. The alluvial plains of the Ganges and the Brahmapootra are included in the Bengal presidency. Bombay occupies the west coast from the Gulf of Cambay, near to Goa. The capital of this presidency is situated on the island of Bombay, which is about ten miles long, and three broad, and is connected with the island of Salset by a causeway. It is separated by a narrow channel from the mainland. Madras extends along the east coast to the borders of Bengal. The southern point of the peninsula is comprised in its coast range, and also a portion of the most southern part of the west coast. To these three presidencies all the separate governments and provinces of India are attached, by arrangements peculiar to each, according as the circumstances varied by which the territory was acquired.

The peculiar geographical features of India are striking and interesting. Its great extent of coast marks it in a very peculiar manner, and affords to a maritime people like the British facilities for maintaining their supremacy, and for readily turning the resources of the country to account.

The mountains of the peninsula are numerous, and afford extraordinary scope for investigation in various branches of natural science. The Himalayan range forms the

boundary on the north between India and Thibet. This is the loftiest and grandest range in the world. The highest peaks attain a height of 28,300 feet, a point of elevation reached nowhere else by any land. The appearance of this range is peculiar, revealing a succession of peaks, rising pointed to the heavens, and crowned with eternal snows, huge masses of ice hanging from their declivities—

"Torrents, methinks, that heard a mighty voice,  
And stopped at once amidst their maddest plunge."

Vast bodies of cloud collect upon the sides of these high mountains in many places, while in others they lift their bold brows, unclouded, to the heavens. Every form of grandeur is presented amidst the scenes created by the sublime and picturesque arrangement of these mountains. In some places they are clothed with verdure and woods far up their steeps—a vast sea of foliage, agitated by the mountain breeze, seems to flow along their sides, and to leap the precipices. In other regions the bald granite glitters in the sunshine, as if an ocean of burnished gold. Every conceivable shape and grouping of form is taken in endless modification, offering to the wearied eye a never-ceasing and ever-changing variety of outline as well as of costume. Within their own confines the scenery is still more wonderful. The adventurous traveller is amazed by the extent of tract, variety of mountain arrangement, and grotesqueness of grouping; the disposition of the valleys; their richness of dress and luxuriance of climate in many places; their murky and unhealthy character in others; their tropical fertility beneath a burning sun in the lowest ranges; their changing appearance and decreasing temperature in the scale of ascent through every degree of the temperate zone, until the regions where Winter assumes his rigid sway, and looks with cold and stern eye upon the sunny plains, or comparatively modest highlands, which stretch far away to the waters of the Indian Ocean. The range, including the Hindoo Koosh, or Indian Caucasus, stretches away from Affghanistan to the western provinces of China. It is nearly uniform as to its course, but occasional interruptions as to the main direction occur from the lateral extension of some of its components. The name *Himalaya* is from a native designation, which signifies snowy, and indicates the general impression produced by its appearance upon the native mind.

The King of Prussia, who is alleged to take great interest in India in a religious reference, conceived the idea, some few years



ago, probably suggested by Humboldt, of sending a scientific mission through Asia, preparatory to operations of a religious nature, for the benefit of its vast populations. In 1854 this mission penetrated through India to Upper Asia, under the auspices of the East India Company. The proceedings of the gentlemen who fulfilled the important task were reported to the French Academy of Sciences, and were substantially as follows, so far as the high table-lands and mountain ranges of India were concerned, especially the Himalaya. The report of these Prussian travellers gives generally different elevations to those usually received. They represent the great central table-land of India as much lower than it has been hitherto computed, and there are various reasons, based upon climate and other phenomena, to believe that their representations are correct. The height of the most elevated portion of the Himalaya range is given on a previous page from the best modern standards, but, according to the paper sent by these German explorers to the Academy of Sciences, that elevation would be 500 feet below the real one. The members of the mission consisted of three brothers—MM. Herrmann, Adolphus, and Robert Schlagentweit, two of whom, MM. Herrmann and Robert, returned in June last; the third, M. Adolphus, is still among the Himalayan Mountains, and is expected soon to return, *via* the Punjaub and Bombay. During the winters of 1854-55 these enterprising travellers visited the region lying between Bombay and Madras; in the following summer M. Herrmann explored the eastern parts of the Himalaya, the Sikkim, Bhootan, and Kossin Mountains, where he measured the altitude of several peaks. The highest of all the summits known throughout the world appears, by his measurements, to be the Gahoorishanka, situated in the eastern portion of Nepaul—the same announced as such by Colonel Waugh, but called by him Mount Everest, because he had been unable to ascertain its real name in the plains of Hindoostan, where he effected his measurement. This peak is somewhat more than 29,000 English feet in height, and bears another name in Thibet, where it is called Chingoparnari. The other two brothers, MM. Adolphus and Robert, penetrated by different roads into the central parts of the Himalaya, Kumaon, and Gurwahl; they then visited Thibet in disguise, entered the great commercial station of Gartok, explored the environs of Lake Mansarowe, and that remarkable crest which separates the waters of the Indus from those of the Dehong, often erroneously called the Burrampooter. They ascended the Ibi-Gam-

nine, 22,260 feet in height, that being an altitude never before attained in any part of the world. After having been separated from each other for a space of fourteen months, during which M. Robert ascertained that the table-land of Amarkantak, in Central India, which is generally stated to be 8000 feet above the level of the sea, is not more than 3300 feet in height, the three brothers again met at Simla, previous to commencing the operations intended for the summer of 1856. M. Adolphus, on leaving that place, crossed the Himalaya, went over Thibet, Baltistan, and visited the interesting spot where several mountain crests meet, and the Hindoo Koosh joins the range lying to the north of India. He then returned to the Punjaub, through the valley of Cashmere. MM. Herrmann and Robert proceeded to Ladak by different routes. Under good disguises they were enabled to penetrate into Turkistan, by crossing the Karakorum and the Kuenlun Mountains, and descending into the great valley of Yarkand, a region never visited before, not even by Marco Polo. It is a vast depression of between three or four thousand feet, separating the Kuenlun, on the northern frontier of India, from the Syan Chane, or mountains of Central Asia, on the southern of Russia. They then returned to Ladak, and entered the Punjaub by different routes through Cashmere. After a two years' negotiation, M. Herrmann was, at the commencement of 1857, admitted into Nepaul, where he determined the altitudes of the Machipoora and Mount Yasso, which have hitherto been vaguely called the Dhaulagery, which means "snowy crests," and is applicable to all snow-capped mountains. M. Robert proceeded to Bombay through Scinde, Kutch, and Gujerat, where he surveyed the chain called the Salt Range, and determined the changes effected during centuries in the course of several rivers. Before returning to Europe, he stayed three months in Ceylon. M. Adolphus visited various parts of the Punjaub and Cabul previous to returning to the Himalaya. The chief results obtained from this careful exploration of Asia are the following:—The Himalaya Mountains everywhere exercise a decided influence over all the elements of the magnetic force; the declination everywhere presents a slight deviation, causing the needle to converge towards the central parts of that enormous mass, and the magnetic intensity is greater than it would be elsewhere in an equal latitude. In the south of India the increase of the magnetic intensity from south to north is extremely rapid. The lines of equal magnetic intensity have a remarkable form, similar and



perhaps parallel to those of certain groups of isothermal lines. The three travellers have collected all the materials necessary to ascertain this important fact. Irregular local variations in terrestrial magnetism are rare in those regions. In the Deccan and Behar the rocks are magnetic. On the Himalaya, at altitudes of 17,000, and even 20,000 feet, the daily maximum and minimum variations of the barometer occurred nearly about the same hour as in the plains below. Again, at the above altitudes the inversion of the curves of daily variation, which is met with on the Alps, does not take place. At the altitude of 17,000 feet the diminution of transparency produced by a stratum of air of the thickness of 3000 feet is no longer distinguished by the eye. During the dust storms which frequently occur in India the disk of the sun is seen of a blue colour; if small bodies are made to project their shadows on a white surface, under such circumstances the shadow is of an orange colour, that is, complementary to blue. The expression, in the paper read before the Academy of Sciences, as given by *Galig-nani*, that the brothers Schlagentweit were the first to penetrate the Yarkand, is not correct. M. Huc, in his work entitled *Christianity in China*, relates that, A.D. 1603, Benedict Goës, a Roman missionary, determined to solve the then mooted question whether Cathay and China were the same country, and the capital of Mongul Tartary, the Khanbalik, identical with Pekin. After unheard of efforts he at last reached Yarkand, his journey from Lahore having consumed ten months of continuous toil.

The intercourse with Thibet is maintained by passes of very high altitude, which are also difficult, intricate, and dangerous. The Tungrung Pass is at an altitude of 13,730 feet; the Booreudo, 15,100; the Nitti, nearly 17,000; the Churung, 17,350 feet; the Mancrung, 18,600; while the Pass of Nako, near the source of the Sutlej, the highest in the world, attains the level of nearly 19,000 feet. The greatest height ever reached in the Himalayas previous to that ascended by the gentlemen of the Prussian mission was 19,411 feet, attained by Captain Gerard, October 18th, 1818, on the Tarhigang, near the Sutlej, north of Shepke. These terrible passes, notwithstanding all their dangers from land-slips, precipitated masses of ice and snow, precipices, and the extreme cold, by which persons are sometimes frozen to death at mid-day, are the only media of communication between India and Thibet, and are used far more extensively for commercial purposes by Eastern merchants than would in Europe be supposed likely or even possible.

The natural curiosities of these regions are various, and to the traveller and man of science interesting. Mineral waters are found at very great elevations, and in regions of perpetual snow. Near the source of the Jumna are the springs of Jumnotree; these have a temperature of more than 190° and issue from snow caverns! The point of elevation is more than 10,000 feet. Rice has been boiled in the water of another spring on the same level as it gushed from its source. In many places petrifications of rare beauty may be seen in every stage of formation, as the deposits previously held in solution by the waters dripping from the rocks, are laid upon the vegetable productions which sprout from the ledges beneath. Vegetation has been found at the following heights:—

	Feet.
Horse-chestnut . . . . .	10,363
Maple . . . . .	10,906
Rhubarb and black currant . . . . .	11,000
Polyanthus . . . . .	11,366
Gooseberries . . . . .	11,418
Fields of rye and black wheat . . . . .	11,782
Holly . . . . .	12,000
Strawberries . . . . .	12,642
Buttercups and dandelions . . . . .	13,000
Spikenard . . . . .	13,100
Ooa, a species of barley . . . . .	13,622
Rye . . . . .	13,700
Apricots and beans . . . . .	14,000
Birch . . . . .	14,600
Firs and greensward . . . . .	14,700
Barley . . . . .	14,710
Campanula, in seed . . . . .	16,800
Small bushes . . . . .	16,945

The other mountain ranges of India are very inferior in altitude to the Himalayas, and are generally called by the natives *ghauts*. The word *ghaut* means a pass; and by being applied to the very elevated passages of the Himalayas, became gradually also to be given to any highlands not altogether impassable.

In reference to elevation, the whole peninsula might be described as a table-land, broken by lines of vast highlands, and divided by them into river valleys of great richness and extent.

Parallel to the eastern and western coasts run two ranges, named, respectively, the Eastern and Western Ghauts. Neither of these approaches the coast, both being separated from the sea by low-lying skirts of country of considerable extent. The Western Ghauts are considerably higher than those which face the eastern coast, sometimes rising to a point 6000 feet above the level of the sea.

The high table-land thus bounded was originally called the *Deccan*, to distinguish it from Northern India, the word being of Sanscrit parentage, signifying south. This



extensive plateau rises gradually from north to south, ending in a range stretching across the country, and called sometimes the Southern Ghauts, but better known as the Nilgherry. At the northern extremity of this plateau there are two ranges, known as the Aravalli and the Vindaya, both going under the general name of the Northern Ghauts.

Thus the mountain panorama of India is composed of six ranges: the Himalaya being the northern boundary of the peninsula; the Western Ghauts, ranging southward from the river Nerbuddah and the Gulf of Cambay, terminating in Cape Comorin, the extreme southern point of the peninsula. From nearly this point the Eastern Ghauts tend northward, preserving a tolerably equal distance from the sea. The Vindaya range is next to the Himalaya, coming southward, and running from east to west; they cross the country from the Ganges to the Gulf of Cutch, sending out a spur far into the great desert towards Ajmeer. From the southernmost range (the Nilgherry) the land gradually, but not unbroken, descends to the sea. The other range, already named, bears various other designations, and is less important.

Various portions of these ranges, separated by conformation, and broken by immense ravines, receive especial designations; and the whole plateau of the Deccan is called by the natives *Bala Ghaut*, or the country above the ghauts (or passes).

These mountain ranges naturally divide India. The Vindayas, passing from east to west between the twenty-third and twenty-fifth parallels of north latitude, form the grand basis of the orographical divisions of India into districts. North of the Vindayas, towards the Himalayas, are situated the deltas of the Ganges and the Indus, and what is called Central India. South of the Vindayas is the Deccan, as already described. Those portions of the Deccan south of the river Kistna is especially styled Southern India.

The various mountain chains, and features of highland, form an infinite number of natural territorial divisions, which are so differently named, as to make it often difficult to identify them when noticed by different writers. The way in which the chains of hill separate the river courses conduces to great variety of climate, notwithstanding the low latitudes of the whole country; and while a peculiar uniformity and regularity is preserved in the way in which the series of natural boundaries and divisions of territory are created, yet there is great diversity of outline and variety of scenery. Thus the

courses of the rivers Nerbuddah and Tapti are divided by the chain often called the Sautpoora; and the courses of the Tapti and Godavery are divided by what is sometimes styled the Sechachull Mountains; but notwithstanding this regularity of division, and the general uniformity of climate, the aspects of the country are diverse exceedingly, and whatever variety river or mountain scenery can afford may in these districts be found.

In the north of India a vast lowland tract extends in a curve from the mouths of the Ganges to those of the Indus. This curve converges to the west of Delhi.

Southward of the Nilgherries the country to the sea is diversified; a low valley runs from the Pass of Coimbatore, as its narrowest width is called, across the whole country. The land thence rises and falls, not in a graceful or undulated manner, but by scattered hillocks and abrupt depressions, until it touches the eastern and western highlands that approach nearest the sea.

These mountain lands contain many lovely and sanitary situations, where the most tasteful connoisseurs in landscape beauty might find delight, where the climate affords cool and refreshing breezes, and is not only comparatively safe, but healthy and bracing. That portion of the Western Ghauts opposite to Bombay, called the Mahabalipoora Mountains, rising to the height of 5060 feet, furnishes an excellent site for the sanatorium of the presidency, at a spot called Mahabeleskwar. On the Nilgherry Mountains have been placed the sanitary stations of Ootacamund and Dimhutti. These stations are well known for the salutary effects upon those who are exhausted by the burning climate of the lower lands. All the other mountain districts afford situations adapted to those who have suffered from the heat of the plains, and every climate known in the world may be found from the base of Cape Comorin to the peak of the Himalayas.

The rivers of India are truly magnificent, and in such a climate are naturally prized for their cooling and fertilising power. Superstition has taken advantage of this appreciation, and converted them into deities. The Ganges, especially, is an object of worship.

The three principal rivers are the Ganges, the Brahmapootra, and the Indus. These all originate in the snow-clad bosom of the Himalaya. The former two descend from different slopes, and pursue separate courses through a vast and varied extent of country, until meeting near their embouchure in the Bay of Bengal. Indeed, they can hardly be said to flow together, for soon after their



junction they divide into many currents, forming what is called the delta of the Ganges. The Ganges has two sources, both bursting forth from the glaciers of the Himalaya in swelling torrents: one from the vicinity of a temple built high up in a region which might have been supposed inaccessible. This Temple of Gungootrea is situated more than 13,000 feet above the level of the ocean. The Ganges, thus formed, rushes from the mountains near Hurdwar, running through the great plain of Bengal, south-east. In its course it receives many tributaries, several of these larger than the Thames, or even the Shannon. The Jumna flows into it at Allahabad, and there, 800 miles from the sea, it is a mile in width. The delta commences 220 miles from the sea. The river there throws off several branches to the west; these, mingling, form the arm called the Hoogly, which passes Calcutta, and which is the channel generally navigated. The main stream is joined by the Brahmapootra. The coast of the delta stretches 220 miles. The islands formed by the courses which struggle through the low marshy land are called the *sunderbunds*, or woods, because of the jungle by which they are covered. The waters which embrace these islands nurture crocodiles, and other dangerous amphibious creatures. The rhinoceros is to be seen in the marshes, and the far-famed species of tiger known as Bengal finds many a prowling place within this wild district.

The Brahmapootra runs a shorter course than the Ganges, but rolls in a mightier flood. Its sources are also in the Himalaya, and it is fed by rivers which chiefly flow from the Birman empire. The width, before its junction with the Ganges, is between four and five miles.

The Ganges and Brahmapootra, impelled by the vast bodies of melting snow descending from the mountains, rise, and inundate immense districts of country. In the four rainy months, according to the estimate of the Rev. Mr. Everet, the discharge of water per second is 494,298 cubic feet. During the fine winter months the discharge is 71,200 feet per second, and in the three hot months it sinks to 36,330 in that space of time.

The Indus falls from the northern slopes of the Himalaya, but finds a passage through the mountains to the south, and rolls its flood onward to the Arabian Sea. It rises near to the Lake Manassarora, which is sacred in the Hindoo mythology; the name signifies "the mental or spiritual lake." The Sutlej is an offshoot from it. The principal confluent is the Chenab, which itself unites in its course

the other four rivers of the Punjaub.\* These are the Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravee, and the Jhelum.† The delta of the Indus presents to the coast an area of 120 miles. The river is irregular in that part of its course, and deficient in depth, offering various difficulties to its navigation.

The waters of these rivers are much discoloured. Having their sources in elevated springs, much earthy matter is borne down to the plains. These plains are alluvial; and the rivers passing through no depressions in which lakes might be formed, and their alluvial freight deposited, they are necessarily much loaded with soil and minute fragments of rock. The Ganges is probably most tainted in this way, giving colour to the sea six miles from the coast. The Rev. Mr. Everet represents that river as discharging nearly six millions and a half cubic feet of earthy matter during the year, a quantity almost too enormous to suppose possible. That gentleman's statements have, however, been corroborated. The members of the Prussian scientific mission, already referred to, tested the clearness of these rivers by letting down a stone into them, which generally became invisible at a depth of from twelve to fifteen centimetres (five to six inches), showing that they are overcharged with earthy particles; for in the sea, near Corfu, a stone is visible to the depth of fifty feet, and in the seas under the tropics it remains visible at a depth of thirty feet.

There are other rivers of great importance. Some of these traverse the eastern part of India, and are emptied into the Bay of Bengal. The Mahamuddy falls into the bay near Cuttack. Further south, the Godavery flows into the sea near the mouth of the Kistna, after receiving as affluents the Manjeera, the Wurda, and the Baumunga. The Godavery springs from the Western Ghauts. Still further south, the Kistna has its birth, in the same range. Confluences are formed with it by the Beema and Toombudra: its disembogement is at Masulipatam. The Pennar flows into the waters which wash the eastern coast, above the city of Madras. The most southern of the rivers which stream eastward is the Cavery, which, rising in the same ghauts, passes Tanjore, and empties itself by several mouths from the coast oppo-

\* In the neighbourhood of Attock, in the Punjaub, Alexander the Great is supposed to have crossed the Indus in his invasion of India. Tamerlane and Nadir Shah are reported to have crossed in the same place or its vicinity.

† The Sutlej is the Zarodras of Ptolemy; the Beas is the Hyphasis of Arrian; the Ravee was designated by Arrian the Hydrastes. The Chenab received in classic description the name of Acesines, and the Jhelum, Hydaspes.



site the island of Ceylon. On the western side of the peninsula there is the Ban, which flows south of the Indus into the inlet of Rin, an extensive salt lake. The Bunvas empties itself into the Gulf of Cutch. The Mhye is discharged into the Gulf of Cambay. Larger than any of these are the Nerbuddah and the Tapti. The Tapti joins the ocean near Surat. The Nerbuddah is the largest river which disembogues itself into the waters on the western coast, except the Indus, and is 600 miles long—a third of the length of its great competitor; it enters the sea at Baroche.

The general features of the peninsula may be inferred from a description so extended of its mountains and rivers. For the most part the soil is alluvial, and rendered fertile by the overflowing of the great rivers. Along the course of the inferior rivers there is great richness, and cultivated country appears in every direction. In some places there are large tracts of jungle, especially near the hilly country of the Punjaub. The Run of Cutch, north of the gulf of that name, is low and flat, and extends east of the Indus, so as to form a district probably one-fourth the size of Scotland. It nourishes only a few tamarisks, and is for the greater part of the year dry or fruitless. During the monsoon the sea is driven over it; and when the waters evaporate, a strong saline deposit is left—hence it is often called the Salt Desert. This remarkable district was formed by a sudden operation of nature. In June, 1819, the land sank down, and became a salt-water marsh, and a large mound, called the Ulla Bund, arose, and cut off one of the mouths of the Indus from the sea. There is evidence that this district has, during the probable historic period, been subjected to a series of alternate depressions and upheavings: a large space east of the Indus, which is now dry land, was, in the time of Alexander, covered by the waves. Indian traditions testify that over all that district, and a considerable distance inland, the sea swept. There are, near the Run of Cutch, two other salt lakes, or marshes, called Null and Boke, which appear to have been formed by sudden convulsion. India is remarkable for the fewness of its lakes of any kind; the only other considerable lake is in the centre of the Deccan. It is about 350 feet below the level of the surrounding country. The water it contains is nearly saturated with sub-carbonate of soda. Lava abounds in the neighbourhood, and other proofs exist that the depression is of volcanic origin. About one-eighth of the whole peninsula is a desert, covering 150,000 square miles. It is not, however, entirely

unproductive. Numerous oases are to be found, often of considerable extent, and of various degrees of cultivation. After the rains fall, jungle and coarse grass spring up in most parts of this otherwise sandy waste. The hot season soon reduces this fitful verdure, parching up all vegetable beauty, and nearly all vegetable life, throughout the great wilderness. The plain of the Ganges has more uniformity than that of the Indus. The former is low, rich, and teeming with vegetable and animal life—the richest part of India. The plain of the Indus is varied very much, some portions consisting of hard dry clay, some of barren rock, while others almost rival in fertility the Gangetic valley. In the Punjaub, where the country is in some places very productive, there are stony wastes, and rough uneven tracts, which are covered with low brushwood. Beyond the Punjaub, nearly environed by the western portion of the Himalayas, the beautiful valley of Cashmere rivals the fairest realms in the world, and almost justifies all that fable has related, or poets sung, of its productiveness and beauty.

Along the banks of the Chumbul, Bunas, Betwah, and Keane, tributaries of the Jumna, there are picturesque spots; and on the south side of the Ganges, near the junction of the Sive, there are specimens of low river landscape very attractive of their kind. The coast views of the peninsula are not attractive. On neither the east nor west ranges of shore are there many striking views; the ghauts are sometimes near enough to be picturesque, but there are few bold headlands or jutting points to mark the coast-line on either side of Cape Comorin. On the west, commonly called the coast of Malabar, there are Maundvee Point, Diu Head, Salsed Point, and Mount Delly. On the east, usually named the coast of Coromandel, there are Ramen Point, Calymere Point, and Point Palmyras. The Malabar territory does not extend along the entire western coast, although the name is given to the whole sea-board, leading the general reader frequently into this error. Short distances from that coast the country assumes a varied character. At first it is a low sandy plain, which extends for miles; then occasional hillocks rise abruptly; these increase in number until the country becomes roughly undulated, the hillocks taking a ruder and bolder form, and, covered with dense jungle, at last connect themselves with the spurs of the Western Ghauts, which are clothed with the grandeur of native forests of teak and satin-wood.

The ghaut scenery along the Coromandel coast is not dissimilar in character to that of



Malabar, but generally the line is low and swampy, and the extensive space comprised in the delta of the Ganges is as dreary as the Sahara of Scinde.

The newly-acquired countries of Tenasserim and Pegu, on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, formerly portions of the Birman empire, do not possess much variety of general aspect. Near the coast they are low, level, and tedious to the eye, except in some particular spots; and the rivers flow through flats of sandy or alluvial country. In the interior the land rises, and good hill prospects are presented.

On the whole, although India possesses some of the most glorious scenery in the world, it is very much indebted to the bold mountain confines upon the north and north-west, and the hill countries of the provinces in that direction, for its distinction in this particular. This is especially exemplified along the frontiers of Beloochistan and Affghanistan, where the traveller finds almost every form of bold and wild prospect interspersed with cultivated and beautiful scenes. In the province of Peshawur—the Punjaub boundary of Affghanistan—the little retired valleys in the mountains are often very lovely; and as the province is watered by numerous streams, and by the Cabul River, which bursts from the Khyber Mountains at Michnee, there is irrigation and extensive culture in the plains, from the fertility of which the traveller cannot but regard with interest the bold and grotesque outlines of the mountains. Indeed, nearly all the land boundaries of India are interesting to the lover of the picturesque; while in the Decan, and in Central India, there are many places to vie in beauty with the famous resorts of travellers in Europe.

Of late years much attention has been paid to a more scientific acquaintance with India, its dependent territories, and its coasts. Nor are the laudable desires of the government to make itself acquainted with the area, soil, and facilities of the peninsula merely of recent origin: the Marquis of Wellesley, and the Duke of Wellington, displayed a strong desire for a thorough survey of the peninsula. This great work, which has proceeded for more than half a century, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of Indian history during that period, is an honour to the East India Company. Under the auspices of Lord Metcalfe, Sir A. Burns, with a suitable staff, while ostensibly on a mission to Runjeet Singh, effected a survey of the Indus, and drew up a report of its navigable capacities.

Dr. Buist, and other scientific gentlemen,

have enlarged the public knowledge of the geology of the peninsula. The transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, and of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, have brought to light a multitude of facts important to the government and to commerce, as well as most interesting to the scientific world. The talented editor of the *Bombay Times* has contributed very valuable acquisitions on the meteorological phenomena of India, the result of many years' observation. The editor, also, of the *Bombay Gazette* has, by his papers on economical science, benefited commerce. The survey of the Malabar coast, by Lieutenant Selby, has proved of utility in many respects not contemplated in the objects held in view in directing the survey.

For governmental, military, and commercial purposes India has been much investigated of late years; while geologists, agriculturists, horticulturists, botanists, zoologists, entymologists, &c., have taken their share in the work of inquiry. Nor has the population been left unstudied; the missionary, ethnologist, philologist, and politician, have pursued with zeal the courses of research and study opened up to them. Still India must be much more explored for all these purposes, and by the light of all these sciences, before Great Britain can realise the full value of her Indian empire, or be thoroughly acquainted with its resources and its people.

The geological characteristics of the country, although tolerably well known, require considerable investigation. The mineral productions are varied, and found over a vast area. There are extensive beds of coal, both bituminous and anthracite. In the Punjaub large deposits of rock-salt, a very valuable commodity in India, have been discovered. Iron is much diffused. In the beds of the rivers precious stones of almost every variety are found, and diamonds in alluvial soil. One of the most useful products connected with the geology of India is *kunken*. This seems to have been extensively spread through India by the beneficent hand of the Great Architect of the universe, to compensate for the general deficiency in limestone fit for the kiln. The *kunken* contains upwards of seventy-two parts of carbonate of lime in its composition. It is usually mixed with the soil with little appearance of stratification. Except in the higher portions of the Nilgherry Hills, it is to be met with everywhere throughout India. The natives burn it into lime, and also use it in blocks or masses for building tanks, huts, &c. Statuary marble, clay slate, and roofing blue slate, are seldom met with. Geologists describe the strata of the



peninsula as affording peculiar phenomena. The superior strata of southern India are for the most part hypogene schists, broken up by vast upheavings of plutonic and trappean rocks. In the Eastern Ghauts they are capped by sandstone, limestone, and laterite; in the Western Ghauts by laterite. They also form, with little deviation, the basis of the plains from Naggery to Cape Comorin. They are associated with granite in the hills which break over the valley of the Cavery, and north of the plain of the Cavery, in the table-lands of Mysore, Bellary, Hyderabad, and Southern Mahratta. Towards the north-west, from Nagpore to Rajapore, to the western coast, the hypogene and plutonic rocks cease under a vast sheet of trap, one of the largest extensions of that formation in the world. Gneiss is found lowest in the series; next to it mica and hornblende schist, actinolite, chlorite, talcose, and argillaceous schist. This succession does not always prevail, as all of these have been found lying upon the granite.

The fossiliferous remains of India are comparatively scarce, and have not yet been sufficiently investigated, nor have the results of the investigations and classifications made, been given in a sufficiently popular form to the public. In the country between the Kistna and the Godavery, and in the South Mahratta country, sandstone and limestone rock appear. North of the Salem break, on the high table-land, they are found to a considerable extent, and in these the fossil remains are interesting.

Shelly limestone beds of some extent are found at Pondicherry. In these there are beautiful fossil remains, which have afforded considerable discussion to the learned in this branch of science.

The laterite is a formation which, if not peculiar to India, presents itself there to such an extent as to attract especial attention. According to Dr. Buist, in his papers on the geological characteristics of Bombay, this rock extends along the whole western coast from the sea to the base of the ghauts, from Cape Comorin to the north. It is not so continuous on the eastern coast, but is there also to be met with to a great extent; and on the summits of both ranges of ghauts it is discoverable. Everywhere in the Deccan it appears. Sandstone of the late tertiary is found on the south coast, extending to Ceylon by "Adam's Bridge," which is composed of it.

A sedimentary rock called *begur*, or *black cotton clay*, is supposed to cover nearly one-half of Southern India. It is peculiarly absorbent, and makes the most fertile soil in

the world. It is spread over the great table-land of the Deccan, and is the source of its productiveness. No manure or fertiliser is required where it is, and no efforts of cultivation exhaust it. The late editor of the *Ceylon Examiner* observes of the granite and its congeneric rocks—"They are abundantly developed throughout the hypogene area. The former shows itself under every variety of aspect. It starts up from the surface of the table-land in bold and sharply hewn peaks, or rises in dome-shaped bosses, or appears in profuse but distinct clusters and ranges, which affect no general line of elevation, but often radiate irregularly as from a centre. Some of the insulated peaks are exceedingly striking in outline and structure. The rock of Nundilrug, for instance, which rises 17,000 feet above the surface of the plain, looks almost as if it were formed of one entire mass of rock, and the rock of Sivagunga is still higher. The most remarkable of the insulated clusters and masses of granite on the table-land of the peninsula are those of Sivagunga, Severndroog, and Octradroog; some in Mysore, Gooty, Reidrooj, Adoni; and others in the central districts. But there are numerous masses almost equally remarkable scattered over all the southern part of the peninsula table-land, as well as in the maritime district of Coromandel. The greater part of the central table-land is also formed by it, and it crops out continually over an extended area in the more elevated districts."

In the reports of the meetings of the Bengal Asiatic Society there is voluminous information as to the volcanoes of India. Sir Charles Lyell and Mrs. Somerville had not examined these papers, or far more information would have been obtained by them on this interesting subject. In the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* the volcanic phenomena of the peninsula have been frequently made topics of inquiry and elucidation. The press of India has also rendered good service on the subject, so that much has become known of late years as to the history of earthquakes and volcanoes in those lands. Papers on the connection between earthquakes, volcanoes, and meteorological phenomena, published in the reports of the Bombay Society, throw a light on the past and present condition of India and the adjacent islands, as to their geological history and climate, which will repay the researches of all who desire to study these important and interesting regions. Mrs. Somerville, writing of the volcanoes in the Bay of Bengal, observes—"One of the most active groups of volcanoes in the world begins with the



Banda group of islands, and extends through the Sunda group of Timor, Sumbawa, Bali, Java, and Sumatra, separated only by narrow channels, and altogether forming a gently curved line of 2000 miles long; but as the volcanic zone is continued through Barren Island and Narcandam, in the Bay of Bengal, and northward along the whole coast of Arracan, the whole length of the volcanic range is a great deal more." The band extends beyond Arracan, northward, to Chittagong, latitude  $22^{\circ}$ , or 600 miles beyond Barren Island. The volcanic fires are active chiefly during the south-west monsoon. About the middle of the last century, which has been said to be the great epoch of earthquakes all over the world, volcanic islands were cast up in the Bay of Bengal; and rocks and shoals, which disappeared again, remained there so long, that they were entered on the charts. At Calcutta an earthquake took place in the year 1737, by which 20,000 vessels of various descriptions were sunk, and 30,000 lives lost. Violent eruptions of this or greater magnitude seem to have been of frequent occurrence in India and the neighbouring countries. Dr. Thompson, in a paper on the geology of Bombay, published in the *Madras Literary Transactions*, relates—"The island of Vaypi, on the north side of Cochin, rose from out the sea in the year 1344: the date of its appearance is determined by its having given rise to a new era among the Hindoos, called *Puduvepa*, or the new introduction. Contemporaneous with the appearance of Vaypi, the waters which, during the rainy season, were discharged from the ghaut, broke through the banks of the channel which usually confined them, overwhelmed a village, and formed a lake and harbour so spacious, that light ships could anchor where dry land had previously prevailed."

During the earthquake of 1672 sixty square miles of the lowlands along the shores of Arracan were laid under water. One of the Neug Mountains entirely disappeared; another remained only with its former peak visible. A very high mountain sunk to the level of the plain; several fell, blocking up the course of rivers. Between May, 1834, and May, 1835, no less than twelve earthquakes occurred in Assam. Colonel Connoley affirms that the region of recent volcanic action terminates with the delta of the Ganges; but there are evidences across the whole country to show that at periods not remote these regions were shaken by subterranean concussions. Dr. Falconer affirms of Cashmere that a singular field of fire exists there of considerable dimensions; the soil is completely burnt, and in some places vitrified.

The igneous action of this locality has continued for more than 200 years. Extraordinary irruptions of pestilential gas have of late years risen to the surface of the sea on various parts of the coasts. Within two days sail of the port of Kurrachee, a group of mud volcanoes appears within 100 yards of the sea; these stretch far inland. Captain Robertson described the whole district, for an area of 1000 square miles, as covered with mud cones, either active or quiescent. Brimstone, in large quantities, is found in the neighbourhood, and one considerable hill is called the *Sulphur Mountain*. Captain Vicary, in his account of the geology of Scinde, describes the course of the Indus as directed extensively through country of volcanic origin, where hot wells abound, to the surface of which sulphuretted hydrogen constantly ascends, tainting large districts with its odour.

The opinion is very prevalent that great and opulent cities have been buried by earthquakes or volcanic eruptions in Central India. Sir John Malcolm, and the scientific gentlemen who accompanied him in his expedition to Central India, have chiefly given currency to these opinions; but they seem to have relied too much on the traditionary tales of the natives. Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*, adopts these representations, and so treats the evidence supplied, as to ensure the general acceptance of the theory. He ascribes the destruction of the two mighty cities of Oujein and Mhysir to this cause. Subsequent investigations lead to a different conclusion; and although there are signs of violent volcanic action in the vicinity, the ruined cities, in all probability, sank into decay from other causes. It is, however, true that Central India, within the period of history, has suffered signally from violent operations of nature.

The climate of India is supposed to be well known, yet, like everything else connected with the peninsula, it has been too little studied, and no adequate advantage has been taken of the facts ascertained. It is generally regarded in England as a country almost unendurably hot, with situations somewhat cooler on the higher lands, but, on the whole, an unhealthy and uncomfortable land to live in. India, being situated in or near the tropics, is of course hot. The lowlands of the Madras presidency to the south experience the greatest heat, the thermometer standing 100 degrees in the shade, and 120 in the sun, at certain seasons. On the lowlands of the north-west, where the soil is generally dry and sandy, although situated beyond the tropics, the heat is also very great. On the high table-land of the Deccan the heat is not



so intense, and in the hilly regions water freezes in the winter—only a thin ice, however, covers it; whilst high up in the Himalayas, everlasting glaciers and never-ceasing accumulations of snow are to be seen. There are various parts of Northern and North-western India which are well inhabited, where the elevation is considerable, in which, during the short winter, the thermometer is below the freezing-point. The year, however, is everywhere divided by the wet and dry seasons. During the former, torrents of rain fall over the country, laying it under water; the great rivers, swollen into broad floods, overflow the country, and all operations, civil or military, are nearly suspended. Some seasons are remarkable for these inundations, inflicting wide-spread damage. During the pursuit of the Sikh army by Sir Walter Gilbert, at the close of the last war in the Punjab, this was the case, the pursuers having been seriously checked in their enterprise from this cause. During the rainy season the celebrated city of Mooltan, which had been so gallantly defended by Moolraj, and which seemed of such stupendous strength as to defy all the art of war, was swept away by the inundation, which, rushing along the river, rose around it.

In July and August, 1851, the rains were so heavy in Scinde, that a vast amount of injury was inflicted upon the cultivators; and the subsequent decomposition of vegetable matter spread disease over considerable areas of otherwise healthy country. In some of the towns lying low, near the Indus, where the people were accustomed to dig holes in the earth, over which they raised their habitations, the deluge caused fearful havoc by the sickness it bred. In 1852 Mr Frere, the commissioner of Scinde, obtained papers from the assistant commissioner and collectors of the Kurrachee collectorate, concerning this disaster. The districts of Leman were represented as almost entirely overwhelmed by the torrents from the hills, the overflowing of the Indus, and the inter-current Narra. The whole country appeared, long after the overflow and when it had in a great measure subsided, as a vast lake, surrounded by an extensive swamp; the villages and high grounds were like so many islands. Between the 18th and 29th of July, the fall of rain and the rushing floods from the high lands were inconceivably great. By the 28th the phenomenon reached its climax. On that day the inhabitants exclaimed, "The clouds of heaven were broken, and fell." This torrent from above was accompanied by vivid and incessant flashes of lightning, while thunders roared among the adjacent hills, as if the earth were in agony, and found utterance for its woes.

About midnight the hubbub of the elements was hushed, but then the torrents burst from the mountains, flooding the highest inhabited grounds four feet in depth, and carrying, by a resistless impetus, habitations, cattle, trees, and whatever was in its course, along with it. In the Pergunnah Mullar alone, thirty-nine villages, with their surrounding cultivation, were destroyed: supposing the like proportion in other districts, a picture of ruin is presented truly appalling. The roads were rendered impassable for camels throughout the whole collectorate. Kurrachee itself was damaged, although the river Learee, which runs into its harbour, is but a little mountain torrent. Central and Lower Scinde suffered more than otherwise would have been the case, from the construction of the houses, and the material of which they were built.

The autumnal moisture of the air is complained of very much by European inhabitants of India, even in the higher regions. At the latter end of June, although the sun is not hotter than in the two previous months, there is little motion in the air, and but little evaporation from the body. During the hot winds which precede the moist season, Europeans suffer from the heat; but the air being dry, they do not experience the inconvenience which ensues when it is saturated with moisture in the latter end of June and in July. Indeed, in many places, that period is more trying to health than during or after the rains, notwithstanding the evaporation which arises from so great an area of flooded surface.

At Hyderabad the rainy season is not unhealthy. The city is not surrounded by much cultivation, nor by any great growth of jungle, and is itself situated on the crest of a limestone range, so that when the rains fall, they are speedily absorbed, the surplus passing into the nullah from the Fullallee. Other cities are as favourably situated as this, which, for illustration sake, is particularised; but generally the moist, as well as the wet seasons, are more unhealthy to Europeans than the hot season. Of late years pluviometers have been very generally kept by the commissioners, collectors, and their assistants, by missionaries, merchants, and other Europeans; and the laws by which this class of phenomena are regulated have been observed, and no doubt practical benefit will result, not only to cultivation, but to the health, at all events, of British residents.

A distinguishing characteristic of the climate is the monsoons—winds which blow north-east and south-west, each for six months in the year, and regularly succeed each other. The north-east monsoon begins about the close of October, in fitful squalls; these occur



until the end of November, when the monsoon regularly sets in, and continues until the beginning of April. The advent of this wind upon the Coromandel coast is accompanied by rain. Soon after the north-east monsoon ceases, that from the south-west begins. Its advent is attended by rain upon the Malabar coast, which prevails some distance southward, the clouds breaking upon the Western Ghats. Heavy rains fall with the monsoon on the Gangetic valley, sweeping with the wind up the Bay of Bengal from the Indian Ocean, until arrested by the mountains of Thibet.

India and the coasts of the peninsula have, from time immemorial, been ravaged by storms so furious, and of such frequent recurrence, as to be characteristic of the climate. In the Bay of Bengal and the China Seas north of the line, and the seas around the Mauritius, and towards the Cape, hurricanes are frequent, as is well known to the general reader. It is remarkable that north of Ceylon, on the Malabar coast, or in the Arabian Sea, such hurricanes are comparatively seldom felt. Dr. Buist, of Bombay, who devoted extraordinary attention to this subject, expresses the opinion that while in the Bay of Bengal and the other seas mentioned as subject to hurricanes, or *cyclones*, as this description of atmospheric disturbance is scientifically called, they make their appearance about once a year: in the Arabian Sea they are not felt more than once in ten years. This statement hardly agrees with a careful observation of the existing lists of general atmospheric disturbances of this nature, and of those by which the western coasts of India have been especially affected, through a very considerable number of years. Lists collected by the industry of Dr. Buist himself do not seem to bear out the assertion.

From 1830 to 1854 sixty-one hurricanes occurred in the Bay of Bengal, and as far eastward as Canton, many of them raging over a larger space. The months in which they occurred most frequently were October, November, and June. In the first-named month there were twelve, and in each of the others nine. September ranks next in the scale, there being eight occurrences of the kind in that month. April, August, and December, each are numbered five. Four are supposed to have taken place in July, two in June, and one in March. January and February were exempt. The greatest number of these visitations happening in any one year was six, which was only in the year 1842. Several years were altogether free from them, as 1830, 1834, 1838, 1843, 1844.

The following list of storms occurring on

the land and seas of the peninsula during a century, drawn from the same statistical collections, will interest the reader, and afford material for a judgment as to the climate of India in this particular:—

- 1746.—Violent storm at Madras, by which a French fleet of war was driven out of the roads, and wrecked. At Pondicherry the tempest was not felt.
- 1774. *April 6.*—Coromandel visited by a hurricane. Three British ships of war lost, many men perishing.
- 1780. *July.*—A typhon in the Chinese Seas, by which 100,000 persons are supposed to have perished.
- 1782. *April.*—In the Gulf of Cambay, accompanied by a dreadful inundation.
- 1783. *November 3-7.*—Violent hurricane from Jellicherry north to Bombay: great loss of shipping and lives—proving fatal to almost every ship within its reach.
- 1787. *May 19.*—In the upper part of the Bay of Bengal, inundation at Coringa; sea rose nearly fifteen feet; 20,000 people and 500,000 cattle supposed to have perished.
- 1789.—In the north-west part of the Bay of Bengal; three enormous waves, following in slow succession, deluged Coringa, the third of them sweeping everything before it.
- 1790.—In the China Seas.
- 1792. *October 26, 27.*—Madras.
- 1797. *June 18-20.*—Madras.
- 1799. *November 3-7.*—Frightful hurricane from Calicut north; her majesty's ship *Resolution*, with about one hundred small craft, and 400 lives, lost in Bombay Harbour.
- 1800. *October 19.*—Furious hurricane and earthquake at Ougele, and so round by Masulipatam.
- 1800. *October 28.*—Hurricane at Coringa and Masulipatam.
- 1803. *September 20-28.*—China Seas, 20 N., 117 E.
- 1805. *January 7.*—Trincomalee, Coromandel coast, and so across to Jellicherry, on the Malabar coast.
- 1805. *March 16.*—Calcutta and Lower Bengal.
- 1807. *June 24.*—Furious hurricane off Mangalore.
- 1807. *December 10.*—Madras.
- 1808. *December 12.*—Madras and southern Coromandel coast; great loss of life and shipping.
- 1808. *November.*—The *London*, *Nelson*, *Experiment*, and *Glory*, East Indiamen, parted from the fleet, and never more heard of; supposed to have gone down in a hurricane, and all hands perished.
- 1809. *March.*—*Duchess of Gordon*, *Calcutta*, *Bengal*, and *Lady Jane Dundas*, parted from the fleet in a hurricane, and supposed to have foundered; all hands perished.
- 1809. *March 28-30.*—China Seas.
- 1810. *September 20-30.*—China Seas, 17 N., 115 E.
- 1811. *April 30.*—Madras: destroyed nearly every vessel in the roads; ninety native vessels wrecked at their anchors; the *Dover* frigate, and the store-ship *Manchester*, run ashore, and were wrecked.
- 1812. *September 8-10.*—China Seas, 16 N., 114 E.
- 1816. *July 10.*—Singapore; 200 lives lost.
- 1816.—Malacca: thirty houses blown into the sea; thirty or forty vessels lost, and at least 400 people drowned.
- 1818. *October 23, 24.*—Madras: severe revolving gale.
- 1818. *October 24.*—Madras: centre passed right over the town; fearfully destructive.
- 1819.—Mauritius (no particulars): rain fell for thirty hours continuously, and swamped the whole country.
- 1819. *September 25.*—Cutch and Kattiwar: lasted a day and two nights.
- 1819. *October 28, 29.*—China Seas, 89 N., 119 E.
- 1820. *March 29, 30.*—Madras.



1820. *May* 8.—Madras: two square-rigged vessels wrecked, and an immense quantity of native craft: stretched across to the Arabian Sea, and occasioned some loss of shipping southward of Bombay.
1820. *November* 29.—China Seas, 12 N., 109 E.
1820. *December* 2.—Madras, Pondicherry, and Coromandel coast.
1821. *October*.—China Seas.
1822. *June*.—Mouth of the Ganges and Berhamputra: storm travelled at the rate of about two miles an hour—fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours: 50,000 people perished in the inundation.
1822. *September* 14, 15.—China Seas, 20 N., 114 E.
1823. *June* 2.—Chittagong and delta of the Ganges.
1823. *May* 26.—Violent hurricane in the Bay of Bengal: six large English ships wrecked.
1824. *February*.—The Mauritius: very severe. Her majesty's ship *Delight*, with 120 slaves, wrecked.
1824. *June* 8.—Chittagong: heavy inundations.
1826. *September* 27.—China Seas.
1827. *October* 26, 27.—China Seas, 9 N., 118 E.
1827. *December* 20.—Bombay.
1828. *December*.—Mauritius.
1829. *August* 8.—China Seas, 18 N., 14 E.
1830. *March* 27 and *April* 3.—Bourbon; did not reach the Mauritius.
1831. *September* 23.—China Seas.
1831. *October* 22, 23.—Manilla: 4000 houses destroyed. Barometer fell from 29·90 to 28·70.
1831. *October* 31.—Lower Bengal: inundations swept away 300 villages, and at least 11,000 people; famine followed, and the loss of life is estimated at 50,000.
1831. *December* 6.—Pondicherry and Cuddalore: of few hours' duration only, but fearfully destructive.
1832. *May* 21.—Delta of the Ganges: eight to ten thousand people drowned.
1832. *August* 3.—China Seas.
1832. *August* 4.—Furious hurricane at Calcutta; barometer 28·8.
1832. *September* 23.—Macao, China: 100 fishing-boats lost; of cotton alone 1405 bales picked up.
1832. *October* 8.—Furious storm and disastrous inundation at and around Calcutta; great sufferings in consequence at Balasore. Barometer fell from 29·70 to 27·80 in sixteen hours.
1832. *October* 22 and *November* 8.—China Seas.
1833. *May* 21.—Tremendous hurricane off the mouth of the Hoogly. Barometer fell from 29·090 at 8 A.M., to 26·5 at noon.
1833. *August* 26-29.—China Seas, 22 N., 113 E.
1833. *October* 12-14.—China Seas, 16 N., 117 E.
1833. *November* 29, 30.—Ceylon: violent fall of rain, and disastrous river inundation.
1835. *August* 6-8.—China Seas.
1836. *July* 31.—China Seas: £250,000 lost by shipwreck.
1836. *October* 30.—Madras: did enormous mischief on shore. Barometer sunk to 27·3. Centre passed over the town.
1837. *June* 15.—A tremendous hurricane swept over Bombay: an immense destruction of property, and loss of shipping in the harbour, estimated at nine and a half lacs (£90,000); upwards of 400 native houses destroyed.
1837. *November* 16-22.—China Seas, 15 N., 116 E.
1839. *June*.—In the Bay of Bengal, and off Coringa.
1839. *November*.—Off Coringa and Madras: a storm-wave lays the shore eight feet under water; seventy vessels and 700 people lost at sea; 6000 said to have been drowned on shore.
1839. *October* 7-10.—China Seas.
1840. *November* 28-30.—China Seas.
1840. *April* 27 and *May* 1.—Violent in the Bay of Bengal.
1840. *May*.—Hurricane off Madras and the southern coast.
1840. *September* 24-27.—In the China Sea, in which the *Golconda*, with a detachment of the 37th Madras native infantry, 200 strong, on board, is supposed to have been lost.
1841. *May* 16.—Madras: great loss of shipping.
1842. *September*.—China Seas.
1842. *May*.—Dreadful storm prevailed in Calcutta on the 3rd and 4th, by which every ship, boat, and house, was more or less injured.
1842. *June* 1-3.—A frightful hurricane visits Calcutta, injuring almost every vessel in the river, and house in the town and neighbourhood. The barometer attains the unprecedented depression of 28·278.
1842. *October* 5, 6.—Hurricanes between Cuttack and Pooree.
1842. *October* 22.—Severe hurricane over Madras, and across the Arabian Sea as far as Aden.
1842. *November* 1.—In the Arabian Sea.
1843. *April* 20.—Hurricane at the Mauritius: nine vessels driven into Port Louis, more or less injured.
1845. *February* 22-27.—Violent hurricanes at the Mauritius.
1845. *November* 27-28.—Two hurricanes in the China Seas occurred to the north and south of the line, almost simultaneously, 13° apart.
- 1845.—Bay of Bengal.
1846. *November* 25-26.—Violent hurricane at Madras, and so across to Mangalore and Cochin.
1847. *April* 19.—Terrific hurricane from the line north to Scinde, in which the East India Company's ship *Cleopatra* is lost, with 150 souls on board. The Maldiv Islands submerged, and severe want and general famine ensues.
1848. *April* 23.—Violent hurricane off Ceylon, in which her majesty's brig *Jumna*, from Bombay, where she had been built, was nearly lost; she had an obelisk, and other valuable Assyrian marbles, on board.
1848. *September* 12-14.—Violent hurricanes in the Bay of Bengal.
1849. *July* 22-26.—A violent storm and rain burst all over India; a hurricane swept the Jullundhur, carrying everything before it. The barracks of her majesty's 32nd regiment, at Meerut, and those at Ghazee-pore, were destroyed. On the 25th ten inches of rain fell at Bombay, and in the course of four days twenty-six inches fell at Phoonda Ghaut, and forty inches at Mahableswar (?).
1849. *December* 10.—Severe hurricane at Madras: the ships *Lady Sale*, *Industry*, and *Princess Royal*, lost.
1850. *December* 4.—Hurricane at Madras; two European ships and eighteen country craft wrecked.
1851. *May* 1.—A furious hurricane raged off Ceylon: a second prevailed at Madras on the 6th, sweeping across the peninsula, and sending up a tremendous swell towards Scinde. The ship *Charles Forbes*, of Bombay, lost in the Straits of Malacca.
1851. *October* 20.—The hurricane that visited Calcutta and its neighbourhood on the 22nd and 23rd of October did great damage to the shipping off Diamond Harbour and below Saugor. Two vessels, the *Bengalee*, outward bound, and the *Scourfield*, inward bound, were wrecked—the former on Sangor Island, and the latter near Buit Palmyras; crews of both vessels saved.
1852. *May* 14.—A terrific hurricane burst over Calcutta. Barometer 29·362: more severe than any that had been experienced since the 3rd of June, 1842, when the barometer sunk to 28·278, the lowest ever known in Calcutta, and almost every vessel in the river, and dwelling-house on shore, was more or less injured. During the gale there were destroyed in Calcutta 2657 thatched and 526 tiled houses, with forty sub-



- stantial buildings; eleven persons were killed, and two wounded. On the 8th of August, 1842, the barometer at Calcutta fell, during a hurricane, to 28·800.
1852. *May 17*.—A severe gale experienced at the Cape; barometer fell to 29·42 (60° Fahr.), the lowest known since the 21st of April 1848, when, without any change in the weather being experienced, it sunk to 29·38, the lowest on record at Capetown.
1852. *December 16*.—Very violent at Macao—scarcely felt at Hong-Kong—from Canton all along the north coast of China.
1853. *March 26-28*.—Furious hurricane all over Southern India: some fifty vessels sunk or wrecked on the Coromandel coast to the southward of Madras.
1853. *October 10*.—Hurricane in the China Seas: large steamer dismasted, and narrowly escaped shipwreck, betwixt Hong-Kong and Singapore.
1854. *April 10-12*.—A tornado swept Lower Bengal, from W.S.W. to E.N.E., sweeping villages and great trees before it, and destroying, it is said, 300 people.
1854. *April 21-23*.—A violent hurricane at Rangoon; twenty-five boats, with the head-quarters of the 30th regiment of Madras native infantry, wrecked in the Irrawady; the barracks on shore unroofed.
1854. *May 22-24*.—Hurricane in the China Seas; the Peninsula and Oriental Company's steamer *Douro* lost her funnel, and was driven ashore a wreck.
1854. *September 27*.—A severe hurricane in the China Seas, 19 N., and 117 E.
1854. *October 6*.—Hurricane south of Ceylon.
1854. *November 2*.—Hurricane at Bombay; a thousand human beings and half a million-worth of property supposed to have perished in four hours' time.

The occurrence of hail-storms in India is frequent, and they are on so vast a scale as to be a characteristic of the climate. From the knowledge possessed concerning the great heat of that country, few general readers would imagine that it was a land remarkable for such phenomena; indeed, writers on meteorology and physical geography have frequently represented such storms as seldom occurring within the tropics. Dr. Thompson, in his work on meteorology, published in 1849, makes that assertion. Mrs. Somerville, writing in 1851, says—"Hail is very rare on the tropical plains, and often altogether unknown, though it frequently falls at heights of 1700 or 1800 feet above them." The same gifted lady observes—"It occurs more frequently in countries at a little distance from mountains than in those close to them or further off." Mr. Milner, in his *Universal Geography*, lately published, is more accurate, but he also asserts that hail seldom falls in the tropics at the level of the sea. In India facts contradict these doctrines. In the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and along the western shores of the Bay of Bengal, hail-storms are of frequent occurrence. Colonel Sykes, in a paper read before the British Association for the Promotion of Science, established this, and other writers have confirmed his assertions. The colonel, however, erred in supposing that on the same line upon the coast

of Malabar it also occurred, whereas hail seldom falls there, although frequent on the shores of Cutch and Scinde. The colonel's statement, as appears in the society's reports for 1851, is, that the phenomenon is not seen south of latitude 20°. This is true of the western coast of the peninsula, but not of the eastern. Dr. Buist has shown that in 1852 a violent storm of hail fell at Pondicherry, south of Madras; and he affirms that others were recollected by him on the south-eastern shores of the peninsula. In Ceylon hail-storms are well known both in the higher and lower grounds. The occurrence of such storms in contiguity with the mountainous region of that island, and with various parts of the Himalaya range, confute the theory of Mrs. Somerville and other modern writers on such subjects, that hail seldom falls close to mountains. On several occasions, within a few years, hail-stones of enormous size, and immense masses of ice, have fallen both in the high lands and on the sea-shore, on the table-land of the Deccan, and at the foot of the mountain ranges. In April of 1855 a hail-storm did much damage to Lahore; and in May of the same year there were terrific hail-showers at Patna, Nynee Tal, and various other places at great distances from one another. It would appear that in April, just before the time of greatest heat, the peninsula is visited most frequently by falls of hail. The statement which has sometimes been made, that May was the month most noted for this phenomenon, is an error. March stands next to April, and February to March in this particular. May is considerably beneath March, but much above every other month, except February, in the computation.

Europeans chiefly object to the climate of India on account of the great heat. The hottest parts of India are not the most debilitating. The low moist land on the northern portions of the eastern coast, and the marshy plains near the foot of the Himalayas, are more unhealthy than the southern portions of the peninsula. Exposure to the sun, provided the head be well turbaned to protect it from sun-stroke, is not dangerous nor unhealthy. Experiments have been made in connection with the marching of European troops in time of peace, and it was proved that more men were lost by night-marches than by those conducted with suitable care during the hottest portion of the day. In the disastrous conflicts of 1857, between the mutineers of the Bengal army and the government forces, similar results were experienced. General Havelock, in his marches and counter-marches during his efforts to



relieve Cawnpore and Lucknow, declared that, so far as exposure to the weather was concerned, his men suffered no injury. General Wilson, during his command of the forces before Delhi, reported that the troops had better health than in cantonments. When these operations commenced, the fiercest portion of the hot season had passed, but the heat was still intense. The habits indulged by Europeans, rather than the climate, have hitherto made India sickly; although, of course, some situations are exposed to miasmatic influences, and certain portions of the year must be always trying to the health of natives of our high latitude. As the climate is more studied, and facts connected with this subject are more carefully weighed, Europeans will be enabled to encounter the heat by such sanitary and personal arrangements as those experiences will dictate, and India will become a sphere of enterprise more generally acceptable to the British people. The range of temperature is so great, and the climate so varied, notwithstanding its general tropical character, that there is abundant scope for the settlement and the energies of Europeans. The territory of British India is marked by a great variety of geographical features, and extends through twenty-three degrees of latitude, these are circumstances which must render many places practicable for the healthful settlement of Englishmen.

Local peculiarities so affect the prevailing winds, as also to conduce to the same result. The south-west monsoon, which in May is felt at Malabar, does not travel to Delhi until a month after, nor to the Sikh territory and the Affghan frontier until some weeks later, when its effects are comparatively mild. From October to April, six months of the year, the weather is cool enough for European enjoyment; the remainder of the year is rendered unpleasant, and comparatively unhealthy, by the heat and rains. At Calcutta the thermometer stands at  $66^{\circ}$  in January, and rises to  $86^{\circ}$  in April. At Bombay, on the other side of the peninsula, the climate is more various. At Madras the heat is less oppressive than in Bengal, although the temperature ranges higher; but the cool season is more refreshing in the latter than the former. The minimum in the city of Madras is  $75^{\circ}$ , the maximum  $91^{\circ}$ . The climate of the Blue Ghauts, especially in the neighbourhood of the sanatorium, is esteemed as one of the most equable and delightful in the world, where it is never so cold as in England, and never so hot, the glass in summer ranging in London thirteen degrees higher than it does there. The rain-fall is much greater in the Blue Ghauts than in this country, but it

happens at particular periods, refreshing the soil, and cooling the air, thus tending to render the district still more agreeable to Europeans, and affording many more fair days than are enjoyed in England.

The diseases of the country are numerous. That which is chiefly dangerous, alike to Europeans and natives, is cholera. India has been generally supposed to be the birth-place of this pestilence, but there is reason to believe that its first incidence was in Persia. In India it first appeared in the Madras presidency, certainly not in the route from Persia, and may have had a separate origin there from similar causes. At its commencement it displayed its destructive energies, sweeping away multitudes of the natives, and many Europeans. Since then, three-quarters of a century, it has prevailed and sent forth its pestiferous influences along the great thoroughfares of the world, both by sea and land, to every country, at all events, within the bounds of civilisation.

The natives are liable to peculiar disorders, under aggravated forms, such as leprosy, elephantiasis, smallpox, dysentery, fevers of various kinds, rheumatism, and a peculiar form of dropsy. Neither this complaint, nor elephantiasis, is ever communicated to Europeans; and some of the fevers by which sad ravages are made upon the lives of the natives, are seldom taken by persons born in Europe, however long resident in this country.

British residents suffer from intermittent and congestive fevers, rheumatism, apoplexy, sun-stroke, dysentery, diarrhoea, debility, and various diseases of the liver, enlargement and induration of that organ being very common.

Peculiarities of climate, and their effects upon health in different regions, will receive additional notice as the great natural and political divisions of the country are more particularly described.

The productions of India are, generally speaking, tropical, and in great variety and luxuriance.

Forests naturally claim first attention, as the most striking products of the soil in almost every country. Perhaps no land possesses timber in greater variety and beauty. The hardy oak, ash, and elm of our climate are not found there, nor are there any resemblances to the pine-forests of America; but the variety of kind, and diversity of adaptation, are greater than in either Europe or America. For the purposes of fuel, fences, hut constructions, and small articles of garden, stable, or household uses, there is great abundance of wood of



many different species. For house-building and engineering work there is the saul-wood, which grows abundantly in Central and Northern India. This tree grows to a considerable height, and the dimensions of the trunk are often nine feet or more. The teak-tree wood is excellent for ship-building. It grows to the north of Madras, and in the Coromandel district. The Bombay government encourages the planting of this useful tree. It also flourishes in the provinces ceded by Birmah, where a revenue of £12,000 a year has been derived by government from licences to cut it. The tamarind, palm, and cedar, grow in profusion in some districts; black-wood is also abundant.

There are many useful kinds of wood, and beautiful as well as useful, unknown to Europe, which the natives and European residents greatly prize. It is astonishing that these have not been made articles of commerce; for although the situations where they grow are remote, they could be brought to the principal ports by the rivers. Exportations of ebony, satin-wood, and a few other hard woods, susceptible of beautiful polish, are conveyed to England and America. There is much room for an enterprising commerce between England and India in these valuable commodities.

The appearance of the timber growth of India is sometimes devoid of the picturesque: jungles, which harbour savage beasts and poisonous reptiles, stretch away over large spaces. In some cases the Indian forest is commanding, and the trees which are cultivated for ornament are graceful in form and foliage, and afford a welcome shade from the torrid climate.

Indian fruits are such as are best adapted to the inhabitants of a tropical country. The cocoa-nut is very fine, especially in Malabar. Melons, gourds, plantains, custard-apples, figs, guavas, jujubes, &c., abound in the more southern portions of the peninsula, and afford a grateful refreshment to the people who inhabit the sultry plains. In the more northern portions the fruits of Europe grow luxuriantly, grapes and peaches especially. Figs, pine-apples, and mangoes, also grow in rich abundance in the northern parts of Central India. In no country are these varieties of fruit more necessary, and Providence has provided India with an extensive assortment adapted to the necessities and desires of her people.

Her spices are also celebrated. Cinnamon is not of so fine a quality in Continental as in Insular India. Ginger, pepper, cloves, cassia, cardamums, and capsicums, are likewise produced.

Oils are among the important products of the country. Vegetable tallow and butters exude from trees and plants, and serve as food, or for manufacturing purposes. From the seed of the tallow-plant oil for lamps is extracted. Many other seeds, when expressed, yield oils for commerce or domestic use. The oils of the poonja, cadja-apple, kossumba, poppy, poomseed, &c., are valuable for various purposes. Many articles of this nature, peculiar to India, are produced within her territories.

Wheat is grown in Northern India, where an increasing preference for it to rice is noticeable. In the south it is seldom seen, and the people prefer rice or pulse. Maize and millet are cultivated in many places where irrigation is obtainable. Rice is, however, the great staple of the Indians' food; many subsist on it. Its cultivation is extensive, especially in the valley of the Ganges. The quality is not always good, but the produce is abundant. Sago, sago meal, cassava starch, arrowroot, and other starches, are produced in great quantities, and in fine perfection.

The grasses of the peninsula are very numerous, and nourish large herds of sheep and goats; but there is no pasturage such as is to be found upon the undulated landscapes of the British Isles, where a temperate climate and frequent showers produce perpetual verdure.

Cattle are fed upon cotton and other seeds; coarse grain, peas or beans, are also used as fodder. New grasses have been introduced, and have flourished.

There are many plants valuable as affording articles of commerce. Hemp, flax, aloe fibre, the fibres of the cocoa-nut, pine-apple, and plantain, are known to English traders, as also a few others; but there are many, of which no use is made in Britain, to which seientific men have called attention.

The medicinal properties which are possessed by certain vegetable products in India are important to the natives, and are also of commercial value. Senna, rhubarb, and castor-oil, are the most in demand by Europeans.

Allied in some respects to the medicinal products are the gums of India, which are very numerous, and excellent in their respective qualities. Arabic, olibanum, benjamin, mastic, shellac, and ammoniacum, are specimens. Gamboge and asafoetida are exported in large quantities. Caoutchouc (Indian-rubber) and kattermando, the former for many years, the latter from a recent date, are in demand by the merchants of Europe and America.



Tobacco is grown in most parts of the country, from extreme north to south, but can hardly be pronounced good anywhere. The natives do not use it merely for its narcotic and soothing effects, but for various purposes.

The dyes of India have a just as well as wide-spread celebrity. Indigo-planting has long been a profitable branch of cultivation, and many have grown rich in a short time by that means. Indian madder is one of the most valuable commodities in the dye-works of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Turmeric, safflower, &c., are well known to Great Britain; but in the native manufactures dyes of much beauty are employed which are as yet unknown to English dyers.

India is supposed to be very rich in barks. Various qualities, which have not been brought as yet into use, have been tested by scientific men, and recommended for medicinal or tanning purposes.

Cotton grows in various parts of India, and of late much inquiry has been made concerning the capabilities of the peninsula to meet the wants of the spinning-mills of England. Mr. George Hadfield, the indefatigable member for Sheffield, brought this subject under the attention of the House of Commons during the session of 1857, when the country was mourning over the tidings of blood and dishonour brought from the provinces of the Bengal presidency, where revolt was raging. The discussion was so obviously inopportune, that no attention was given to it. Meetings were held in Manchester, the great capital of the cotton manufacture, but, for the same reasons, produced no public impression. Experiments, however, have been made, and sanguine expectations entertained, that India will yet yield a supply by which England may be rendered independent of the Southern States of the North American Union. Other fields of enterprise, such as Africa, have been also contemplated; and the Rev. Dr. Livingstone, a missionary of the London Missionary Society among the Bechuanas, accomplished by skill and fortitude such an exploration of interior Africa as inspires the hope that if India fail to meet the demands of the cotton manufacture for its staple, Africa may become the great cotton-field of the world. India, however, has not yet been made the subject of a fair and sufficiently extensive experiment. That the legislature will take up this great question, and conduct it to a satisfactory issue, there can be little doubt. Lancashire only requires that government remove the existing obstacles to private enterprise, and the doubt as to the cotton-growing capability of India will

be eventually set at rest. In a work entitled the *Culture of Cotton in India*, the natives are represented as consuming 600,000,000 lbs. weight annually, and that 90,000,000 lbs. are exported to England, with a like amount to China. The natives of all ranks are clothed with it; their light garments for the hot season, and their thicker garments for the cooler and for the rainy seasons, are all composed of cloth made from this material. Formerly the cotton growth of India was very great. The name *calico*, now universally known, is Indian, the Portuguese having adopted it from Calicot, where they first found the cloth. The name *muslin* is also Eastern, derived from Moussul, where its manufacture was first known.

The cotton of India is inferior to that of the United States; and the efforts made to improve its quality, by new methods of cultivation, and by importing American seeds, have been but partially successful. The great difficulty appears, so far as the process of preparation is concerned, to be in the cleaning. Indian cotton is not sent from the plantation so clean picked and well packed as is American cotton. This arises partly from the methods of labour practised by the natives, from the fact that they are wedded to their old customs, and from the damage sustained in sending it to the sea-board. It is necessary that the plantations should be near large navigable rivers or railroads, and possessed of a fine alluvial soil. The native cultivators complain of the operation of the land tenure, the want of capital, and the crushing effect of the usurious dealings of the native money-lenders. Under the most favourable circumstances, Indian cotton has seldom been produced of the length of fibre and cleanness of American cotton.

The common cotton-plant of India is a triennial, and is found almost everywhere. There is a variety of it which is annual. The Dacca cotton is grown in the district of that name, in the Bengal presidency, and is finer and softer than the common plant. The Berar description is the best, but is neither so long nor so soft as the best cotton of America. These varieties require different soils and treatment.

It is alleged by Mr. Boyle, in his treatise on the subject, that the soil of the American plantations differs from that where good cotton is grown in India, chiefly in its peaty quality. This has also attracted the attention of other persons conversant with the culture of cotton, who attribute the superiority rather to this circumstance of soil than to any peculiarity of climate.



In another part of this work, more appropriate for the full discussion of the subject, the practicability of making India a cotton-growing country, to such an extent and producing staple of such quality as will compete with the American plantations, will be considered. It is here only necessary to add that the impediments to the production of good cotton in India are not merely such as soil or climate, or want of roads and canals. There are moral causes at work to create obstacles far more formidable. The ryots, or cultivators, are almost without enterprise; they are still more destitute of capital, and are obliged to obtain advances from native money-lenders, a class of men the most grasping, relentless, and unprincipled in the world. When good seeds have been imported from the United States, the native capitalists, under the pretence of a religious abhorrence of an innovation, have offered every opposition to the use of them; and when the seeds have been sown, men have been hired to root them up, or otherwise damage the culture, so as to balk the experiment, and wear out the patience of the ryot, if his prejudices were not sufficiently acted upon to make him abandon the attempt.

The moral and social difficulties in the way of the successful cultivation of the superior qualities of cotton may be best judged by observing how they are regarded from an American point of view. The following is from no unfriendly pen, but extracted from a memorial addressed to the Madras government by a gentleman well acquainted with the cotton culture of southern North America and of British India:—"The cotton is produced by the ryot. He is always in his banker's books as deep, in proportion to his means, as his European master, and can do nothing without aid. The brokers, or cotton-cleaners, or gin-house men, are the middlemen between the chetty and the ryot. The chetties being monied men, make an advance to the broker. The broker is particular in classifying the seed-cotton, and pays for it according to cleanliness, and then he has much of the trash and rotten locks picked out, not to make the cotton better, but because the rubbish chokes the churka, and prevents it from working. The good cotton is then separated from the seed, and the bad stuff which had been taken away from the good is beaten with a stone to loosen up the rotten fibre from the seed, and then it is passed through the churka. The good cotton and this bad stuff are both taken into a little room, six feet by six, which is entered by a low door, about eighteen inches by two feet, and a little hole as a ventilator is made

through the outer wall. Two men then go in with a bundle of long smooth rods in each hand, and a cloth is tied over the mouth and nose; one man places his back so as to stop this little door completely, to prevent waste, and they both set to work to whip the cotton with their rods, to mix the good and bad together so thoroughly, that a very tolerable article is turned out; even after all this bedevilling, if the people get a living price for it, they let it go as it is. But, as is usually the case, they are shaved so close, that they are driven to resort to another means of realising profit. They add a handful or two of seed to every bundle, and this is delivered to the chetties, and the chetties deliver it to their European agents, and the European agents save their exchange, and their object is gained. The cotton is taken by the manufacturer at a low price, because he knows not what he is buying."

The sugar-cane has been from the remotest times a product of India. When the English first visited the country, they found it there; and four hundred years before their advent reliable testimony was given to its abundance. The natives were unable to manufacture sugar from the cane, so as to send to market the crystalline product so valuable to commerce; their modes of expressing the juice were rude and wasteful, but they extracted large quantities from their cane-fields, and very extensively used it in cakes, or with rice and other food. The English introduced the Jamaica system of culture with success, and of late years the East Indian sugars have lost much of their previous bad reputation, as compared with those of the West Indies. The great anti-slavery agitation in England brought East-India sugar into much more general use, and, as a consequence, stimulated the cultivation of the cane there, especially in Bengal, which is well adapted for it. While sugar-cane has been for so many ages a growth of the Indian soil, to the English may be attributed the great importance of this article in the present agricultural statistics of our eastern possessions.

The tea-plant is in some places as well adapted to the climate of India as the sugar-cane. In China it is found to thrive best where the climate is most temperate; but even in the warmest latitudes of that empire it is cultivated. At an early period it appeared to some of the servants of the East India Company that India was, in many of its northern and eastern districts, likely to prove suitable for the plant. It was not until the year 1834 that any attempt to introduce it was made—at all events on such a scale as to attract notice, although at least seven years



previously the company's botanists had pronounced the slopes of the Himalayas, not far from the Nepaul frontier, as well adapted for such an experiment. Some districts in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and in Assam, were pointed out by other scientific men as likely to prove suitable places.

Under the auspices of Lord William Bentinck, deputations were sent to China, various specimens were obtained, a knowledge of the culture and subsequent manipulation was gleaned, and a nursery for 10,000 plants formed at Calcutta. The experiment prospered, and some of the specimens were sent to the Madras presidency, where the heat of the climate killed them; others were transplanted in Bengal proper, but their extreme delicacy demanded more attention than was conceded, and the experiments all failed. A portion was sent northward, to certain districts of the Himalayas. These were for the most part destroyed on the way, through the carelessness with which their transmission was conducted. Such as arrived at their destination thrived, and in 1838 were in seed. The seeds were sown in situations for the most part judiciously chosen, and thus new nurseries were formed nearer to the region favourable for successful cultivation.

During the progress of these measures it was discovered that the plant was indigenous to Assam, and several specimens gathered in a wild state were sent to Calcutta, and pronounced good by competent practical judges, as well as by the company's botanists. Further researches were made, and it was found that in districts of Assam where the climate was most temperate, on the hill slopes, and along the undulations of the low country, near the rivers, the plant would flourish on many varieties of soil. The result was that plants of greater strength and size, more prolific and yielding tea of finer flavour than any imported from China, were produced. The East India Company, after incurring much expense in this enterprise, generously surrendered the cultivation to private enterprise, and gave over to the Assam Tea Company their nurseries, and their valuable contents. The crop in Assam has lately reached nearly 400,000 pounds, selling, as is well known, at a much higher price than the Chinese specimens.

While the Assam experiment found so much public favour, attention to the Himalaya gardens was not permitted to flag; high up on the slopes above Kumaon the plants multiplied rapidly, and yielded richly. A black tea, resembling souchong, but of superior flavour, has thence reached England in increasing quantities.

Since the conquest of the Sikh country, the tea plantations have been extended in that direction. The East India Company voted for some years a grant of £10,000 to nurture these experiments.

In 1850 the company dispatched an agent to China to procure fresh seeds, skilful cultivators, and to make himself well acquainted with the processes of cultivating and curing. The advantage of this mission, which was as successful as could be expected, has been very decided to the plantations of the north-west.

At Cachar, Munneepore, and Darjeeling, the cultivation and manufacture of tea have been very successful. During the year 1855 superior specimens were sent from these places to the Horticultural Society of India, which afforded great satisfaction and encouragement. It would appear that the tea-tree is indigenous also to the Cachar district, for natives who had been employed in Assam by the Assam Company, declared the wild specimens found in the one district, identical with those which had been found in the other.\* Cachar is easy of access, a fine river opening up communication with it; and the tea-plant was found by Captain Verner, the superintendent of Cachar, growing in luxuriance in the jungles. The most recent researches of that gentleman have led him to think that the Assam quality is different from the newly-discovered growth of Cachar, but Dr. Thompson, of the Honourable Company's Botanical Gardens, at Calcutta, has pronounced them identical; the truth which reconciles these conflicting statements seems to be, that the last discoveries of the captain have been of another species, more resembling the green tea imported into this country from China. The Munneepore and Darjeeling specimens were pronounced by experienced "tea-tasters" as of a good quality, and deserving culture. These were also found in wild luxuriance.

In the report of the Agricultural Society of India, published last year, in Calcutta, further discoveries of the tea-plant are recorded. At Sylhet, Mr. Glover, the officiating collector, drew up a report to the commissioners of revenue (Dacca), in which he gives minute details of the discovery of the plant growing extensively on the slope of small detached hills in various districts not remote from those where the previous discoveries had been made:—"The greatest distance of the furthest discovered tea plantations from Sylhet does not exceed sixty miles as the crow flies; by the only practicable route it would probably be one hundred

\* Report of F. Skipwith, Esq., judge at Sylhet.



miles, but for three parts of this distance water-carriage would be available throughout the year, while in the rains, boats of large burthen could go up to the place. The tea-fields in Pergunnahs Punchkhund, Chapghat, and Ruffeenuggur, are close to the rivers Soorna and Baglia, so that there would be no difficulty in the matter of carriage in any of these places." \*

It must not be forgotten that, notwithstanding the tea-plant is indigenous to these regions, it requires cultivation and care. Indeed, this is the case with all the productions of India, and that from a cause which popularly might be supposed to render cultivation scarcely necessary. The soil, which is prolific in rich and useful productions, is also prolific in weeds, which encumber and choke the former, and the hand of the cultivator needs to be directed with especial care. The language of the poet is applicable to India in her indigenous and wild productions, as well as in her cultivated products:—

"Redundant growth  
Of vines, and maize, and bower and brake,  
Which Nature, kind to sloth,  
And scarce solicited by human toil,  
Pours from the riches of the teeming soil."

There can be little doubt that if railway enterprise open up the interior of India to the seaports and presidential capitals, the tea farms of Upper India and of Assam will become of great importance to England, and rapidly promote the wealth and civilisation of these regions. The tea plantations are picturesque, and the processes of growing, as practised both in Assam and in the opposite countries, towards Nepaul and the Punjaub, afford lively and interesting scenes of human occupation.

Coffee has for a long time been grown by the natives in various districts, but the quality was so inferior as to find no European market. English planters have, however, succeeded in obtaining excellent berries. In the island of Ceylon coffee of a superior kind has been obtained from the plantations established by English settlers. The success of the experiments made there, induced extensive enterprises of like kind to the south of the Western Ghauts, where the rich soil and warm climate favour the object. Good coffee is now produced from these plantations, and from others in various parts of the country.

Opium is cultivated to a vast extent under the immediate auspices of the company. The producers are natives, who grow it under the company's licences, which are only extended to two districts, Patna and Benares,—the

\* Report of F. A. Glover, Esq., to the Agricultural Society of India.

former producing the better quality, owing to some peculiarities in the soil and situation. The growers of the poppy are not allowed to sell the produce of their fields; they are merely the company's farmers, to whom, at a fixed price, they must surrender what they grow. This is removed at certain seasons to Calcutta, where it is sold by auction at stated times to European or native merchants, who make it an article of export. Under the head of the commerce of India it will be necessary to return to this subject.

The silkworm has long been bred in India, silk having been one of the oldest productions of the peninsula known to us; its progress and extent will be more properly a subject for the heading of manufactures and commerce. It is here only necessary to say that, in addition to the mulberry, or China species of the worm, there are other species peculiar to the peninsula, especially in Assam, Bombay, and Madras. The mulberry worm is more common in Bengal than elsewhere.

The flora of India is such as might be expected from the general richness, yet widely extending variety, of her climates. The ferns of the peninsula have obtained great celebrity among botanists, as the largest and finest in the world. Near the smaller rivers and streams the country is spangled with these beautiful offspring of the soil. There also, and near the larger rivers, flowers of richest odour spring up in wonderful and glorious luxuriance. Along the slopes of the Nilgherries, and the Eastern and Western Ghauts, the fair flowers of the mountain kiss every glittering rill, and spread their fragrance on the balmy air with which these regions are blessed. The Persian rose, passion-flower, and *Gloriosa superba*, grow luxuriantly in the wild jungles, as if the ruder and lovelier forms of nature were struggling for victory. Nowhere in the world are such specimens of the water-lily and the lotus found as along certain portions of the Ganges, the Indus, the Jhelum, the Godavery, and on the Lake of Wular, in the stormless valley of Cashmere. In the hills which form the northern limits of the Deccan, and among those which rise beyond the districts of Delhi and the Punjaub, rhododendrons, and other shrubs of that species, grow to perfection. In many places on the mountain slopes, and in sheltered valleys, wherever springs are near with their refreshing influences, extensive areas of flowers are presented, clad in every tint of beauty, associating every conceivable harmony of hue, and breathing overpowering perfumes. If Night reveals to the traveller glories which

"Heaven to gaudy day denies,"



Day discloses beneath her bright smile in India a variety of beauty which the brightest night never displays. However dazzling the latter, as the mind wanders amidst its bright immensity, it cannot yield the soft and placidly pleasurable emotions which the flower-clad landscape of the fairer portions of Indian lands communicate. Not only are the flowers of India beautiful in tint, and of luxurious odour, but they are of exquisite form—even the blind have caressed them; sensible of the exquisite beauty of their structure, they could not but feel with the blind girl in the *Last Days of Pompeii*:—

“If earth be as fair as I’ve heard them say,  
These flowers her children are.”

Could we suppose the sorrowing but beautiful peris of Eastern fable to take forms most befitting their celestial origin, but earthly home, we might suspect their dwelling-place to be in some of the lovely valleys which, from Cashmere to Thibet, are to be found sheltered among the mountains; and we might, in the form, and tint, and odour of the far-famed flowers of these vales, recognise the graceful expression of their exiled being. Perhaps among all the flowers of Ind, the roses of Cashmere are the most lovely, as they are the most famous; and amidst the choice perfumes thrown off by so many of these “blossoms of delight,” or extracted from them by the ingenuity of man, the richest is the *attur ghul*, so renowned through a large portion of the Eastern world, from the shores of the Bay of Bengal to those of the Caspian Sea, and even to the Bosphorus. One of the most curious little flowers of India is the *Serpicula verticillata*, which grows in the great Indian tanks. Dr. Carter describes it as a “little gentle flower stretching itself up from the dark bottom on its slender pedicle, to spread its pink petals on the surface of the water to the air and light. Wonderful little flower! What economy of nature, what harmony of design, what striking phenomena, what instinctive apprehension, almost, is exhibited by this tiny, humble tenant of the lake! Would we wish for a process to render water wholesome, the little serpicula supplies it; would we wish to provide food for the other scavengers of the tank—the shell fish—the little serpicula, with its leaves and stems pregnant with starch granules, affords them a delicious repast; they browse with greediness on the tender shoots.” Dr. Buist remarks that this little plant not only maintains the tank or pond in which it lives in the most perfect purity, but that even a few sprigs of it will render a large vessel of water pure for culinary pur-

poses. In describing its birthplace, and the effect of its presence in keeping water pure, he says, “On looking into the tank, a magnificent marine landscape presents itself, with snow-white rocks and valleys, and rich green miniature forests, in all directions.”

India has not received that attention from botanists and floriculturists which so wide, prolific, and in other respects interesting a field deserves. The East India Company have established a botanical garden at Saharamapore, at an elevation above the sea of 1000 feet. The climate and vegetation are tropical, notwithstanding the height, but the site is well chosen, the elevation and other circumstances tempering the heat which prevails. At Bombay some efforts have been put forth of late years to improve our acquaintance with the botany and flora of India; and in Calcutta the government has expended money in these objects.

The Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India has brought out valuable contributions from the pens of official persons all over India, and many rare plants and flowers have been examined and classified. Agricultural and floricultural exhibitions have taken place under the auspices of the society without any great success. The flower-shows from 1852 to 1856, have gradually fallen away in the number, rarity, and excellence of the specimens. Many English flowers and flowering shrubs have been introduced to the society’s gardens, as well as to those belonging to government, and with considerable success, although many plants and seeds perished through negligent carriage or unskilful transmission. The publications issued under the auspices of the society above named are calculated to improve the British residents in India in their knowledge of these interesting departments of its resources.\* Many useful, and also a large class of ornamental plants, have been introduced very lately from China to the north of Assam, and to the Punjab, in which places they are likely still further to enrich the gardens and the general landscapes. The United States of America, and the British colonies of the Cape and Australia have contributed to the treasures of India in new plants, shrubs, and flowers.

The mineral products of India are considerable. Common salt is found, but not very extensively. Saltpetre, or nitrate of potash, is to be met with in marshes, and in caves. Sir Laurence Peel, in a paper on the

\* The “Journal” of the society, printed in English, is full of matter interesting to the British public at home and in India. The “Miscellany” is published in Bengalee, and is calculated to direct the more educated natives to the resources of their country.



"Natural Law by which Nitrate of Soda, or Cubic Saltpetre acts as a Manure, and on its substitution for Guano," has attempted to show that to its saltpetre India is indebted for much of its fertility. "These substances—the ordinary and the cubic saltpetre—consist of an acid, the nitric acid, and an alkali, either potash or soda; nor could any one, viewing the effect of these individual salts, decide whether the acids or the alkalies were the source of their manuring action." Sir Laurence proceeds to establish, by a detail of experiments, the proposition that the former are the fertilising powers which these salts contain. Having argued for his doctrine at considerable length, he declares that to its native saltpetre India is indebted for its prolific land, and illustrates the qualities of the black soil of India by an analysis of similar soils in other regions, and by facts demonstrative of their great fertility.

Gold is found in very small quantities in the streams which issue from high sources in the Himalayas.

Lead, copper, zinc, and iron, are obtained in various districts, but not in any very large quantities. Indian iron is especially well adapted to the manufacture of steel; and some of the modern improvements in this manufacture in Sheffield were originally suggested to an English gentleman in India while observing the processes adopted by the natives.

Tin is found in the recent British conquests on the east of the Bay of Bengal; and in the hills which separate British from imperial Birmah it is supposed, by mineralogists, that extensive mineral treasures exist. Excellent specimens of lead (rich in silver), copper, tin, nitre, salt, quicksilver, alum, iron, &c., have been brought away from those hills. In fact, whatever be the extent of these treasures, their variety is not surpassed in any country in the world. India proper is far inferior in metallic wealth, so far as is at present known, to the boundary regions of Tenasserim and Pegu. Precious stones are also found in these hills—rubies, sapphires, jaspers, and in some instances diamonds.

On a former page, when noticing the Himalayas, the reader was informed *en passant*, that gems were frequently found there. But not only there, in all the hill countries of the peninsula the most valuable precious stones are picked up.

The diamond mines of Golconda are well known, and descriptions of their wealth are familiar to the general reader. In the red iron-stone, clay, and gravel of Pauna, in Bundelcund, diamonds of great beauty are frequently discovered. There are probably no countries

in the world so rich in gems and precious stones as India and the neighbouring provinces of Tenasserim and Pegu. Of late years various projects have been set on foot for utilising the valuable mineral resources of India.

The animal kingdom has representatives in India of very many species. Of the large quadrupeds the elephant, camel, buffalo, rhinoceros, and horse, are most extensively to be met with. The elephant is wild in many districts, and frequently damages the cultivated country. When tamed his usefulness is only to be exceeded by that of the horse, and his sagacity is equalled by no other animal known to man. As a beast of burden he is very efficient, from his prodigious strength united to unrivalled docility. He will drag guns over difficult country, and with his trunk raise them up and free them, when by any accident they are entangled in rutty or rocky land, or amidst jungle. The princes of India use the elephant for purposes of carriage in peace and war. Seated in palanquins, raised upon his back, they go forth to battle, to the tiger hunt, or in processions of peaceful state.

The buffalo is much used in particular districts, he draws the clumsy native carts, slowly and quietly, but efficiently.

The camel also is very useful when domesticated, which he is in many parts of India. The British have used camel expresses, from the fleetness with which he travels. They have also used camel batteries in war.\* In the sandy regions of the north-west the camel and wild ass roam at large.

The rhinoceros is found in the north-east, in the more remote and secluded forests.

The horse is to be found everywhere in India in the service of man. The native princes use it very extensively for purposes of war. This animal is not bred in every part of India of equal value. In a paper communicated by the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta to the government of India, the following remarks occur as to the diverse qualities of the horse in various parts of the peninsula and surrounding countries:—"The Rungpore and Thibetian horse possess very close assimilation, when compared with that of the plains lying westwardly, viz., of the Deccan, Scinde, Persia, and Arabia, notwithstanding the variations found in the animals of each of these last-named countries. The main characteristics of the two races are so obviously marked as to admit of no dispute about their distinctiveness; the former exhibiting the primitive rudeness of nature, the

\* There is a beautiful specimen of a brass camel gun in the museum of the East India House.



latter the graces and amenities consequent on improved training and better chosen localities."

The Asiatic lion, although not so strong an animal as the African, is nevertheless a noble creature, and in the northern provinces of India he roams at large in the many retired situations adapted to his habits.

The tiger, as already noticed when describing the delta of the Ganges, has his haunts in the marshy and jungle-covered districts of the Bengal coast. Tigers of inferior strength inhabit the jungles thence to the glaciers of the Himalayas.

Panthers, leopards, ounces, and various other species of the feline, as well as several of the canine, abound throughout India.

The varieties of Indian deer are beautiful, and are numerous in all the less populous regions of the peninsula. The red deer, renowned for the sweetness of its flesh, seeks the herbage high in the mountains.

The famous shawl-goat inhabits elevated ranges of the Himalayas. There are several varieties of this animal. The goat of Cashmere, which browses on the slopes of the beautiful hills that begirt the valley, is best known. The wild goat of Nepaul is a beautiful and agile creature, his head and limbs being exceedingly well formed.

Monkeys are deified in Indian superstition, they therefore do not decrease within the limits of human habitations as do other wild animals. Numerous tribes of them may be heard chattering and screaming in every direction suitable for their increase.

The jackal is one of the most useful as well as dangerous animals in India. He prowls about the villages, committing depredations after his nature; but he at the same time acts as a village scavenger, entering the streets at night, and removing the offal and filth which are so often permitted to collect near oriental dwellings.

Hunting the lion, tiger, leopard, panther, ounce, &c., are favourite sports with adventurous Anglo-Indian gentlemen, and many perils are incurred in these wild sports of the East.

Birds common to Europe are also well-known in India, such as peacocks, crows, eagles, falcons, the common sparrow, cuckoos, cranes, wild geese, snipes, bustards, vultures, &c. The birds peculiar to the tropics are in India remarkable for their magnificent plumage; this is especially the case with parrots and paroquets. The laughing-crow is one of the most remarkable species of the country. They fly in flocks of fifty or a hundred, and make a noise which resembles laughter. The adjutant and some species of crane, also act

as street-scavengers, carrying off carrion and offal; they are therefore never molested. The pheasants of the Himalayas are probably the finest in size, form, and plumage, of any in the world. The Himalayan bustard is also a beautiful bird. The wild-fowl of India is the stock from which our ordinary barn-door fowl has sprung. In the provinces conquered from Birmah there is probably greater variety of birds than anywhere in India proper. Waterfowl are there especially abundant, and, in the opinion of Indian epicures, are of surpassing flavour. The peacock of Pegu is the most beautiful in the world, and the peahen comes nearer in gaudy plumage to her lord than elsewhere characterises the females of her class. The most remarkable of the birds in Tenasserim and Pegu are the swallows, who build edible nests. These nests are exported to China, where there is an eager demand for them, they being considered a great delicacy of Chinese fare. The government realises a revenue from their export.

Ornithologists have recently sought for objects of study in India, and progress in this department is rapidly being made.

The insect-life in India is as varied as nature is in almost every other aspect which she presents in that wonderful land. Entomologists will not, however, find so wide a scope as in tropical America. Perhaps the vast country comprehended in the Brazilian empire is the most prolific in this department of any country on the globe. The locust of the East is often a dangerous enemy to vegetable life in India. Vast clouds of these insects, darkening the air, pass over an extent of country, and then suddenly descend upon the verdure, which they utterly consume. The natives use them for food, having fried them with oil, and regard them as palatable.

Mosquitoes are a terrible infliction, but are not felt so severely as in the West Indies. Scorpions are numerous, and much dreaded both by the natives and Europeans. Centipedes are also formidable, and universally dreaded and detested. Ants and other harmless insects abound. There are various species of insects peculiar to India, or more frequently found there, and in especial varieties, than elsewhere. The "stick-insect" has the appearance of dried stick. The "leaf-insects" are of many kinds, and take the hue of the leaf they feed upon, so as not to be easily identified; they are thus preserved from the too eager rapacity of other creatures which make them a prey. The "bamboo-insect" is a very curious specimen of the entymological world. It resembles a small piece of bamboo so exactly that at a little distance it could not be distinguished from such. Not only has



its long slight body a strong resemblance to the bamboo, but each of its six legs, and every joint, bears distinct markings of the same kind.

Spiders of various descriptions are very numerous. Social spiders exist in Bengal; their colour is a darkish grey, striped down the back with white.\* In Bombay they are more common, "their nests being seen in every tree; the boora (*Zisiphus lattas*, or *jeejah*) is the favourite, and servants cut off branches containing webs, and hang them up in the cook-room, where the spiders entrap and destroy the flies."

The mason-wasp of India is an insect of peculiar habits. Dr. Buist of Bombay describes the male as twice the size of the common wasp, and of nearly the same colour, the slender portion which connects the abdomen with the thorax being an eighth of an inch in length, and scarcely thicker than horse-hair. The female bears no likeness to the male, being about one-eighth of an inch in size, and in colour of a bright bottle-green. Early in October the male begins to build with mud, until his edifice assumes a nearly spherical form, the opening at the top being contracted like the neck of a bottle, and turned over at the entrance with a flat lip, leaving an aperture of about one-eighth of an inch in diameter. He generally builds three of these nests. When the building is dry the female hovers about it, and drops a few ovals in each, which she attaches to the sides. The male then approaches, bearing a green caterpillar as large as himself. This he repeats, thrusting them down the aperture with as little injury as possible, so that they may live until the incubation of the ova has taken place, and the larva is liberated; the latter then, in the shape of a maggot, feeds on the caterpillar until it is sufficiently fattened to pass into the pupa or chrysalis state. When the animal is fully developed, the orifice is closed with a little ball of mud, and the parent-wasp troubles himself no further. In due time the edifice is burst through, and the insect comes forth in its full power.

Various kinds of fire-flies in India are remarkable for their brilliancy by night;

\* *Bengal Hurkaru: Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.*

while by day, objects of insect life float on gossamer wing, tiny and beautiful specimens of being, reflecting in the vivid sun-rays innumerable hues.

The rivers and bays are the resort of many species of excellent fish. These are not all used by Europeans, the natives delighting in many sorts to which the English have not yet become accustomed. The Indian mullet mango, kawall, rowball, umblefish, whiting, perch, sole, herring, pomfret, salmon, mountain mullet, &c., are all well-known and appreciated by the British residents. On the eastern coasts of the bay of Bengal, there are several species that do not frequent the waters near the western shores. The climbing-perch, which makes its way far up the rivers, and the barbel, are specimens of these. The latter is of great beauty; its scales, when the fish is newly caught, glisten like brilliants.

In India reptiles of very diverse kinds are nurtured by the warm climate and the abundant sustenance obtainable by them. Some of these are as harmless as they are beautiful, and others are of deadly venom. Those of minute size are found, and others of huge dimensions strike with terror the natives who meet with them. The boa arrives to an immense growth, and attacks the largest animals. The rattlesnake is as common as it is unwelcome; and the cobra di capella may be seen lifting its crest for the spring by any who venture near the silent spots where it reposes.

Extensively as the products of India have been detailed in this chapter, the account given of them is but a mere sketch. Unless a work, comprising as much space as these volumes, were devoted exclusively to the subject, imperfect justice would be done to it. The brief review here taken will, however, enable the general reader to comprehend the fertility, beauty, and resources, of that land for which the arm of England has so successfully contended against native rajahs, foreign invaders, and desperate military mutineers; and which it is to be hoped the genius and piety of England will rescue from superstition, bless with civilisation, and adorn by numerous churches, dedicated to Him by whom its riches and its beauties were imparted.



## CHAPTER II.

## POPULATION—RELIGION—LANGUAGES—LITERATURE.

It is extremely difficult, as may well be supposed, to obtain exact statistics of the population of India, and the territories which are comprised under that general name. The most approved publications, and the voluminous documents to which access may be obtained at the India-House, under the permission of the directors, cannot, however, collated and arranged, afford precise information.

It has been noticed on a previous page that, for purposes of government, British India is divided into three presidencies—Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. It is necessary that the reader be informed that the Bengal presidency has three great divisions;—one under the immediate control of the governor-general of India, another under the directions of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, these being regarded as one; the third comprises the north-west provinces, under a separate lieutenant-governor. A recent statistical arrangement of the different provinces, with a view of showing their area and population, gives the following result, as matters stood up to 1852 : \*—

The BENGAL REGULATION DISTRICTS are seven, viz. :—

1. The JESSORE Division, containing the districts or collectorates of Jessore, the twenty-four Pergunnahs, Burdwan, Hoogly, Nuddea, Bancoorah, and Baraset. Area 14,853 square miles. Population 5,345,472.

2. The BHAUGULPORE Division, containing the districts or collectorates of Bhaugulpore, Dinapore, Monghir, Poorneah, Tirhoot, and Malda. Area 26,464 square miles. Population 8,431,000.

3. The CUTTACK Division, containing Cuttack with Porcee, Balasore, Midnapore and Hidgellee, and Koordah. Area 12,664 square miles. Population 2,793,883.

4. The MOORSHEDABAD Division, containing Moorshedabad, Bagoorah, Rungpore, Rajshahye, Pubna, and Beerbhoom. Area 17,566 square miles. Population 6,815,876.

5. The Dacca Division, containing Dacca, Furreedpore,—Dacca Jelalpore, Mymensing, Sylhet, including Jyntea, and Bakergunge including Deccan Shabazpore. Area 20,942 square miles. Population 4,055,800.

6. The PATNA Division, containing Shahabad, Patna, Behar, and Sarun with Chumparan. Area 13,803 square miles. Population 7,000,000.

7. The CHITTAGONG Division, containing Chittagong, and Tipperah and Bulloah. Area 7,410 square miles. Population 2,406,950.

The NON-REGULATION PROVINCES within the limits of the Presidency of Bengal, subject to the authority of functionaries appointed by the Governor-General or Government of Bengal, are nine, as follow :—

\* M'Kenna.

1. SAUGOR and NERBUDDAH Province, containing Jaloun and the Pergunnahs ceded by Jhansie—area 1873 square miles; population 176,297: the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories, comprising the districts of Saugor, Jubbulpore, Hoshungabad, Seonee, Dumoh, Nursingpore, Baitool, and British Mhairwarrah. Area 15,670 square miles. Population 1,967,302.

2. CIS-SUTLEJ\* Province, containing Umballa, Loodiana including Wudnee, Kythul and Ladwa, Ferozepore, and the territory lately belonging to Sikh chiefs who have been reduced to the condition of British subjects, in consequence of non-performance of feudatory obligations during the Lahore war. Area 4559 square miles. Population 619,413.

3. NORTH-EAST FRONTIER (Assam) Province, containing Cossya Hills, Cachar, (lower) Camroop, Newgong, Durrung, — and (upper) Joorhat (Seebpore), Luckimpore, and Sudiya, including Mutruck. Area 21,805 square miles. Population 780,935.

4. GOALPARA Province, containing an area of 3506 square miles. Population 400,000.

5. ARRACAN Province, containing an area of 15,104 square miles. Population 321,522.

6. TENESSERIM Provinces, containing an area of 29,168 square miles. Population 115,431.

7. SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER Provinces, containing Sumbulpore, Ramghur or Hazareebah, Lohurdugga, Chota Nagpore, Palamow,—Singbhoom, Mauubhoom, Pachete, and Barabhoom. Area 30,589 square miles. Population 2,627,456.

8. The PUNJAUB, inclusive of the Jullunder Doab and Kooloo territory. Area 78,447 square miles. Population 4,100,983.

9. The SUNDERBUNDS, from Saugor Island on the west, to the Ramnabad Channel on the east. Area 6500 square miles. Population unknown.

The REGULATION PROVINCES of the Agra Division of the Beugal Presidency, subject to the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, are divided into six Regulation Divisions and seven Non-Regulation Districts, as follow :—

1. DELHI Province, containing the districts of Paniput, Hurreeanah, Delhi, Rotuck, and Goorgaon. Area 8463 square miles. Population 1,569,501.

2. MEERUT Province, containing Saharunpore, Musafirnuggur, Meerut, Boolundshuhur, and Allighur. Area 10,118 square miles. Population 3,384,432.

3. ROHILCUND Province, containing Bijnour, Moradabad, Budaou, Bareilly and Phillibheet, and Shahjehanpore. Area 12,659 square miles. Population 4,399,865.

4. AGRA Province, containing Muttra, Agra, Furrnekabad, Meinpoorie, and Etawah. Area 9059 square miles. Population 3,505,740.

5. ALLAHABAD Province, containing Cawnpore, Futteh-pore, Humeerpore and Calpee, Banda, and Allahabad. Area 11,839 square miles. Population 3,219,043.

6. BENARES Province, containing Goruckpore, Azimghur, Jounpore, Mirzapore, Benares, and Ghazepore. Area 19,834 square miles. Population 7,121,087.

The NON-REGULATION PROVINCES are as follow :—

The BHATTIE Territory, including Wuttoo, the Per-

\* The whole country of the Punjaub is now British territory.



gunnah of Kote Kasim province, the Jaunsar and Bawur province, the Dehra Doon province, Kumaon (including Ghurwal) province, Ajmeer province, and British Nimaar province. Area 13,599 square miles. Population 600,881.

MADRAS is divided for Revenue purposes into twenty-one Divisions, or Collectorates, of which eighteen are under the regulations of the Madras government. They are as follow :—

1. RAJAHMUNDY Collectorate, containing an area of 6050 square miles. Population 887,260.
2. MASULIPATAM Collectorate, containing an area of 5000 square miles. Population 544,672.
3. GUNTOOR, including Paulnaud Collectorate, containing an area of 4960 square miles. Population 483,831.
4. NELLORE Collectorate, containing an area of 7930 square miles. Population 421,822.
5. CHINGLEPUT Collectorate, containing an area of 3020 square miles. Population 404,368.
6. MADRAS, included in Chingleput, containing a population of 462,951.
7. ARCOT, South Division, including Cuddalore, containing an area of 7610 square miles. Population 873,925.
8. ARCOT, North Division, including Consoddy, containing an area of 5790 square miles. Population 623,717.
9. BELLARY Collectorate, containing an area of 13,056 square miles. Population 1,200,000.
10. CUDDAPAH Collectorate, containing an area of 12,970 square miles. Population 1,228,546.
11. SALEM Collectorate, including Vomundoor and Mullapandy, containing an area of 8200 square miles. Population 946,181.
12. COIMBATORE Collectorate, containing an area of 8280 square miles. Population 821,986.
13. TRICHINOPOLY Collectorate, containing an area of 3000 square miles. Population 634,400.
14. TANJORE Collectorate, including Najore, containing an area of 3900 square miles. Population 1,128,730.
15. MADURA Collectorate, including Dindigul, containing an area of 10,700 square miles. Population 570,340.
16. TINNIVELLY Collectorate, containing an area of 5700 square miles. Population 1,065,423.
17. MALABAR Collectorate, containing an area of 6060 square miles. Population 1,318,398.
18. CANARA Collectorate, containing an area of 7720 square miles. Population 995,656.

The three NON-REGULATION DISTRICTS are under the control of the agents of the Governor. They are as follow :—

1. GANGAM, containing an area of 6400 square miles. Population 438,174.
2. VIZAGAPATAM, containing an area of 15,300 square miles. Population 1,047,414.
3. KURNOUL, containing an area of 3243 square miles. Population 241,632.

The BOMBAY PRESIDENCY is, for Revenue purposes, divided into thirteen Regular Divisions, or Collectorates, with three Non-Regulation Provinces. They are as follow :—

1. SURAT Collectorate, containing an area of 1629 square miles. Population 433,260.
2. BROACH Collectorate, containing an area of 1319 square miles. Population 262,631.
3. AHMEDABAD Collectorate, containing an area of 4356 square miles. Population 590,754.
4. KAIRA Collectorate, containing an area of 1869 square miles. Population 566,513.
5. CANDEISH Collectorate, containing an area of 9311 square miles. Population 685,619.
6. TANNAH Collectorate, containing an area of 5477 square miles. Population 764,320.

7. POONAH Collectorate, containing an area of 5298 square miles. Population 604,990.

8. AHMEDNUGGUR Collectorate, including Nassick Sub-Collectorate, containing an area of 9931 square miles. Population 929,809.

9. SHOLAPORE Collectorate, containing an area of 4991 square miles. Population 613,863.

10. BELGAUM Collectorate, containing an area of 5405 square miles. Population 860,193.

11. DHARWAR Collectorate, containing an area of 3837 square miles. Population 647,196.

12. RUTNAGHERRY Collectorate, containing an area of 3964 square miles. Population 625,782.

13. BOMBAY ISLAND, including Colaba, containing an area of 18 square miles. Population 566,119.

The NON-REGULATION PROVINCES, under the control of the Bombay Government, are three, as follow :—

1. COLABA (formerly Angria's), containing an area of 318 square miles. Population 53,453.
2. SCINDE, containing Shikarpore, Hyderabad, and Kurrachee. Area 52,120 square miles. Population 1,274,744.
3. SATTARA,\* containing an area of 10,222 square miles. Population 1,005,771.

The EASTERN STRAITS SETTLEMENTS are four, as follow :—

1. PENANG, containing an area of 160 square miles. Population 39,589.
2. PROVINCE WELLESLEY, containing an area of 140 square miles. Population 51,509.
3. SINGAPORE, containing an area of 275 square miles. Population 57,421.
4. MALACCA, containing an area of 1000 square miles. Population 54,021.

The NATIVE STATES, which, although not under the direct rule, being still within the limits of the political supremacy of the East India Company, require to be classed with reference to the British authority, by which they are immediately controlled. They are as follow :—

#### I.—BENGAL.

The Government of Bengal keeps—

A Political Resident at HYDERABAD,† in the Deccan, at the court of the Nizam, whose territories extend over an area of 95,337 square miles, with a population of 10,666,080, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Political Resident at LUCKNOW,‡ at the court of the King of Oude, whose territories extend over an area of 23,738 square miles, with a population of 2,970,000, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Political Resident at KATMANDOO, for the Rajah of Nepaul, whose territories extend over an area of 54,500 square miles, with a population of 1,940,000. This state is not under British protection; but the rajah is bound by treaty to abide, in certain cases, by the decision of the British government, and is prohibited from retaining in his service subjects of any European or American state.

A Political Resident at NAGPORE, with the Rajah of Berar, whose territories extend over an area of 76,432 square miles, with a population of 4,650,000, and a subsidiary alliance.

The Governor-General's Agent for SCINDIAH's Dominions, Bundelcund, Saugor, and Nerbuddah territories, has the protection of Gwalior, containing a territory of 33,119

\* The deposition of the rajah has altered the relations of his territory to the Company.

† Recently annexed to the Company's territories.

‡ The King of Oude deposed, and his country annexed.



square miles, with a population of 3,228,512, and a subsidiary alliance,—and also of Bundelcund, comprising the small states of Adjyghur, Allypoora, Bijawur, Baonee, Behut, Bijna, Berounda, Bhysondah, Behrec, Chirkaree, Chutterpore, Dutteah, Doorwai, Gurowlee, Gorihar, Jhansi, Jussoo, Jignee, Khuddee, Kampta, Logasee, Mukree, Mowagoon, Nyagaou, Oorcha, Punna, Paharee, Puhrah, Paldeo, Poorwa, Sumpthur, Surehlah, Tohree Futtehpore, and Taraon—the Saugor and Nerbuddah territory, comprising Kothee, Myheer, Ocheyras, Rewa, and Mookundpore, Sohawul, and Shaghur, containing an area of 56,311 square miles, with a population of 5,871,112.

The Resident at INDORE has the protection of Indore, containing an area of 8318 square miles, with a population of 815,164, and a subsidiary alliance,—and also of Amjherra, Alle Mohun, or Rajpore Ali, Burwantee, Dhar, Dewas, Jowra, and its Jaghiredars, Jabooa, Rutlam, and Seeta Mhow, extending over an area of 15,680 square miles, with a population of 1,415,200.

The BHOPAL Political Agent, under the Resident at Indore, has the protection of Bhopal, Rajghur, and Nursinghur, and Koorwae, extending over an area of 8312 square miles, with a population of 815,360.

The Governor-General's Agents for the states of RAJPOOTANA have the protection of the states of Alwur, Bhurtpore, Bikaner, Jessulmeer, Kishenghur, Kerowlec, Tonk, and its dependencies, Dholepore, Kotah, Shallawur, Boondee, Joudpore, Jeypore, Odeypore, Pertabghur, Doongerpore, Banswara, and Serohee, extending over an area of 119,859 square miles, with a population of 8,745,098.

The Agent in ROHILCUND has the protection of Rampore, extending over an area of 720 square miles, with a population of 320,400.

The Superintendent of the HILL STATES has the protection of Bhagul, Bughat, Bujec, Bejah, Bulsun, Busahir, Dhamie, Dhooreattie, Durwhal, Hindoor, or Nalaghur, Joobul, Kothar, Koomylhar, Keonthul, Koomharsin, Kuhloor, Mangul, Muhlog, Manee Meyrah, Sirmoor, Mundi, and Sookeit, extending over an area of 11,017 square miles, with a population of 673,457.

The DELHI Agency has the protection of Jhujjur, Bahadoorghur, Bullubghur, Patowdee, Deojana, Loharoo, and Furrucknuggur, extending over an area of 1835 square miles, with a population of 217,550.

The Commissioner and Superintendent of the CRISTULEJ States has the protection of the following Sikh states (protected since April 25, 1809), Puttiala, Jheend, Furreedkote, Rai Kote, Boorech (Dealghur), Mundote, Chichrowlee, Nabha, and Mulair Kotla, extending over an area of 6746 square miles, with a population of 1,005,154.

The Political Agent on the SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER has the protection of Korea, Sirjooja, Jushpore, Odeypore, Suctee, Sohpore, Burgun, Nowagur, Ryghur, Patna, Gangpore, Keriall, Bonei, Phooljee, Sarunghur, Bora Samba, Bombra, Singbhoom, Kursava, and Serickala, extending over an area of 25,431 square miles, with a population of 1,245, 655.

The Superintendent at DARJEELING protects and superintends Sikkim, containing an area of 2504 square miles, with a population of 92,648.

The Board of Administration for the affairs of the PUNJAB has the charge and protection of the Nabob of Bhawulpore, whose territories extend over an area of 20,003 square miles, with a population of 600,000—and of Gholab Singh, with his territory (including Cashmere), extending over an area of 25,123 square miles, with a population of 750,000.

The Governor-General's Agent for the NORTH-EAST FRONTIER has the charge and protection of Cooch Behar, Tuleram Senaputty, and of the Cossya and Garrow Hills, comprising the Garrows, Ram Rye, Nustung, Muriow, Molyong, Mahram, Osimla, and Kyrim, and other petty

states, with an area of 7711 square miles, and a population of 231,605.

A Political Agent protects Munneepore, containing an area of 7584 square miles, with a population of 75,840.—Tipperah, an independent jungle country, containing an area of 7632 square miles, with a population of 7632,—and the Cuttack Mehals, viz.:—Dhenkanaul, Autgur, Berumbah, Tiggreah, Banky, Nyaghur, Kundiapurra, Runpore, Hindole, Angool, Nursingpore, Talchur, Neelgur, Koonjerry, Mohurbunge, Boad, Autmallic, and Duspulla. Area 16,929 square miles. Population 761,805.

## II.—MADRAS.

The NATIVE STATES, subordinate to the MADRAS Government, are as follow:—

A Resident has charge of COCHIN. Area 1988 square miles, with a population of 288,176, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Commissioner manages MYSORE. Area 30,886 square miles, with a population of 3,000,000, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Resident has charge of TRAVANCORE. Area 4722 square miles, with a population of 1,011,824, and a subsidiary alliance.

A Government Agent for the District of VIZAGAPATAM has charge of the Jeypore and Hill Zemindars, with their territories, extending over an area of 13,041 square miles, with a population of 391,230, as they are protected.

## III.—BOMBAY.

The NATIVE STATES, subordinate to the BOMBAY Government, are as follow:—

The Political Resident at BARODA superintends the Guicowar's dominions, comprising an area of 4399 square miles, with a population of 325,526, and a subsidiary alliance.

The Political Agent at KATTYWAR superintends several petty chiefs, with a territory of 19,850 square miles, and a population of 1,468,900.

The Political Agent at PAHLUNPORE controls Pahlunpore, Radhumpore, Warye, Thurraud, Merwara, Wow, Soegaum, Charcut, Therwarra, Doddur, Baubier, Thurra, Kankrej, and Chowrar. Area 5250 square miles. Population 388,500.

The Collector of KAIRA has the protection and charge of Cambay and Ballasinore, containing an area of 758 square miles, with a population of 56,092.

The Agent to the Governor at SURAT protects Dhurrumpore, Bansda, and Suckeen, containing an area of 850 square miles, with a population of 62,900.

The Collector of AHMEDNUGGER has the charge of the Daung Rajahs, Peint, and Hursool, containing an area of 1700 square miles. Population 125,800.

A Political Agent protects and manages KOLAPORE, containing an area of 3445 square miles, with a population of 500,000.

A Political Superintendent manages SAWUNT WARREE, with an area of 800 square miles, and a population of 120,000.

A Political Agent in MYHEE CAUNTA controls Myhee Caunta, Daunta, Edur, Ahmednuggur, Peit, and other petty states, Rewa Caunta, Loonawarra, Soauth, Barreea, Odeypore (Chota), Mewassee States, Rajpeepla and other petty states, and Wusravee, and adjacent country. Area 5329 square miles. Population 394,346.

A Political Agent superintends CUTCH, with an area of 6764 square miles, and a population of 500,536.

The Sattara Jaghiredar of Akulkote, with an area of 75 square miles, and a population of 8325, is under the superintendence of the Collector of SHOLAPORE; and the remaining chiefs of Bhore, Juth, Ound, Phultun, and Wyhee, are under the protection of the Commissioner in SATTARA.



The Southern Mahratta Jaghiredars of Sanglee, Koonwar, Meeruj, Jhumkhundee, Moodhole, Nurgoond, Hablee, and Savanoor, are under a political agent in the SOUTHERN MAHRATTA country, and are protected. Area 3700 square miles. Population 410,700.

The foreign possessions in India are now reduced to those of two powers, viz. : the FRENCH and the PORTUGUESE. The French possessions were often taken, but restored by the treaties of peace in 1763, 1783, 1802, and 1815. For several years during the war in the beginning of the present century, the Portuguese settlements were occupied and protected by British troops. In 1824 the Dutch exchanged their possessions for the British settlements in Sumatra; and the Danes sold Serampore and Tranquebar in 1844.

#### FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

PONDICHERRY, with an area of 107 square miles, and a population of 79,743.

CARICAL, with an area of 63 square miles, and a population of 49,307.

YANAON, with an area of 13 square miles, and a population of 6881.

MAHEE, with an area of 2 square miles, and a population of 2616.

CHANDERNAGORE, with an area of 3 square miles, and a population of 32,670.

#### PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS.

GOA, and the Island of DAMAUN and DIU, with an area of 800 square miles, of which the population is said not to exceed 360,000.

Various alterations have occurred in the arrangements of districts, resulting from the annexation of new provinces, such as the Nizam's country, the kingdom of Oude, territory connected with Scinde and the Punjab, and the recent provinces conquered from Birmanah—Tenasserim, and more lately, Pegu. It is probable that new arrangements of territorial division will depend upon the means taken for the pacification of the country upon the suppression of the great military revolt. The readjustment of provinces alters the relative amount of superficial area, and of population. The above, however, is the nearest available approximation to accuracy of detail, and will at least furnish the reader with such a general knowledge of the extent and population of the presidencies, their districts, and dependencies, as will enable him to approach the subject with some adequate idea of the greatness of our Indian empire.

Colonel Sykes, M.P., called for returns, which were furnished by the Board of Control, and which, in some respects, correct the above details, giving a considerably higher estimate of the numbers of the population, and a somewhat larger estimate of the area in square miles. According to the papers furnished to the House of Commons, the gross total area of all the governments of India is 1,466,576 square miles; the British states occupying 837,412; the native states,

627,910; and the French and Portuguese possessions, 1254; and that the gross total population is 180,884,297 souls—namely, 131,990,901 in the British states, 48,376,247 in the native, and 517,149 in the foreign possessions of France and Portugal. The British states, under the governor-general of India in council, cover an area of 246,050 square miles, and are peopled by 23,255,972 souls; the states under the lieutenant-governor of Bengal occupy 221,969 square miles, and are peopled by 40,852,397 souls; the states under the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces occupy 105,759 miles, and are peopled by 33,655,193 souls; the states under the Madras government occupy 132,090 miles, and are peopled by 22,437,297 souls; and the states under the Bombay government occupy 131,544 square miles, and are peopled by 11,790,042 souls. The native states in the Bengal presidency occupy 515,533 square miles, and are peopled by 38,702,206 souls; those in the Madras presidency occupy 51,802 miles, and are peopled by 5,213,671 souls; and those in the Bombay presidency occupy a space of 60,575 square miles, and are peopled by 6,440,370 souls. The French territory in India covers an area of 188 square miles, and is peopled by 203,887 souls; while the Portuguese territory occupies an area of 1066 square miles, and is peopled by 313,262 souls.

Even parliamentary returns cannot be accepted as absolutely correct, either as to the number of population, or the area of territory, concerning which this chapter affords the most probable estimate. As official reports they are, however, entitled to all the weight which superior opportunity for acquiring information possesses. How vast the multitude of human beings who inhabit the wide, fertile, and picturesque regions comprehended under the generic designation, INDIA! What civilised empire ever before possessed a number of subjects at all approaching that which peoples the Indian dominions of Britain?

The races which inhabit these regions are various—Hindoos, Chinese, Tartars, Affghans, Persians, Arabs, Beloochees, and other tribes of lesser influence, swell the human tide which has ebbed and flowed in so many revolutions within the boundaries of those coveted realms. The Hindoo race forms the majority of the people; its origin is lost in extreme antiquity. In the outline that will be given of ancient Indian history, the question of race will come more properly under review; it is here only necessary to say that numerically this is the prevailing tribe of the inhabitants of the peninsula. The Mohammedan conquerors of India overflowed the country from Affghan-



istan, Persia, and Central Asia. They are numerically much inferior to the Hindoos, but have maintained an impression of authority and power which, apart from their religion, distinguishes them from the Hindoo population.

The religious history of India is curious and interesting, and will fall within the scope of the political history, for the one is too intimately blended with the other for separate record. In describing with accuracy the doctrines and practices at present prevailing, an intimate knowledge of the early religious history of the country is important, for it is not possible to know thoroughly the moral influence of a religion without penetrating its philosophy, and that involves a knowledge of its origin and progress. The difficulty of ascertaining the origin of Hindooism is great, not only from the remote antiquity into which investigation must penetrate, but from the fact that the Greeks, in their accounts of India (and they are the most reliable historians of ancient India), so associate the gods of Hindoostan with those of Greece, and use the names of their own deities interchangeably with different Hindoo gods, that the theology of Hindooism has been confused, and its early history often as much clouded as illustrated, by Greek vanity, prejudice, and liberality, strangely blended.

The Hindoo people do not appear to have been the earliest inhabitants of the country now recognised as theirs. Another race, and perhaps other races, were spread over the territory before its possession by the Hindoo. Dr. Cook Taylor considers that they were barbarous tribes, who fell away before the superior knowledge of a peaceful people, who, by their science, morality, and religious propaganda, obtained the ascendancy which other peoples have acquired by arms,—that they were rather settlers than invaders. He seems to rest this opinion upon the fact of their having a language so perfect as the Sanscrit, and a priesthood so elaborately organised as the Brahminical. Neither of these grounds seems sufficient for the hypothesis. There is no proof that the early settlers, or victors, whichever they were, had an elaborately constructed hierarchy, or ritual,—nor are there any traditions among the descendants of the race who originally encroached upon the territory now called Hindoostan, to prove that they came simply as peaceful settlers; while there are many indications, even in their own traditions, that they superseded races, or a race, less aggressive and subtle. The cruel distinctions of caste which prevailed among the Hindoos of early times, although far less rigorous than that

which their descendants now observe, forbids the idea of their having been a peculiarly gentle sept, leaning for power upon their moral, religious, and intellectual superiority in a propagandism of peace. They are generally supposed to have come originally from Central Asia, by way of Affghanistan and the Punjaub, rapidly multiplying in numbers, but not by fresh accessions of the original stock. The whole tribe seems to have moved at once, and gradually to have advanced, seeking more fertile lands, until it finally settled in the country now known as Hindoostan Proper.

The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, examining the laws of caste, as laid down in the book of Menu, concluded that the lowest caste was a vanquished one, and the descendants of the original inhabitants, while the privileged castes were the descendants of the conquerors. "It is impossible not to conclude that the 'twice born' (the higher castes) were a conquering people; that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the independent Sudra towns, which were in each of the small territories into which Hindoostan was divided, still retained their independence; while the whole of the tract beyond the Himalaya Mountains remained as yet untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion." Mr. Elphinstone then suggests a doubt, whether the conquerors, instead of being a foreign people, were not a native tribe, or a spreading and aggrandizing sect of superior intelligence and energy. After giving a summary of the arguments for this view, while his own leaning is obviously to the former, he says, "The question, therefore, is still open. There is no reason for thinking that the Hindoos ever inhabited any country but their present one; and there is little for denying that they may have done so before the earliest trace of their records or traditions." Mr. Elphinstone's own mind seems to have wavered as he wrote—the conflicting evidences noted by his own pen caused his opinions to fluctuate. It seems, however, from the evidences presented by himself, that the Hindoo people were wanderers from another region, bringing with them a religion more simple and more conformable to truth than that which is professed by their descendants; and as their religion gradually became corrupt, their institutions became more unjust, and were pervaded by more of a class spirit. The question of race is so far mixed up with the origin of their religion as to render this reference to it here necessary. There can be no doubt that the tribe entered North-western India with religious ideas but little tinged with super-



stition, at all events comparatively little. The simple but sublime faith which was borne from Ararat with the first wanderers, after the Deluge subsided, was that which mainly inspired the hope and moral life of the better instructed among the primitive Hindoos, however impotent it might be upon the hearts of the masses, who, in obedience to the migratory character of the early nations, went forth in quest of lands adapted to their wants and dispositions.

The religion of a people may be ascertained by their sacred books or written creed, if they have such—by the opinions they avow in their intercourse—by their objects and forms of worship, and by their moral feeling and practice. The Hindoos recognise two classes of books as of divine authority, which contradict one another—the Vedas and the Paranas. The former are consistent with themselves; the latter self-contradictory. The former has a tincture of the same philosophy pervading them all; the latter are incompatible with one another. The former may be accepted as a whole—as constituting together one authority on matters of religion; the latter propound opinions mutually so adverse as to necessitate the rejection of all, or the existence of a number of sects according to the portion of the proposed revelation which obtains the confidence of the students.

The Vedas are of great antiquity, and are written in a very old form of Sanscrit. Much discussion exists as to the date which should be ascribed to them, but the opinion of Sir W. Jones is that which has generally been accepted,—that they existed about fourteen hundred years before Christ. Our knowledge of them is very imperfect, only a small portion having been translated into English or any other European tongue.

Each of these Vedas is divided into two parts at least, some into three. The first is invariably devotional, containing prayers and hymns; the second moral and didactic; the third (when there is a third division) is theological, argumentative dissertations on the doctrines propounded being comprised. Where there is not a third division, the second contains the theological.

Concerning God the Vedas are polytheistic, although nothing can be more clear and distinct than the doctrine of a supreme Deity. Mr. Colebrook, the eminent oriental scholar, represents the Indian Scriptures as teaching “the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements, and the stars, and planets, as gods. . . The worship of deified heroes forms no part of the system, nor are the incarnations of

deities suggested in any part of the text, although such are hinted at by commentators.” This statement is scarcely consistent with itself, for if it “offers the elements, and the stars, and planets as gods,” it is polytheism, even although, in the language of Mr. Colebrook, “the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system.”

Professor Wilson, who is at least as competent a judge as Mr. Colebrook, does not affirm the monotheism of the Vedas, although he denies that they teach idolatry, by which he means the worship of images created by the hands of man. His words are, “It is true that the prevailing character of the ritual of the Vedas is the worship of the personified elements; of Agni, or fire; Seedra, the firmament; Vaya, the air; Varanee, water; Aditya, the sun; Soma, the moon; and other elementary and planetary personages. It is also true that the worship of the Vedas is addressed to unreal personages, and not to visible types.” Dr. Cook Taylor quotes portions of those passages under the heading, “Unity of the Deity Taught.” Mr. Capper, usually so accurate in his representations, quoting Elphinstone, says, “The leading doctrine of the Brahminical worship is the unity of God. Their books (the Vedas) teach that there is but one deity, the Supreme Spirit, the Lord of the Universe, whose work is the universe.” Mr. Capper also gives Colebrook as his authority, but that gentleman represents the doctrine of the Vedas concerning the universe to be, that it is a part of God. This is probably his reason for considering that, after all, they teach the worship of one god only, as they regard the elements to be portions of the divine nature. Professor Wilson, however, states that they personify the elements, and worship these personifications. The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone says, that while the primary doctrine of the Vedas is the divine unity, yet, “among the creatures of the Supreme Being are some superior to man, who should be adored, and from whom protection and favours may be obtained through prayer. The most frequently mentioned of these are the gods of the elements, the stars, and the planets, but other personal powers and virtues likewise appear.”

It is evident that it became the fashion for writers on India, especially those having any connection with the country, to make the most of its early literature and theology. The Vedas proclaim one god, who is supreme, and many that are subordinate and derived from him. This was the form of all ancient polytheism, and scarcely any polytheistic religion, however degraded and dark, but recognises one supreme being, Lord of all, who is unity;



although the most suitable inscription they could place upon his temple would be that which the Athenians inscribed on an altar in the days of the Apostle Paul—"To the unknown God." According to Sir W. Jones, certain learned Brahmins represent the language of the Vedas as not only positive on the subject of the divine unity, but strikingly expressive and beautiful. Some specimens which he gives would adorn the pages of a Christian theological professor. Assuming the correctness of these translations, there can be no reason to question the accuracy of those given by Colebrook, Professor Wilson, and others, which represent the doctrine of an inferior degree of worship, or of several degrees of inferior worship, as belonging to creatures real or imaginary. It is asserted by some that the Hindoos in their migrations brought the Vedas with them; other writers contend that they are the expression of the popular opinion committed to writing in the land of their conquest or adoption. However this may be, the doctrines described are such as had their origin at Babylon, and thence spread over every nation of the earth. Humboldt and Prescott found them in Mexico. The Saxons brought them to Britain. The Celts of every tribe in the British Islands substantially held them, and over all Asia they prevailed. Babylon was the parent of polytheism before it became the capital of that other form of idolatry, which, with stricter accuracy of term, bears the name. Colonel Kennedy, known as a Sanscrit scholar, represents the Brahmins as having come from Babylon.\*

Our knowledge of the Vedas is generally deduced from the Institutes of Menu, and these Sir W. Jones considers to have been compiled about the twelfth century before Christ; but the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, with better reason, assigns a date three hundred years later. It is "an open question" whether Menu was a real or dramatic personage; the amount of evidence is in favour of the former opinion. It is probable that the name is derived from a root which signifies to number, and may have reference to the arrangement of times and laws, to the Hindoo calendar of religious festivals and ceremonies. The religion, as well as the code of jurisprudence of the earliest Hindoos settled in Hindoostan, is supposed by the learned in Hindooism to be found in the code of Menu, although some departure from the purity of the Vedas, both in theology and ethics, is believed to characterise the Institutes. The doctrine of a Trinity is indicated in the Vedas—Fire, Air, and the Sun,† "into some

one of which the others are resolvable."\* Genii, good and evil, nymphs, demons, supernatural beasts and birds, are described as belonging to the class of existences excelling man in power. Man is described as body, soul, and spirit, nearly in the phraseology of the Apostle Paul. Communion with the gods is to be maintained by personal expiations of sin, prayers, and ritual observances.

It is curious that while Elphinstone writes of the divine unity as a doctrine of the Vedas, he, in the following passage, describes the worship prescribed by them:—"The gods are worshipped by burnt-offerings of clarified butter and libations of the juice of the moon-plant, at which ceremonies they are invoked by name; but though idols are mentioned, and in one place desired to be respected, yet the adoration of them is never mentioned but with disapprobation."

According to various authorities, five sacraments are enjoined by the Vedas, which, according to the strange expression of Elphinstone, the devotees "must daily perform." It is difficult to understand what these writers mean by a sacrament, for the five mentioned do not answer to any definition of the term accepted among theologians, nor to the derivation of the word.† The five great cardinal duties referred to by this term are—studying the Veda, making oblations to the manes, and to fire in honour of the deities, giving rice to living creatures, and receiving guests with honour. The modes in which some of these, especially the first, are to be accomplished, are very perplexing, being associated with so many difficulties as to render the performance no pleasure, and very often altogether impracticable.

The morality of these sacred books is, on the whole, rather better than the theology. This is the case in all polytheistical systems in general terms, but the purer ethics so expressed are generally lost in a selfish and evasive casuistry.

The odious principle of caste is maintained in these earlier and purer writings of Hindooism. According to the Vedas there were four castes; first, the Brahmins, or priestly. All Brahmins were not necessarily priests, but all priests should be Brahmins. The office of the priesthood was not one of dignity, although it was one of sacredness. This is not usually the case in the hierarchy of reli-

Trinity as derived from this source. In a work entitled *Revelation the Source of all that is Good in other Systems*, the author of this History has shown that the polytheistic theories of remote antiquity derived this tenet from primitive revelation, which was obscured and defaced by superstition and vain philosophical speculation.

\* *Researches*, p. 348.

† Mr. Howitt represents the Christian doctrine of the

\* Elphinstone, vol. i. ch. iv.

† *Sacramentum*, an oath.



gions, but it is so occasionally in other than the Brahminical. The Brahmin was interdicted from placing himself on a level with the ranks below his own, in a great variety of particulars. The austerities prescribed as necessary to the religious course of a Brahmin were numerous, foolish, and severe. His life was divided into four periods, the last only was exempt from penances and mortifications; constant contemplation was its work. The privileges of this order were also very great. They alone possessed the right to explain, or even read, the Vedas. Under certain restrictions the next two classes were allowed their perusal. As these books are the source of theology, religious light was the prerogative of the Brahmin; being the source of law, the judges must belong to the class who alone had unrestrained access to them, and the privilege and power to expound them. All sickness being considered as the result of sin, the Vedas alone prescribed the proper treatment of the invalid; the Brahmin was necessarily the only physician. All other classes were bound to treat Brahmins with the most pious reverence. A Sudra, the lowest class, must submit to the most contumelious treatment from them, and feel honoured by any notice, even if it consisted in personal chastisement. The Veysias were bound to make presents to the Brahmins, and see that they wanted for nothing; the Kshatryas, to support their cause and defend them. For a man of any other class to overpower a Brahmin in argument, subjected him to a fine. To kill a Brahmin was an inexpiable sin. Kings were bound not to reprove, but to entreat them, even when obviously in the wrong. Their persons and property were free from impost, and if they required anything, none from whom they asked it should refuse, "for to refuse them anything is impiety." If a Brahmin committed the most heinous offence against the law, or against nature, he must not be punished capitally; yet for the smallest infraction of their own caste obligations the heaviest penalties were imposed. They had power over the gods, and it was dangerous for a deity to refuse a Brahmin's prayer. The second order was the Kshatryas, or military class. To this kings and governors belonged, although not unfrequently in the earlier ages these offices were held by men of the first class. The Brahmins were jealous of this caste, and the jealousy was mutual. The third was the Veysias, or merchant class, who were bound to devote themselves to trade and husbandry. This caste was more numerous than both the former together. The fourth was the Sudras, or servile class. These were to seek service with a Brahmin, failing

to obtain which, they were to seek it with a Kshatrya or a Veysia, and if able to obtain it with none of them, they were to find subsistence as they best could. Elphinstone, Capper, and other writers, affirm that the condition of villains under the feudal system was much worse than that of the Sudra, because the personal independence and property of the latter were secured. But of what avail was this recognition when he was brought up under the conviction that he had no moral right to acquire property; that the ambition to do so was sinful; that he was born to be a servant, and ought in all things to seek conformity to this destiny; and that his chief hope of a happy transmigration hereafter depended upon fidelity in his service to a Brahmin? No class of human beings were ever imbued with so humiliating an appreciation of themselves both for time and eternity. To submit to all manner of hard treatment and contempt was the virtue most inculcated upon them; and at every step, from the cradle to death, the ceremonials of Hindooism stamped the Sudra, spiritually and morally, as well as physically and socially, a degraded being. The Veda was not to be read in his presence, and "it was pollution to teach him its sublime doctrines." He was to be fed with the leavings of his master. Should any one kill a Sudra, he was to be fined, or undergo a penance, the same in amount or degree as if he had killed a dog. Such are the doctrines of the much lauded Vedas concerning him; and the constitution of Menu, based upon these Vedas, was designed to render stringent practically every invidious tenet of the sacred books.

There was one peculiarity of his degradation which perhaps pressed harder on the Sudra than all the rest. Members of the three superior castes were, at a certain age, in virtue of certain ceremonies, invested with the sacred cord, upon which occasion they were said to be born again. The term, "a twice-born man," is a generic phrase, which comprises members of all castes except that of the Sudra. The effect of this distinction was to lower the Sudra almost to a level with the brute—at all events to place him on the verge of the unholy world, to which Hindoo sanctity and privilege could not be extended. If it did not place him out of the pale of salvation, it was, in the phraseology of certain modern bigoted schismatics, to "hand him over to the *uncovenanted* mercies of God."

The origin of this custom of the twice-born is a subject of inquiry very interesting to Christians, as the expression occurs in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, in our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus,—"*Ve-*



rily, verily, I say unto you, unless a man be born again, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." There can be little doubt that the idea was derived by the Hindoos from Babylon, whether the theory of Colonel Kennedy be correct or erroneous as to their having themselves come thence.

That the doctrine of regeneration of the heart by the instrumentality of truth, under the gracious influence of God, was a doctrine of the patriarchal world, is obvious to all persons acquainted with the Scriptures, however ignorant of this tenet the generality of the Jews were, even of the better instructed, in the days of the Saviour. That Noah taught it to his children and their descendants is equally plain to the Bible student. But this truth, like all others propagated by him, became clouded by human speculation. Men, wise in their own conceits, became fools, "turned the truth of God into a lie," and perverted alike the theory and facts of primeval religion. Babylon became the great centre of corruption, and the germs of human apostasy may all be found in the theogonies and philosophies which emanated thence, and spread throughout the world. The original doctrine of revelation, here noticed, was perverted among the rest; that which was spiritual in essence and in operation was perverted into the mere ceremonial, while to the ceremony itself was attributed supernatural power.

In the Babylonian mysteries the commemoration of the Flood, of Noah, and of the Ark, was mingled with idolatrous worship. Noah was deified under the titles of Saturn, Osiris, or Janus, "the god of gods," in most of the early nations. In Babylon all this had its birth. Noah, as having lived in two worlds, was called Dephnes, or "twice born." It was believed that all who went through the prescribed ceremonial would become like Noah—regenerate, made anew, made righteous by the process through which they passed—"twice born." \* Humboldt and Prescott found this idea prevailing in Mexico as it prevailed at Babylon. There would be no difficulty in tracing it through all the superstitions of nations, as an original doctrine of revelation perverted to pagan purposes.

It is not necessary to dwell further upon the ancient religion of the Vedas, and the Institutions of Menu; for although in these

rests the basis of Hindooism, that religious system became greatly modified through the lapse of so vast a period of time as has passed since the Book of Menu developed, and, as it were, consolidated, the laws and tenets of the older writings.

The simple polytheism of the Vedas, which was itself a corruption of the primitive doctrine of God, became clouded and polluted by innumerable superstitions, and, except in the institution of caste, the Hindoo religion of the present day bears but little resemblance to that of the age of the Vedas or of Menu. Even caste is not maintained in its primitive simplicity. As the doctrines became less pure, the ritual became more strict: prayers, penances, sacrifices, increased with the number of the gods; and the rigidity of caste, in certain ceremonial acts, became more stern as the morality upon which it professedly rested ceased to be observed with primitive exactness.

The deterioration of the Hindoo religion was gradual. From the personification of the elements, the people descended to the representation of the personifications in works of human skill. They made to themselves the likeness of things in the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth; they bowed down to them, and worshipped them, until the thing represented was itself lost sight of in the visible emblem. The images themselves were made more and more grotesque, hideous, and absurd, as the imagination became less pure, the understanding less vigorous, and the moral purpose less determinate. The grossness of the image re-acted upon the ideal of the deities, until the satire of Augustine upon another people became applicable—"The same gods are adored in the temple, and laughed at in the theatre." Hindooism sunk from its philosophical and theistical speculations to a filthy and sanguinary idolatry. Nothing became too mean out of which to make a god, and no conception was too hideous as the ideal of its fabrication. In the shaded groves of that bright land—by the retired inlets of its rolling rivers—on the shores of every placid and silent lake—within the public and sumptuous temple and the retired and picturesque sanctuary—stand the frightful forms of innumerable gods, before whose presence licentious orgies, self-torture, and human sacrifice, are no less acts of devotion than meaningless forms, mutterings, and ablutions. Hindooism has had its apologists, even among modern historians of reputation (for what form of apostasy has not its apologists among the learned and the great?); but the religion of modern Hindooism is no better, and in many respects

\* In a work entitled the *Moral Identity of Babylon and Rome*, the author mentions that the name Shinar, given to Babylon in the Scriptures, is expressive of this idea. Read without points, Shinar is Shenor, which he derives from *shené*, to repent, and *noër*, childhood. "The land of Shinar" is thus made "the land of regeneration."



much worse, than the forms of idolatry against which the anathema of sacred Scripture is pronounced, and to it as well as to them the curse of Jehovah goes forth—"Confounded be they who serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols."

The deterioration of Hindooism is strikingly marked in the writings of the Paranas. The Brahmins profess to believe, and the mass of the people really do believe, that the Paranas were written by the authors of the Vedas. Evidence is not wanting to prove that they are the productions of various periods, some of these writings being scarcely three hundred years old, although others may possibly be a thousand. These books were, however, the arrangement and embodiment of the popular belief. The corruptions formed material for the Paranas. These too faithfully reflected the general opinion, not to be received with popular favour. The causes which produced the general declension of religion are thus ingeniously set forth by Dr. Cooke Taylor:—"The simple and primitive form of worship was succeeded in some remote and unknown age by the adoration of images and types, and of historical personages elevated to the rank of divinities, which swelled into the most cumbrous body of legend and mythology to be found in any pagan nation.\* It is probable that the religious revolution was the work of the poets; the story of the Rama Yana, and the Mhaha Bharrat, turns wholly upon the doctrine of incarnation, all the leading personages being incarnate gods, demi-gods, and celestial spirits. We know that a similar change was wrought in ancient Greece by Homer and Hesiod, for previous to the appearance of their theogonies the objects of worship were the Titans, who were properly elementary deities, like the gods of the Asiatic nations. The legends which now constitute the Hindoo mythology are collected in the Paranas, works believed to have been written or compiled in the tenth century of our era, when the original religion had been corrupted, and the ancient system of civilisation had fallen into decay." It is remarkable that the best things under heaven become the worst when abused. No arts have contributed so much to the solace and civilisation of man as poetry, painting, sculpture, and music,—and these have been the grand instruments in creating and sustaining idolatrous systems. It may, however, be doubted whether his

love of classic analogy did not lead the learned doctor to attribute too great an influence to the poets of the Hindoos. At all events, the Paranas depict faithfully the religion of heathen Hindoostan, and the study of these writings, and of the worship and opinion of the people, presents a religion which only in some of its fundamental ideas resembles the ancient faith of the Vedas.

The present system of Hindoo religion is glaringly polytheistic and idolatrous. In the progress from early polytheism it would appear that three principle deities engaged the popular worship—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. The first is the Creator, the second the Preserver, the third the Destroyer. Although Vishnu is second in the order of the triad, he was before Brahma in order of being. Vishnu, the Preserver, slept upon the face of the waters which submerged the ruins of a former world. While thus in repose, a lotus sprang from his body, from which Brahma, the Creator, was produced. He created the elements and the world, and, among his other great works, produced Siva, the Destroyer, and the race of man. From his head he created the Brahmins (sacerdotal and noble); from his arms, the Kshatryas (warriors); from his thighs, the Veycias (merchants); from his feet, the Sudras (labourers). Brahma is but little revered, Vishnu and Siva receiving the worship formerly paid to the whole triad. Brahma is represented with four heads, on each a mitre resembling that worn by a Latin or rather Greek prelate. He has four hands, in one of which is held a spoon, in another a string of beads, in the third a water-jug, and in the fourth the sacred Vedas. His image is painted in golden and vermillion colours. Vishnu is generally figured as reposing on a lotus, or on the many-headed serpent Amanta (Eternity). His image is painted of some dark colour or black. Siva, although in the unamiable character of a destroyer, is a greater god than those from whom he sprang. Eternity (Maha Kali) is, however, represented as his conqueror. He is depicted upon a throne, or riding on the bull Nandi, and painted in white or bright colours. His image is occasionally made with five heads, but more generally with one head, having three eyes, the third in the centre of the forehead. These eyes symbolically express his omniscience—time past, present, and future, being open to his glance. These deities have had various incarnations and manifestations, are the subjects of many absurd legends, and the parents of numerous offspring of gods and men. Siva is most generally represented with his consort Parvadi, who was a very warlike lady or divinity,

\* The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone denies that the number of gods accepted by the orthodox Hindoos is by any means so numerous as is generally represented, and accounts for the misapprehension. It is doubtful whether the gods and the legends of Greece and Rome were not more numerous than those of India.



having encountered and killed a great giant, and performed many other exploits equally bellicose.

In the doctrines of the triad there is evidently a vague conception of the original doctrine of a Trinity in Unity. In the early ages of apostasy, after the Deluge, Noah and his three sons were transformed into the supreme being, and a triune offspring. The story of Vishnu, the Preserver, resting on the face of the waters, after the destruction of a previous world, when Brahma, the Creator, came forth, is evidently a tradition of the Scripture passage—"The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," when creation came forth from the chaos of a previous state. With that tradition is mixed up the story of Noah in the Ark floating upon the Deluge above the wreck of the submerged world, and coming out of the Ark to re-people and replenish the earth. The serpent-throne of the god is a vague traditionary notion of the great serpent of Paradise, over whom the promised seed was ordained to triumph; the serpent, first dreaded, became at last worshipped.

Many of the other gods were, in earlier ages, only different forms and names of these three gods, but came at last to be regarded as separate deities. Thus, the Preserver, Vishnu, enthroned on the lotus leaf, and floating on the troubled seas, is represented under another name, as part man, part fish, the same attributes being attributed to him.

There is in all this, additional proof of the Chaldee origin of the Indian polytheism. In the Babylonian triune God, the three persons were—the Eternal Father, the Spirit of God incarnate in a human mother, and a Divine Son, the fruit of that incarnation.

Many of the legends concerning the other gods mix up ideas of the first promise in Eden with the earliest forms of Babylonian polytheism. Thus, Surya, or the Sun, is represented as becoming incarnate for the purpose of subduing the enemies of the gods, who must be subdued, according to the divine destinies, by one human born. The Babylonian polytheism made Taumuz the god incarnate, the Child of the Sun, the great object of Babylonian homage.

The form of half-man, half-fish, is precisely that of the Dagon of the Philistines, and the origin of that god was Babylonian. Bunsen, in his *Egypt*, quotes Barossus, the Chaldean historian, to show that the worship of this deity was founded upon a legend, that when men were very barbarous, there came up a beast from the Red Sea, half man, half fish, that civilised the Babylonians, taught them arts and sciences, and instructed them in politics and religion.

The queen-wife of Vishnu is also worshipped under the name of Lakshmi. Her worship and her name are supposed by certain antiquarians and philologists to be of Chaldean origin.

The worship of a woman as a great queen pervades all early polytheistic nations. This is traced to Semiramis, the Queen of Nimrod, the first great conqueror. It is maintained by a writer of great ability that, as Shemir is the Persian name of Semiramis, and Lhaka means beautiful, Lhakshmi means "the beautiful Shemir," or Semiramis. It is remarkable that the services of the Babylonian Shemir were conducted without sacrifices; her worshippers poured out drink-offerings, burnt incense, and offered cakes before her. This is the precise character of the services to the great Indian goddess.\*

There is a god Rama, who is the offspring of Vishnu, and was King of Oude, an historical personage, who is by many of his worshippers confounded with Vishnu, or declared to be an incarnation of that god. Rama had a son, Chrishna, who is the favourite deity of modern Hindooism. He is the boy-god of India. This is plainly another version of the Babylonian god Taumuz.

The doctrine that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent, taught by Noah and his offspring, inspired the ambition of the infamous but beautiful and intellectual Semiramis to set up her son Taumuz as that promised seed, who became worshipped through her influence and his own exploits, and finally the mother, as well as the son, were made objects of adoration. That is the probable origin of the confused traditions of every ancient land, leading them to set up some beautiful ideal queen as the object of worship, and her son the incarnation of the supreme deity, the deliverer of gods and men, as also to be adored. It is the kernel-thought of primitive apostasy—the great blasphemy which runs through all heathen religions—the delusion which Satan has propagated and kept up to divert men from the doctrine of the true Messiah. Even the Jews were denounced by the prophets for wandering into this all-prevalent oriental idolatry. That the children gathered the sticks, and the women baked cakes to offer to the queen of heaven—that all classes joined in her adoration on occasion of a very general apostasy to this idolatry, is the complaint of the great prophet of the Hebrews. The picture is a fair portrait of the people of India at this day.

It would require more space than can be afforded in this work, to describe at greater

\* "No sanguinary sacrifices are offered."—COLEMAN'S *Asiatic Researches*.



length the objects of idolatrous worship in India. Let it suffice to say, that while Colonel Kennedy, in his researches, recounts seventeen chief gods, and admits that the lesser ones are legion, some have ventured to affirm that 3,000,000 deities are worshipped.

Amongst the material terrestrial objects adored, the river Ganges has the chief place. Its waters cleanse from sin, and sanctify many dubious deeds. The chief doctrines treat of the modes by which the gods are to be appeased and worshipped, which are innumerable and horrible. All conceivable methods of self-inflicted torture are deemed necessary or desirable. The devotee will sit in a particular posture, with uplifted arm, until it stiffens and remains fixed; the hands are clenched and pressed until the nails grow through the flesh; hooks are placed in the muscles of the back, and the wretched sufferer is swung round with fearful rapidity, by ropes from poles fixed at a suitable elevation.

The world beyond the grave is portrayed in a manner calculated to affect the oriental imagination with supreme terror or delight. Each chief god has a heaven for his especial votaries—some are composed of gold and precious stones; and all the attributes of wealth and grandeur await the beatified. Others are fields of flowers, where pellucid waters roll through the fairy land; fragrant airs breathe eternal perfumes; light beams with unclouded glory, but with no fervid ray; exulting multitudes witness the achievements of gods and genii, and behold their enemies chased through worlds of despair by pursuers, whose looks and instruments of vengeance inspire immortal terror. By trans-migrations in certain successions the spirits of the departed are blessed or punished; some are at last assimilated to the divinity, while others, losing all consciousness of a separate existence from deity, live and move and have their being in him. The most horrible acts of cruelty are deemed acceptable to God, even self-immolation. Thus the Hindoo mother leaves her female child by the waters of the Ganges, to be devoured by the alligators, or borne away by the rising waters. The contempt for female life, common to all superstitious creeds, uncivilised countries, and nations which, although having attained a high civilisation of circumstance, have a low civilisation of feeling, enables the Hindoo woman to forget her maternity, and tear from her bosom that which had its being there, to leave it to perish by the dark river and beneath the solitary heaven. Aged relatives, felt to be a burden, are, in their sickness, doomed to a similar fate.

The East India Company, by its humane

exertions and authority, has succeeded in suppressing infanticide, and desertion of the sick and the aged; but their interference in the cause of humanity excited the superstitious animosity of the various castes.

The most terrible of all the religious cruelties of India is the Suttee. The poet Campbell has described this barbarous custom in a single couplet—

“The widowed Indian, when her lord expires,  
Mounts the dread pile, and braves the funeral fires.”

An eminent writer thus notices this practice:—“Of the modes adopted by the Hindoos of sacrificing themselves to the divine powers, none however has more excited the attention of the Europeans than the burning of the wives on the funeral piles of their husbands. To this cruel sacrifice the highest virtues are ascribed. ‘The wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband’s corpse, shall equal Arundhati, and reside in Swarga; accompanying her husband, she shall reside so long in Swarga as are the thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body. As the snake-catcher forcibly drags the serpent from his earth, so, bearing her husband from hell, with him she shall enjoy the delights of heaven while fourteen Indras reign. If her husband had killed a Brahmana, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend, she expiates the crime.’ Though the widow has the alternative of leading a life of chastity, of mortification, denied to the pleasures of dress, never sleeping on a bed, never exceeding one meal a day, nor eating any other than simple food, it is held her duty to burn herself along with her husband.”\*

This atrocity is not to be supposed as confined to the ignorant. “The Hindoo legislators,” says Mr. Colebrooke, “have shown themselves disposed to encourage this barbarous sacrifice.”

The institutes of Akbar were translated under the patronage of the Honourable East India Company, and they contain the following passage:—“If the deceased leaves a son, he sets fire to the pile, otherwise his younger brother, or also his elder brother. All his wives embrace the corpse, and notwithstanding their relations advise them against it, expire in the flames with the greatest cheerfulness. A Hindoo wife who is burnt with her husband, is either actuated by motives of real affection, or she thinks it her duty to conform to *custom*, or she consents to avoid *reproach*, or else she is forced to it by her relations. If the wife be pregnant at the time of her husband’s death, she is not allowed to burn till after her delivery. If he dies on

\* Mill’s *India*, vol. i. pp. 274, 275. Quarto edition.



a journey, the wives burn themselves along with his clothes, or anything else that belonged to him. Some women who have been prevailed upon by their relations, or have persuaded themselves against burning with the corpse, have found themselves so unhappy, that they have cheerfully submitted to expire on the flames before the next day."

The East India Company has succeeded in nearly suppressing Suttee in their territory, but in several of the native states it is still, to a limited extent, practised. This interposition excited much opposition on the part of the natives; but success followed. Their noble exertions deserve the application of the poet's words—

"Children of Brahma! then was mercy nigh  
To wash the stain of blood's eternal dye?  
Did peace descend to triumph and to save,  
When free-born Britons cross the Indian wave?"\*

Whatever the faults or errors of our Indian administration, these beautiful lines are appropriate. So far as India is rescued from herself, from her own sins, and laws, and customs, and religious rites, it was well for her that Britons crossed the Indian wave. No evil of temporary misgovernment is a feather in the scale against the ponderous crimes and oppressions of the native creed and custom. The words of the prophet may be truly addressed to the people of India as they were of old to Israel—"The prophets prophecy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and the people will have it so, saith the Lord of Hosts."

The services of Juggernaut are attended by terrible immolations. All the battles fought by England in Hindoostan, or for Hindoostan, could not furnish returns of slain equal to those crushed beneath the ponderous car of this horrid idol. It has many shrines, but the principal one is at Orissa. On occasion of the festival the god is drawn forth—a colossal idol thirty feet high: men, women, and children, yoke themselves to the heavy car upon which it is placed, shouting with frantic fanaticism. Many, alas! also fling themselves beneath the huge wheels, and are crushed in an instant to death, their blood and brains being scattered upon the surviving devotees, whose maniacal devotions are rendered more fanatical and exulting by the sanguinary scene. Surely the philosophy of sacred Scripture is vindicated in the History of India—"The dark places of the earth are the abodes of cruelty."

The extravagance of rich devotees on occasions of the public festivals is incredible: a wealthy native has been known to

expend as much as £20,000. It is not uncommon for these feasts to cost men of property at least £1000. The feast of the goddess Durga Parja is one of expensive magnificence.

As is the case with all superstitious religions, the fanaticism of the people is kept up by men who either profit by being entirely set apart for religious services, or give themselves wholly up to such, under the impression of thereby securing their own salvation. Men of this sort blend infatuation with imposture, and, with the assumption of superior spirituality, display carnal feelings and persecuting animosities. What the Celtic Irish call *voteens* (small and contemptible devotees) abound in India, and do much to infuriate the zealotry of the people, to sow sedition, and, by their idleness, mendicity, filth, and horrid personal exposures, to demoralise and impoverish the poorer classes. The fakeers, by submission to extraordinary penances, by which they are maimed, crippled, and otherwise deformed, are regarded by the people as persons of peculiar sanctity. They live by begging, and carry disease and infection with them throughout the country.

There are various monastic orders connected with the temples and services of particular gods. These orders are regarded as circles of holiness, and their members as endowed with peculiar sanctity. They are a curse to the country, and do more to promote the common degradation than any other class or cause, always excepting the institution of caste. There is no visible head of the Hindoo religion, nor are there always chiefs or principals of the monastic institutions. In some cases there are leaders or presidents, who maintain their position by prescriptive right.

It is common for members of the order to shave the head in a manner similar to the monks of Europe. The Buddhists (a sect to be noticed hereafter) are especially noted for this observance. The origin of the usage was purely Babylonian. It was the symbol of inauguration of those who were thus shaven in the priesthood of Bacchus, the son of the queen of heaven. The high priest of "the mysteries" was a tonsured personage. From the Babylonians other oriental peoples of antiquity derived it. Thus, it is related by an ancient historian that "the Arabians acknowledge no other gods than Bacchus and Urania,\* and they say that their hair is cut in the same way as Bacchus's is cut; they cut it in a circular form, shaving it around the temples."† The priests of Osiris, the Egyptian Bacchus, were also distinguished

\* The mother of Bacchus.

† Herodotus, lib. iii. 8.

\* Campbell.



by this tonsure.\* The custom was certainly imported into India with the same ideas. When the usage began to be observed it is not easy, perhaps not possible, to trace, but Gotama Buddha, the founder of the sect or religion of the Buddhists, is represented as having more strictly enjoined it than others. It is not confined to his followers; but one of the Paranas, or new Indian scriptures, thus writes of Buddha and his followers:—"The shaved head, that he might the better perform the orders of Vishnu, formed a number of disciples, and of shaved heads like himself." This circle was intended to represent the sun, and the seed of the promise—the sun, or light incarnate. The hope of the promised seed was, as shown on a former page, thus blasphemously used by Semiramis and her abettors, to make of her son the fulfilment of that prophecy, and to have him deified. The following by a popular writer in the *British Messenger*, places the origin of the Hindoo tonsure in its true light, and serves to illustrate what is written in this chapter concerning the Babylonish origin of the practices as well as doctrines of the Hindoo religion:—"It can be shown that among the Chaldeans the one term 'Zero' signifies at once 'a circle' and 'the seed.' Suro, 'the seed' in India, was the sun divinity incarnate. When that 'seed' was represented in human form, to identify him with the sun, he was represented with the circle, the well-known emblem of the sun's annual course, on some part of his person. Thus, our own god Thor was represented with a blazing circle on his breast. In Persia and Assyria the sun-god was marked out nearly in the same way. In India the circle is represented at the tip of his finger. Hence 'the circle' became the emblem of Taumuz, or 'the seed,' and therefore was called by the same name, 'Zero.' Moreover, by a marvellous providence, the circle is still called by the same name in everyday speech among ourselves; for what is Zero, the cipher, but just a circle? This name Zero has indubitably come to us from the Arabians, who again derived it from the Chaldeans, the original cultivators at once of idolatry, astronomy, and arithmetic. The *circular* tonsure of Bacchus was doubtless intended to point him out as 'Zero,' or 'the seed,' the Grand Deliverer; and the *circle* of light round the head of the so-called pictures of Christ was evidently just a different form of the very same thing, and borrowed from the very same source."

In few respects is the degeneracy of the Hindoo religion more seen than in the multi-

plication of castes. According to the Vedas, as already shown, there were but four castes. The members of these different classes, as Mr. Elphinstone prefers to call them, intermarried, and questions of nice casuistry began to arise as to what class the offspring of these marriages belonged. Hence new castes arose, and these were multiplied as human pride and exclusiveness found scope, until trade castes were established, and men were hereditarily confined to the calling of their ancestors, however special and peculiar those callings. Thus, water-carriers are to remain water-carriers, and grass-cutters to continue grass-cutters, from father to son for ever. The ceremonies, abstinences, privileges, and disqualifications peculiar to each are so numerous, that to state and explain them, trace their origin, and mark their effects, would fill a volume as large as one of those devoted to this History. The Brahmins declare that the other three classes have become extinct from various causes, but this the others refuse to admit; even the Sudras are desirous to maintain the purity of their derivation from the original servile Sudra stock.

Mohammedanism has been a means of breaking up old castes, and introducing new ones. The English and other foreigners, even when most unwilling to interfere with the national customs, have, by the introduction of new habits, wants, and ideas, influenced the process of caste revolution. But however broken up by internal changes or foreign influences, the thing still lives; like the severed worm, each part has its own vitality, whatever repugnance to the beholder is excited by the process of the phenomenon. The more the tree of caste is "slipped," the wider its kind extends, however diversified the qualities of the various shoots. With all its corruptions, dismemberment, and confusion, the caste system of Hindoostan, as to its spirit, and prejudice, and moral mischief, is as potent and persistent as ever. The prescribed calling of the several castes has not provided its members with uniform subsistence, and many are glad to find an opportunity of exercising skill or labour in avocations ceremonially beneath them. Even the mean and proud Brahmins, who considered labour degrading, and begging sacred and respectable, now follow various professions and trades, and are to be found in the ranks of the common soldiers, in the service of the company and of native chiefs. The Sudras have in many cases become respectable occupiers of land; very many of them are merchants and officials; and in the Mahratta states they espouse the warrior class, where generals and rajahs are often of the Sudras

\* Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, lib. i. cap. 23.



caste. In the Bombay army they are often enlisted in the ranks.

The Gosayens, and other orders of monasticism, are supplanting the Brahmins in their influence over the people in the Gangetic provinces. In fact, it is as in the middle ages in Europe, when the regular almost deposed the secular clergy in their influence over the consciences of individuals and the affairs of families. It must not be supposed that the influence of the Brahmins has much declined; their *spiritual* influence has, but their caste precedence is still maintained by themselves, and recognised by all others. The Rajpoots and Mahrattas regard them with less respect than they are regarded elsewhere.

So sternly, however, are the requisitions of caste maintained at the present time, that a general officer, famed through the world for his deeds of policy and arms, has, in private conversation, assured the author of this History that he has seen the Brahmin dash away his cooking apparatus, and his untasted meal, because an unfortunate Sudra happened to be ordered to perform some military duty within an uncanonical proximity to the spot.

The loss of caste is the most terrible thing known to the Brahmin. It is temporal and eternal death in some cases; it is in all cases legal and civil death. The evidence of such a man cannot be received; his property is confiscated; his parents, children, and wife, must repudiate him, or be subjected to penalties the heaviest that can be conceived by Hindoo imagination. Loss of caste may in most cases be expiated, but in some it cannot.

The number of castes now existing it would be impossible to tell. In the *Asiatic Researches* estimates of different writers are given, but these are contradictory and unreliable. They have increased to a very great number, although the four original classes may be said to comprise generically all the species into which caste is divided. Among them all the same oppressive or abject spirit prevails, according to the extent of their debasement. The interests of the many are sacrificed to the prejudices of the few. Inexorable tyranny is met by reptile-like deceit and treachery. Superstitions, changing in everything else, are immutable in their cruelty and darkness. Such are the effects of caste. In some cases personal slavery is engendered by it. According to the Vedas and the Institutions of Menu, and, probably, even in accordance with the Paranas, all castes are free, so far as personal freedom is concerned, and the

legal right to offer their services to whomsoever they please, but, practically, men of the Sudra class in some places are subjected to bondage. In the south of India there are, or were until lately, predial slaves. In some of the mountain and forest districts Elphinstone records that, in 1849, there were bondsmen. It is tolerably certain that there are such now. Some years earlier they were still more numerous in the south of India. A gentleman well acquainted with Madras and Bombay says—"There are six sorts of Chemurs, or slaves, like the Pariar of Madras, and no other caste is bought or sold in Malabar. They are said to have been caught and domesticated by Parasu Rama, for the use of the Brahmins, and are probably the descendants of the aborigines conquered by the Chola kings, and driven into the jungles, but at last compelled to prefer slavery and rice to freedom and starvation. They are generally, but not always, sold with the land, two slaves being reckoned equal to four buffaloes; they are also let out and pledged. Their pay is an allowance of rice and cloth. They sometimes run away, but never shake off their servile condition; and if reclaimed, the children they may have had during their wandering are divided between the old master from whom they fled and the new one to whom they resorted." This description would suit the subject of the social condition of India as fitly as the religious, but so closely are the religious and social conditions of every people associated, that the characteristics of the latter may be predicated from a knowledge of the former. Caste is at once a religious and social institution; it is at one and the same time an exhibition of religious doctrine, and its practical social effect.

The same careful writer describes the Cunium, or Cunishun, as a caste of Malabar, whose profession is astrology; "besides," he relates, "they make umbrellas, and cultivate the earth. In many parts of India the astrologer, or wise man, whatever his caste may be, is called Cunishun. They are of so low a caste, that if a Cunium come within twenty-four feet of a Brahmin, the latter must purify himself by prayer and ablution. They are said to possess powerful *mantras* (charms) from fragments of the fourth Veda, which is usually alleged to be lost. The towns along the sea-coast are chiefly inhabited by Mop-lays, who were originally imported from Arabia, and probably have traded to the Red Sea since the time of Alexander the Great. They were early converted to the Mohammedan faith, and are fanatics; yet they have retained or adopted many original Malabar customs, which seem at variance with the



maxims of the Prophet. They are cunning traders, desperate robbers, serve as irregular infantry, possess land, and turn their hands to anything. They hate the Hindoo idolaters, and are reciprocally detested. The Tiar and Mucuars are very industrious classes—the first on shore, and the latter afloat—as boat and fishermen; there are no weavers or manufacturers deserving of notice.”

These glimpses of Hindooism, penetrating by its caste influence a circle of religionists who hate idolatry, strikingly illustrate how adapted caste is to the tyranny, pride, meanness, and servility which are curiously blended in the native mind, and how ingeniously the social theory of the Hindoo religion was formed to harmonise with the psychological and habitual sympathy of the Hindoo race. Mr. Hamilton, in his description of the castes of Malabar, gives the following graphic and particular account:—

“The region of Malabar being intersected by many rivers, and bounded by the sea and high mountains, presented so many obstacles to invaders, that it escaped subjugation by the Mohammedans until it was attacked by Hyder, in 1766; the original manners and customs of the Hindoos have consequently been preserved in greater purity than in most parts of India. The other inhabitants of this province are Moplays (or Mohammedans), Christians, and Jews; but their number collectively is inferior to that of the Hindoos, some of whose most remarkable manners, customs, and institutions, shall be here described.

“The rank of caste on the Malabar coast is as follows:—

“First. Namburies, or Brahmins.

“Second. The Nairs, of various denominations.

“Third. The Teers, or Tiar, who are cultivators of the land, and freemen.

“Fourth. The Malears, who are musicians and conjurors, and also freemen.

“Fifth. The Poliar, who are slaves, or bondsmen, and attached to the soil.

“The system of distances to be observed by these castes is specified below:—

“1. A Nair may approach, but must not touch a Brahmin. A Tiar must remain thirty yards off. A Poliar ninety-six steps off.

“2. A Tiar is to remain twelve steps distant from a Nair. A Malear three or four steps further. A Poliar ninety-six steps.

“3 A Malear may approach, but not touch a Tiar.

“4. A Poliar is not to come near even to a Malear, or to any other caste. If he wishes to speak to a Brahmin, Nair, Tiar, or Malear,

he must stand at the above prescribed distance, and cry aloud to them. If a Poliar touch a Brahmin, the latter must make expiation by immediately bathing, reading much of the divine books, and changing his Brahminical thread. If a Poliar touch a Nair, or any other caste, bathing is sufficient. In some parts of the province Churmun is a term applied to slaves in general, whatever their caste be, but it is in some other parts confined peculiarly to Poliar. Even among these wretched creatures the pride of caste has full influence; and if a Poliar be touched by another slave of the Pariar tribe, he is defiled, and must wash his head, and pray.

“The Parian, in the plural Pariar, belong to a tribe of Malabar below all caste, all of whom are slaves.

“In Malabar the Pariars acknowledge the superiority even of the Niadis, but pretend to be higher than two other races. This tribe eat carrion, and even beef, so that they are looked upon as equally impure with the Mohammedans and Christians.

“The Niadis are an outcast tribe, common in Malabar, but not numerous. They are reckoned so very impure, that even a slave of caste will not touch them. They have some miserable huts, built under trees, but they generally wander about in companies of ten or twelve, keeping a little distance from the roads, and when they see any passenger they set up a howl like dogs that are hungry. Those who are moved by compassion lay down what they are inclined to bestow, and go away; the Niadis afterwards approach, and pick up what has been left. They have no marriage ceremony, but one man and one woman always associate together. They kill tortoises, and sometimes alligators, both of which they eat, and consider most excellent food.

“The Brahmins here are both fewer in number, and less civilised, than in the other provinces of India south of the Krishna. They subsist by agriculture, priestcraft, and other devices, but are not employed as revenue servants, this being probably the only province of the south where the Brahmins do not keep the accounts.

“The next most remarkable caste are the Nairs, who are the pure Sudras of Malabar, and all pretend to be born soldiers, but they are of various ranks and professions. The highest in rank are the Kirit, or Kirum Nairs, who on all public occasions act as cooks, which, among Hindoos, is a sure mark of transcendent rank, for every person may eat food prepared by a person of higher rank than himself. The second rank of Nairs are more particularly named Sudras, but the



whole acknowledge themselves, and are allowed to be, of pure Sudra origin. There are altogether eleven ranks of Nairs. This caste formed the militia of Malabar, directed by the Brahmins, and governed by rajahs, before the country was disturbed by foreign invasion; their submission to their superiors was great, but they exacted deference with an arrogance rarely practised by Hindoos in their state of dependence. A Nair was expected instantly to cut down a Tiar (cultivator) or Mucua (fisherman) who presumed to defile him by touching his person; and a similar fate awaited a Poliar or Pariar who did not turn out of his road as a Nair passed. The peculiar deity of the Nair caste is Vishnu, but they wear in their forehead the mark of Siva. The proper road to heaven they describe as follows:—The votary must go to Benares, and afterwards perform the ceremony in commemoration of his deceased ancestors at Gaya. He must then take up water from the Ganges, and having journeyed over an immense space of country, pour it on the image of Siva, at Rameswara, in the Straits of Ceylon. After this he must visit the principal places of pilgrimage—such as Juggernaut, in Orissa, and Tripetty, in the Carnatic. He must always speak the truth (to a native a hard penance), give much charity to poor and learned Brahmins, and, lastly, he must frequently fast and pray, and be very chaste in his conduct.”

The state of things described in the foregoing quotations has been modified, so far as slavery, personal or predial, is concerned, the powerful hand of the East India Company having been put forth on behalf of the unhappy and oppressed; but so far as the spirit of caste operates, it is still the same—remorseless, vain, and spiritually assuming.

The influence of this feature of the religion of India may be seen perhaps in the character of its soldiery as much as in any other way. From the pride and exclusiveness of caste, it must be obvious that it would prove a serious impediment to the good discipline of a native army. Mutinies have frequently occurred in consequence of the rules of a soldier's duty interfering, or appearing to interfere, with the prerogatives and obligations of caste. The recent revolt of the Bengal army had its origin in such a cause. It is unnecessary in this place to enter into the question whether the greased cartridges distributed to the men was the sole cause, or whether a Mohammedan conspiracy had not existed, which found a fortunate occasion in the cartridge question for enlisting the sympathy of the Brahmins. This matter was itself sufficient to inflame the bigotry of the

whole Bengal army, and it ought to have been known to the officials that it was so. Among the prejudices of the Brahmin is a conviction that to taste the fat of kine is ceremonially unclean, and deprives him of caste, although abstinence from it is not enforced by the Vedas. The Mussulmen of every caste (for the Mohammedans of India have to a certain extent adopted the distinctions and rules of caste) regard swine's flesh in the same light. The cartridges distributed to the Bengal army were, or, which is the same thing in the matter, were supposed to be, greased with both these objectionable materials, and when the allegation that such was the case became known to the troops, they revolted, *preferring death to loss of caste!*

Many ingenious arguments have been used to prove that the objection of the Brahmins was assumed rather than real, but it is clear to any impartial person that this single cause was sufficient for the revolt. The argument chiefly used to prove that it was not, is the use of these very cartridges by the revolvers against the British. This admits of two replies—first, in all superstitious creeds, that which is supposed to be wrong ceremonially, and even morally, ceases to be so when the church or religion of the devotees is served by the infraction; the end sanctifies, or justifies, or at all events excuses the deed. To use the unclean cartridge in the service of the infidel would be loss of caste—death—worse than death; to use it in the name and service of religion against the infidel, and against the infidel in the very matter of an attempt to enforce its use upon the faithful, would expiate the deprivation of caste involved, and restore the unwilling delinquent: in the one case he would be regarded as an apostate, in the other a confessor. But, independent of that reply, there is a second—the revolvers did not use the teeth, nor taste the forbidden thing; they used the hand, a less expeditious way of loading, but it saved caste. The rules of the British service compelled the use of the teeth; the soldier could not, therefore, load with the regulation cartridge without violating conscience, which the Honourable East India Company promised to respect. The sepoy upon whom this violation of conscience was enforced, regarded the compact between him and the company as broken, and, as a persecuted man, he revolted. He was not in his own opinion false to his salt, but the government was, as he believed, false to him. The words of the military regulation for loading are as follow:—“First bring the cartridge to *the mouth*, holding it between



the forefinger and thumb, with the ball in the hand, and bite off the top elbow close to the body." When the suspicions of the sepoys had been excited, in consequence of the cartridges being greased, General Heresey recommended the adaptation of "a new mode of drill," recommended by Major Boniteux, commanding the depot of musketry at Dum Dum. His words were, "breaking the cartridge with the hand instead of by biting it."\* It is remarkable that the native artillerymen never objected to *handling* the grease applied to the gun-wheels. Had there been a regulation order for them to put it to their teeth or lips, they would have revolted in consequence, as certainly as did the infantry, and portions of the cavalry, from the like cause. It was in sympathy with the infantry that the cavalry in some cases, and the artillery in many cases, joined the revolt. The artillery made no complaints nor demands, and no murmurs were heard among them. They joined in the struggle, so far as they did join, for the aid of their persecuted brethren, as they regarded them, and in defence of their religion.

The mutiny of Vellore, which figures so largely in the history of India, was not provoked by a cause so intensely irritating as the question of the greased cartridges, and yet no one now denies that that revolt was caused by an apprehension that the government desired to tamper with the religion of the soldiers. At first the cry of conspiracy was raised then as now, but it was soon dissipated, and the language of Professor Wilson sets the question outside the circle of argument:—"Upon considering, therefore, the utter improbability of any combined co-operation of the Mohammedan princes of the Deccan with the sons of Tippoo, the absence of all proof of its existence, the extension of the discontent to places where no political influence in their favour could have been exerted, the prevalence of disaffection among the Hindoos as well as the Mohammedans, and, finally, admitting the entire adequacy of the cause to the effect, there can be no reason to seek for any other origin of the mutiny than dread of religious change inspired by the military orders. Here, however, in fairness to the question of the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity, the nature of the panic which spread amongst the sepoys requires to be candidly appreciated. It is a great error to suppose that the people of India are so sensitive upon the subject of their religion, either Hindoo or Moham-

edan, as to suffer no approach of controversy, or to encounter adverse opinions with no other arguments than insurrection and murder. On the contrary, great latitude of belief and practice has always prevailed among them, and especially among the troops, in whose ranks will be found seceders of various denominations from the orthodox systems. It was not, therefore, the dissemination of Christian doctrines that excited the angry apprehensions of the sepoys on the melancholy occasion which has called for these observations, nor does it appear that any unusual activity in the propagation of those doctrines was exercised by Christian missionaries at the period of its occurrence. It was not conversion which the troops dreaded, it was compulsion; it was not the reasoning or the persuasion of the missionary which they feared, but the arbitrary interposition of authority. They believed, of course erroneously, that the government was about to compel them to become Christians, and they resisted compulsory conversion by violence. The lesson is one of great seriousness, and should never be lost sight of as long as the relative position of the British government and its Indian subjects remains unaltered. It is not sufficient that the authority of the ruling power should never interpose in matters of religious belief; it should carefully avoid furnishing grounds of suspicion that it even intends to interfere."\* Had the warning given by the astute and learned professor been heeded, the question of the greased cartridges would never have arisen, and the Bengal army would not have been lost. That Mussulmen conspiracies existed in various places is probable, and that a general impatience of the authority of the Christians prevailed among the Mohammedans, is as indisputable as that they took the earliest occasion of turning the revolt to their own account; but that the inexorable rules of caste, placed in opposition to an imprudent, stupid, and unintentional attempt to violate it, caused the revolt, is a verdict to which most men must come who read the records of the military rebellion of 1857 in the Bengal presidency. The rapid spread of disaffection does not require the theory of a pre-existing conspiracy to account for it. In the nature of things the like would occur when the revolt in the first instance had a caste origin. The philosophy of its rapid extension was expressed by Sir Charles Napier in a single paragraph when writing of the probability of military insurrection in India:—"In all mutinies some men more

\* *India*, Mill and Wilson, vol. vii. p. 140.

\* Appendix to Papers, &c., pp. 36—38; Letter from the Governor general in Council to the Court of Directors, April 8, 1857; *Mutinies in the East Indies*, pp. 3, 4.



daring than others are allowed to take the lead, while the more wary prepare to profit when time suits. A few men in a few corps, a few corps in an army, begin; if successful, they are joined by their more calculating and by their more timid comrades."

The imprudence and oversight of British officials made the occasion of the revolt, the operating principle was caste. The following extract from the deposition of a jemadar of native infantry depicts the state of mind of the soldiers, the despair of preserving their fealty with their honour and their caste, and the cruel vindictiveness which a sense of the greatest injury conceivable by them inspired: "On the night of the 5th instant (February, 1857), soon after eight o'clock, roll-call, two or three men (sepoys) came to me, and made me accompany them to the parade-ground, where I found a great crowd assembled, composed, to the best of my belief, of the men of the different regiments at this station. They had their heads tied up with cloths, having only a small part of the face exposed. They asked me to join them, and I asked them what I was to join them in. They replied that they were willing to die for their religion, and that if they could make an arrangement that evening, the next night, February 6th, 1857, they would plunder the station, and kill all the Europeans, and then go where they liked." The institution of caste must always be a source of insubordination in the army, and danger to the state.

The native princes, Hindoo and Moham-medan, are so much under caste prejudices, and so enslaved by superstitious observances, that they lead lives as puerile as their retainers, and exhibit a judgment on matters of conscience and religion utterly feeble. Even princes of the Sudra caste have crouched to the Brahmin, and subjected themselves to the most abject ceremonies. The following specimen of the superstitious thralldom of a prince rendered infamous by his cruelties, will exhibit the weak and absurd religious character even of men of vigour in other relations of life. This picture is drawn by no unfriendly hand, but by one rather disposed to palliate and soften down the inexcusable folly and hard features of the superstition. The sanguinary Nana Sahib, whose butcheries at Cawnpore have filled the world with horror, is the subject of the sketch. *Ex uno disce omnes.* "Here sat the maharajah on a Turkey carpet, and reclining slightly on a huge bolster. In front of him were his hookah, a sword, and several nosegays. His highness rose, came forward, took my hand, led me to the carpet, and begged of me to be seated on a cane-bottomed arm-chair, which

had evidently been placed ready for my especial ease and occupancy. A hookah is called for by the rajah, and then at least a dozen voices repeat the order—'*Hookah lao sahib ke waste*' (bring a hookah for the sahib). Presently the hookah is brought in; it is rather a grand affair, but old, and has evidently belonged to some European of extravagant habits. . . . While I am pulling away at the hookah, the mensahibs, or favourites of the rajah, flatter me in very audible whispers. 'How well he smokes!'—'What a fine forehead he has!'—'And his eyes! how they sparkle!'—'No wonder he is so clever!'—'He will be governor-general some day.'—'Khuda-Kuriu' (God will have it so). . . . *Native rajah (in a loud voice).* 'Moonshee!'—*Moonshee (who is close at hand).* 'Maharaj, protector of the poor!'—*Native rajah.* 'Bring the petition that I have laid before the governor-general.' The moonshee produces the petition, and, at the instance of the rajah, reads, or rather sings it aloud. The rajah listens with pleasure to its recital of his own wrongs, and I affect to be astounded that so much injustice can possibly exist. During my rambles in India I have been the guest of some scores of rajahs, great and small, and I never knew one who had not a grievance. He had either been wronged by the government, or by some judge whose decision had been against him. In the matter of the government it was a sheer love of oppression that led to the evil of which he complained; in the matter of the judge, that functionary had been bribed by the other party. It was with great difficulty that I kept my eyes open while the petition—a very long one—was read aloud. Shortly after it was finished I craved permission to retire, and was conducted by a bearer to the sleeping-room. . . . The maharajah invited me to accompany him to Cawnpore. I acquiesced, and the carriage was ordered. The carriage was English built—a very handsome landau, and the horses were English. But the harness! It was country made, and of the very commonest kind, and worn out, for one of the traces was a piece of rope. The coachman was filthy in his dress, and the whip that he carried in his hand was an old broken buggy whip, which some European gentleman must have thrown away. On the box, on either side of the coachman, sat a warlike retainer, armed with a sword and a dagger. In the rumble were two other retainers, armed in the same manner. Besides the rajah and myself there were three others (natives, and relatives of the rajah) in the vehicle. On the road the rajah talked incessantly, and among things that he told



me was this in reference to the praises that I bestowed on his equipage:—‘Not long ago I had a carriage and horses very superior to these. They cost me 25,000 rupees, but I had to burn the carriage, and kill the horses.’—‘Why so?’—‘The child of a certain sahib in Cawnpore was very sick, and the sahib and the mensahib were bringing the child to Bithoor for a change of air. I sent my big carriage for them. On the road the child died, and of course, as a dead body had been in the carriage, and as the horses had drawn that dead body in that carriage, I could never use them again.’ The reader must understand that a native of any rank considers it a disgrace to sell property. ‘But could you not have given the horses to some friend, a Christian or a Mussulman?’—‘No; had I done so it might have come to the knowledge of the sahib, and his feelings would have been hurt at having occasioned me such a loss.’ Such was the maharajah commonly known as Nana Sahib. He appears to be not a man of ability, nor a fool. He was selfish, but what native is not? He seemed to be far from a bigot in matters of religion; and although he was compelled to be so very particular about the destruction of his carriage and horses, I am quite satisfied that he drank brandy, and that he smoked hemp in the chillum of his hookah.”

Terrible as was the practice of Suttee, which was abolished by the government in December of the year 1829, and oppressive as the bondage of India was, which continued with little mitigation until August, 1838, when the government suppressed it, neither of these aspects of the character of the religion of the Hindoos surpassed in barbarity the robbery and assassination which, under the name of Thug, and various other designations, exist to this day. Caste, which is not merely a social institution or an enactment of Hindoo civil law, but a religious institution, dependent upon the creed of those who observe it, is answerable for these foul deeds. “The Hindoos have some peculiarities that do not admit of classification. As they have castes for all the trades, they have also castes for thieves, and men are brought up to consider robbing as their hereditary occupation. Most of the hill tribes bordering on cultivated countries are of this description; and even throughout the plains there are castes more notorious for theft and robbery than gipsies used to be for pilfering in Europe. In their case hereditary professions seem favourable to skill, for there are nowhere such dextrous thieves as in India. Travellers are full of stories of the patience, perseverance, and address with which they will steal, unper-

ceived, through the midst of guards, and carry off their prize in the most dangerous situations. Some dig holes in the earth, and come up within the wall of a well-closed house; others, by whatever way they enter, always open a door or two to secure a retreat, and proceed to plunder, naked, smeared with oil, and armed with a dagger, so that it is as dangerous to seize as it is difficult to hold them. One class, called Thugs, continually travel about the country, assuming different disguises—an art in which they are perfect masters. Their practice is to insinuate themselves into the society of travellers whom they hear to be possessed of property, and to accompany them till they have an opportunity of administering a stupifying drug, or of throwing a noose over the neck of their unsuspecting companion. He is then murdered without blood being shed, and buried so skillfully, that a long time elapses before his fate is suspected. The Thugs invoke Bhawani, and vow a portion of their spoil to her. This mixture of religion and crime might of itself be mentioned as a peculiarity, but it is paralleled by the vows of pirates and banditti to the Madonna; and in the case of Mussulmen, who form the largest portion of the Thugs, it is like the compacts with the devil, which were believed in the days of superstition. It need scarcely be said that the long descent of the thievish castes gives them no claim on the sympathy of the rest of the community, who look on them as equally obnoxious to punishment, both in this world and the next, as if their ancestors had belonged to the most virtuous classes. The hired watchmen are generally of these castes, and are faithful and efficacious. Their presence alone is a protection against their own class, and their skill and vigilance against strangers. Gujerat is famous for one class of people of this sort, whose business it is to trace thieves by their footsteps. In a dry country a bare foot leaves little prints to common eyes, but one of these people will perceive all its peculiarities, so as to recognise it in all its circumstances, and will pursue a robber by these vestiges for a distance that seems incredible.”\*

The religious condition of considerable numbers of the people in the remoter parts of India, and in places less accessible, is not so much influenced by caste prejudices as that of the people in the rich and cultivated portions of the country, or near the great cities and centres of native or English government. This circumstance has led many public men to state that the distinction of caste was altogether on the wane. The Rev. Mr. Miall,

\* Elphinstone, lib. III. cap. xi. p. 191.



the talented editor of the *Nonconformist* newspaper, and late member for Rochdale, boldly affirmed, at a public meeting in 1857, that caste was perishing all over India, and would have died out before now, but for the support given to it by the government of the East India Company. This view receives a seeming support from the fact that the members of particular castes, soldiers of native regiments in the company's service, have sometimes agreed to dispense with the customary observances which their caste prescribed. It is, however, a delusion to suppose that, in the main, the power of the institution is shaken, however inconsistent the casuistry of particular bodies of men may appear, when acting under a strong temptation to set some of its rules aside. No person well acquainted with the condition of India, as a whole, or with the mental habits of the races which people it, would support the opinion expressed by Mr. Miall, and which, upon the faith of his statement, many not conversant with India are likely to receive. The vast multitudes of Hindoostan cling tenaciously to the prescriptions and distinctions of this institution. There are, however, in Central India more particularly, predatory tribes who, unless they consider themselves of the thief or of the Thug class, do not observe caste at all, but who are sunk in the grossest idolatry, brutality, and crime:—"The hills and forests in the centre of India are inhabited by a people differing widely from those who occupy the plains. They are small, black, slender, but active, with peculiar features, and a quick restless eye. They wear few clothes, are armed with bows and arrows, make open profession of plunder, and, unless the government is strong, are always at war with all their neighbours. When invaded, they conduct their operations with secrecy and celerity, and shower their arrows from rocks and thickets, whence they can escape before they can be attacked, and often before they can be seen. They live in scattered, and sometimes movable hamlets, are divided into small communities, and allow great power to their chiefs. They subsist on the product of their own imperfect cultivation, and on what they obtain by exchanges or plunder from the plains. They occasionally kill game, but do not depend on that for their support. In many parts the berries of the mahua-tree form an important part of their food. Besides one or two of the Hindoo gods, they have many of their own, who dispense particular blessings or calamities. The one who presides over the smallpox is, in most places, looked on with peculiar awe. They sacrifice fowls, pour libations before eating, are guided

by inspired magicians, and not by priests, bury their dead, and have some ceremonies on the birth of children, marriages, and funerals, in common. They are all much addicted to spirituous liquors, and most of them kill and eat oxen. Their great abode is in the Vindaya Mountains, which run east and west from the Ganges to Gujerat, and the broad tract of forest which extends north and south from the neighbourhood of Allahabad to the latitude of Masulipatam, and, with interruptions, almost to Cape Comorin. In some places the forest has been encroached on by cultivation, and the inhabitants have remained in the plains as village watchmen, hunters, and other trades suited to their habits. In a few places their devastations have restored the clear country to the forest, and the remains of villages are seen among the haunts of wild beasts." \*

These representations of the low condition and sanguinary habits of the native populations are not overdrawn. Our knowledge of the various rude tribes, and of the castes in the more civilised districts, is imperfect; but the more we are acquainted with them, the better authenticated and the more enlarged our means of information, the more does it become obvious that the condition of the people is barbarous and horrible—as when the geologist brings to light some fragment of an antediluvian monster, men are astonished at the proportions, but it is only when the other fragments are found, and the huge skeleton stands to view in its completeness, that the idea of its monstrosity can be thoroughly realised.

Whatever be the moral condition of the Hindoo people, however superstitious their ideas of religion, and of religious services, they have been munificent in erecting shrines to their idolatry, and their temples greatly add to the picturesque features of the land. Some of the religious edifices are called Cave Temples. They are generally excavations from the rock, and assume proportions of magnitude and grandeur. They are extremely numerous; the rocks of Cashmere contain, it is alleged, more than twelve thousand of them. Notwithstanding their number, the vastness of many of them is sublime. They are not all devoted to the Hindoo religion, many being temples of Buddha, as are those of Ellora.

The caves of Ajunta are more vast, and there is a solemnity in their appearance which amounts to awe. These caves are not mere excavations, they are architecturally hewn in the Ghauts. Indian columns and pillars of vast size and elaborate design support, divide,

\* Elphinstone, lib. III. cap. xi. p. 193.



and decorate the spacious compartments. On these pillars protruding and receding angles, rich carvings and elaborate ornaments, show the taste and devotion of the Hindoo devotees. The walls are profusely ornamented in some instances, partly by chiselled work, partly in stucco, and in some cases rather extensively in painting, both in oil and water colours. Mr. Capper, quoting the authority of an officer of the company's service, who made drawings of many of these sacred caves in Cashmere, represents the human figure as especially well executed; while Mr. Elphinstone, relying upon the Asiatic researches, and the testimony of gentlemen skilled in architectural science, declares that the human figures are more deficient in taste than any other decorative forms, and that the total ignorance of perspective, and of the faculty of artistic grouping, is remarkable. Fruit, flowers, ornament, and mythical designs, are more successfully depicted.

The same criticism may be applied to the decoration of the superstructural temples; although of them, as well as of the cave sanctuaries, it is affirmed by some admirers of everything Indian, that they far surpass in perspective, grouping, and richness of ornament the architecture and architectural paintings and carvings of Europe of corresponding antiquity.

It is becoming a more general opinion, that the temples in a complete state which most attract the notice of Europeans for their beauty and extent, are comparatively modern; although they have been so frequently referred to as illustrating the very early development of the arts and of sacred architecture in India. There is perhaps no exception to the rule that the temples display a faculty of minute detail and richness of ornament, on the part of their constructors, rather than the bold and general comprehension and design of European genius. There are no specimens of Indian temples to be compared for simple but comprehensive boldness and dignity with the temples of pagan Greece or Rome, for solemn grandeur with the swelling domes of the best mosques of the Mohammedans, or for chaste sublimity with Christian churches.

The temples of Cashmere are the finest in India, using the term India in its broad sense; but these have such evident traces of Greek origin, as to deprive the native architects of the credit of original conception in their design. The columns are what is called Arian, and very unlike any of the many varieties found elsewhere in the Indian temples.

The general architecture of places dedicated to the gods bears a nearer resemblance to that used for the same purpose in Egypt

than to any other, yet the diversities are considerable. There is much difference in the size of the Hindoo temples. Sometimes only a single chamber, ornamented by a portico, covered with a pyramidal roof, curiously surmounted by metallic decorations, constitutes the temple. The devotee approaches a door, which alone opens into the inner *sanctum*, and presents his offerings. In other instances the sanctuary is surrounded by many courts, approached by passages and colonnades, lesser sanctuaries, devoted to minor gods, being comprehended within those courts. In one instance the circumvaling buildings comprise a space of four miles.

The general effect of the larger temples is imposing. They are frequently built in great cities, which they adorn. Sometimes they are erected in the retirement of forests, in lonely places on the banks of great rivers, especially the Ganges, and high up on plateaux of the Ghauts or Himalayas. The lonely grandeur of these isolated dwellings of the gods can hardly fail to impress the oriental imagination; and there is generally a tasteful keeping between the style of the edifice and the scenery in which it is placed, whether nestled amidst forest foliage, casting its shadow over the river murmuring round its walls, or lifting its tall towers from the mountain rock high up into the blazing light, as if alike inviting gods and men to meet within its solemn precincts. Alas! what horrid rites disfigure these costly altars! upon what dreadful scenes might these pictorial gods and heroes look, were they animated to behold for a moment the worshippers that gaze upon them! How the great enemy of man triumphs over prostrate reason, and deluded hopes, and fears, and feelings, within the spaces enclosed by those wreathed columns and stuccoed walls! He that studies her worship must, *a priori*, know that India is debased—that avarice, lust, and slaughter, are the passions which rage within the Hindoo heart, as flames from different sacrifices on the same altar are ever conflicting, yet blending as they rise. While the sacred Scriptures tell us that an “idol is nothing in the world,”—a thing to be counted nothing,—yet they also depict the degradation, passion, cruelty and crime which may be inspired by the associations with which the imagination surrounds the senseless block. India, in her state and in her history, confirms with startling verification the philosophy of idolatry which the Christian Scriptures reveal. It is the religion of India, but more especially the idolatrous religion of India, that make its people alike servile and tyrannical, weak and wicked. The following is perhaps as faithful



a moral picture as was ever drawn of any original. He who would understand India must comprehend that the sources of her degradation lie thus deep :—"To what cause, then, shall we attribute that prostration of mind and depravity of heart which have sunk a great people into wretchedness, and rendered them the object of political contempt and of moral abhorrence? The answer is readily obtained—to superstition, to the prevalence of a mighty system of religious imposture, as atrocious as it is extravagant, which in the same degree that it dishonours the Supreme Being corrupts and debases his rational creatures; which, upon the most outrageous absurdity, engrafts the most abominable vice, and rears a temple to false and filthy deities upon the ruins of human intellect and human virtue. It were criminal to conceal or palliate the real cause of Hindoo degeneracy. It is false religion, and nothing else. The gods whom the Hindoos worship are impersonations of all the vices and all the crimes which degrade human nature, and there is no grossness and no villany which does not receive countenance from the example of some or other of them. The vilest and most slanderous impurity pervades their mythology throughout, is interwoven with all its details, is at once its groundwork and its completion, its beginning and its end. The robber has his god, from whom he invokes a blessing on his attempt against the life and property of his neighbour. Revenge, as well as robbery, finds a kindred deity; and cruelty, the never-failing companion of idolatry, is the essence of the system. The rites and ceremonies are worthy of the faith; they may be summed up in three words—folly, licentiousness, and cruelty. Penances, silly and revolting, are the means of expiating sin. Grossness the most horrible, both in nature and in degree, from which the most abandoned characters in the most abandoned parts of Europe would recoil, enters into public worship, and the higher festivals are honoured by an increased measure of profligacy. That unhappy class of females who everywhere else are regarded with contemptuous scorn, or with painful commiseration, are in India appendages to the temples of religion. The Hindoo faith, in perfect conformity with its character, demands barbarous as well as licentious exhibitions, and torture and death are among its most acceptable modes of service. From such deities and such modes of worship what can we expect but what we find? If the sublime example of perfect purity which true religion places before its followers be calculated to win to virtue, must not universal con-

tamination be the necessary consequence of investing pollution and crime with the garb of divinity? If men find licentiousness and cruelty associated with the ceremonies of religion, is it possible that they should believe them to be wrong? Can they be expected in private life to renounce as criminal, practices which in public they have been taught to regard as meritorious? Will they abhor in the world that which they reverence in the sanctuary? It were absurd to believe it. The Hindoo system prescribes the observance of frivolous ceremonies, and neglects to inculcate important moral duties. But its pernicious influence does not terminate there; it enforces much that is positively evil. By the institution of castes it estranges man from his fellows, and shuts up avenues of benevolence; invests one part of society with the privilege of unrestrained indulgence, casting over them the cloak of sanctity, however unworthy,—shielding them from the consequences of their actions, however flagitious, and condemns another to hopeless and perpetual debasement, without the chance of emancipation or improvement. A system more mischievous or iniquitous, better calculated to serve the interests of vice, or destroy those of virtue, seems beyond the power of the most perverted ingenuity to frame."\*

Hindooism or Brahminism is not the only form of ancient religion prevailing in Hindoostan and the neighbouring countries. Buddhism approaches nearest to it in antiquity, and is far more extensively professed. The religion of Buddha is not of much influence in India proper, but in Thibet, China, Tenasserim, Pegu, Birmah, Japan, and other countries of Eastern Asia, it is the prevailing religion. In the island of Ceylon it is the religion of nearly the whole population. The founder of this new creed was born late in the seventh century before Christ, and was, or at all events is reputed to have been, the son of a Hindoo king. His name was Sakya, or Gotama, by both of which designations he is known, but is more generally called Gotama Buddha. The term Buddha seems to be a title expressive of his attainments and exalted being, for it means *intelligence*. Early in the sixth century before Christ he set up for a prophet and teacher, and for half a century exerted himself in the propagation of his doctrines, which rapidly spread through Hindoostan and the neighbouring countries. It was ultimately nearly extirpated in India by persecution on the part of the Brahmins, but it continues to this day, and is the faith of

\* *India: its State and Prospects*, by Edward Thornton.



multitudes in China, Birmah, British Birmah, Japan, Ceylon, and in portions of Nepaul and Thibet. There are more votaries of this belief than of any other religion, true or false, in the world. Gotama was originally a very pious Hindoo, of the caste of the Kshatriyas, and the Brahmins allege that he was moved to become an apostate by envy of the superior caste of the Brahmins, whose privileges he could not attain, although being the son of a king. His votaries say that, by a life of austerity and contemplation, he attained to the true philosophy, and reformed the errors of mankind. His creed is atheistical materialism. The being of a god is denied, the eternity of matter and its essential and inherent power to produce all organisations without any external action upon it is affirmed. Yet there is not unity of opinion among the followers of Buddha; for while in China and parts of Tartary they are atheistical, in Nepaul, Thibet, and other parts of Tartary they are theists, but deny the creation, government, and providence of God. They represent him as a being whose apathy to all external things constitutes his happiness, and they regard the attainment of a similar apathy by themselves as the perfection of life. Some sects of the Buddhists believe that God and matter are the same; that matter is the exterior of God, and its productive and reproductive power they describe as the involuntary, and, some of them say, unconscious action of the Deity. In some parts of the East they are polytheists, but this view is confined to the vulgar. In the industriously compiled and clever book on Christianity in Ceylon, written by Sir Emerson Tennant, errors of statement have arisen from a want of perception of this sectarian discrepancy.

There are in the system of Buddha various orders of superior intelligences—*i. e.* glorified men, who have made themselves what they are by penances and wisdom. The process by which such high attainment is reached is transmigration, which goes on through various worlds, and has gone on in various worlds before the subject of the mysterious changes was an inhabitant of this earth. The Buddhas are the highest order of intelligences; of them there are many, sixteen chief Buddhas having reached the highest state of felicity; the last of them was Gotama, by whom the mystery was revealed. The religious exercises consist of penances and bodily mortifications, which are systematised. The most intense devotees unite themselves into associations, as monks and nuns in Roman Catholic Christendom. Buddha is not ostensibly worshipped; he is the prophet, exemplar,

and guide of men, who may, like him, be finally absorbed into the deity, so as to have no separate existence. Those who refuse to adopt any terms recognising the existence of deity in any sense, hope to attain an intellectual existence perfectly passionless, and which is happy in a serene tranquillity, which allows of no action, nor permits any action upon itself from any form of existence beyond it.

Religious houses for women have gradually disappeared, but extensive confraternities exist wherever Buddhism flourishes. The priests or monks wear robes of yellow cloth, go barefooted, live by alms, abstain from animal food, or at least from killing animals for food, and most religiously shave the head in the form of the Roman tonsure. Many wear a thin gauze on the lips and nostrils, to prevent insect life from touching them. They profess a high standard of morality—as high as that of the Vedas—probably higher than that contained in those books; but, as in the case of the Brahmins, and other professors of the Brahminical religion, a subtle and corrupt casuistry eludes the standard, and the followers of Buddha exhibit all the cruelty, treachery, licentiousness, and avarice prevailing in China, in which vices they are nearly as deeply sunk as the worshippers of Brahma.

Dr. Cooke Taylor defined Buddhism as being a philosophical, political, and religious reformation of Brahminism. It is not clear whether the learned gentleman meant that it professed to be so, as one might suppose he would, after a comparison of the two systems—for it assuredly was no improvement upon the religion of the Vedas, as it existed six centuries before Christ. The political and moral philosophy of the Vedas, and the religious theory of those books, with all their defects, are superior to the cold abstractions and miserable materialism of Buddha. When the same historian describes the new system as substituting sanctity for sacrifice, it would appear as if the pleasing alliteration of the sentence in some degree concealed the fact from the cognizance of the writer. The Hindooism of Gotama Buddha's day taught humility, reverence, and the necessity of sinful creatures approaching the divinities by media that were intercessory and expiatory. The "sanctity" of Buddhism is a frigid self-righteousness, in which, according to Mr. Hodgson, "the ascetic despises the priest, the saint scorns the aid of mediators."\* The sentence of Mr. Hodgson is only applicable, however, to what he calls "genuine Buddhism," for no race of devotees

\* *Asiatic Researches.*



were ever more priest-ridden by their monks than the followers of this sect; and with all their vague notions of deity, they, in some of the many nations where their belief is received, offer sacrifices both expiatory and eucharistical. Offerings of various kinds are also presented to deceased men whose virtues merited especial reverence, and sometimes even to demons, who are always represented as capable of good actions, and of ultimately purifying themselves, until they also are absorbed into the divine essence.

Dr. Taylor rather obscurely intimates that the extravagance of princes, and the popular disposition to attribute to them virtue in proportion to their lavish excesses, suggested to Gotama Buddha the idea of a reformation, by which contempt of human affairs and self-denial would become the great tests of virtue. There is no proof that such was the case. It is plain, from the Buddhist system, that, like the Brahminical, it had its origin in the Babylonian philosophy, each adopting prominently the features of that system which the other neglected—the Brahmin regarding the theological aspect of Babylonianism, the Buddhist looking rather to the philosophical. The founder had evidently studied that philosophy, and pointed it out to the people as a neglected portion of the doctrines of their fathers. He found traditions in existence which facilitated the progress of his propagandism.

Notice has been already taken of the tonsured priests or monks of Buddha, the tonsure being Babylonian in its origin. The Buddhists of Tartary use the sign of the cross as a charm to dispel invisible dangers, and reverence the form of the cross in many ways, proving the Babylonish origin of the system. The mystic Tau, the initial of the name Taumuz (or Tammuz) was originally written †. This was marked on the foreheads of the worshippers when they were admitted to the mysteries. The Tau was half the labarum, the idolatrous standard of early pagan nations—the other half being the crescent. The former was the emblem of the Babylonian Bacchus—the latter of Astarte, the Queen of Heaven. In every nation possessing a creed or a philosophy the same sign has been used, having the same derivation. At Nineveh it was found among the ruins as a sacred emblem.\* In Egypt it was similarly used, as is well known.† The Spanish priests were astounded to find the cross worshipped in Mexico.‡ These were all streams from the same fountain—Babylon. The monasteries which are so numerous among the Buddhists, and the nunneries which, although fallen into disrepute in India proper, still

exist in Buddhist countries, were purely Babylonian in their origin. The monasteries of Babylon were devoted to the Babylonian Messiah, and the nunneries to the Madonna. The vestal virgins of Rome, the Scandinavian priestesses of Freya, who vowed perpetual virginity,\* and the lady virgins of Peru,† were all copies of the same original. Prescott, in his *Peru*, expresses his astonishment at finding that the institutions of ancient Rome were to be found among the South American Indians. It is still more surprising that both are not traced more generally to their real source, that from which the Buddhists derived theirs—ancient Babylon.

The Buddhists are not considered idolaters by any writers of reputation, yet it would be an error to suppose that they are free from the superstitious use of idols. The original idolatry of Babylon, consisted in paying a *relative* honour of a sacred kind to the images of the divine beings or attributes thus represented. The primitive idolatry of the Brahminical religion was the same. Buddhism adopts practically the same theory. It reverences its chief ascetics, as the Brahmins do their minor gods; and it makes images of the Buddhas, and images emblematical of the transmigrations and chief facts in the spiritual history of its saints. A recent correspondent of the *Times* London newspaper relates the surprise he felt at discovering idolatry and a species of atheistical materialism as prevailing together, and professed even by the same persons, in the year 1857. Indeed, atheism of the Buddhist order is strangely mixed up in the minds of most of the Chinese with idolatrous superstitions of Babylonian origin, and probably by way of Hindoostan. The following letter from the China correspondent of the journal just mentioned confirms the above remarks as to the genius and practical character of Buddhism. The letter is dated village of Seehoo, August 14th, 1857:—

“Our days were passed in the great Buddhist temples and in the monasteries of the Bonzes. They take us to the Temple of the Great Buddha—a mighty bust forty feet high, carved out of the rock, and gilt; thence to a still larger temple, where a moving pagoda and forty-nine colossal idols commemorate the forty-nine transmigrations of Buddha. These temples, however, great as they are in size and gorgeous grotesqueness, are but as little Welsh churches compared to the wonders of the ‘Yun Lin,’ the ‘Cloudy Forest.’ This is not so much a temple as a region of temples. It is suggestive of the scenes of those ancient pagan mysteries where

\* Jayard.

† Bryant.

‡ Prescott.

\* Maillet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 120.

† Prescott's *Peru*, vol. i. p. 103.



the faith and fortitude of neophytes were tried, and their souls purified by successive terrors. It is a limestone district, abounding in caves and far-reaching dark galleries, and mysterious internal waters. These natural opportunities are improved by a priest and an altar in every cave, gigantic idols cut into the rock in unexpected places, rays of heavenly light which only the faithful votary ought to be able to see, but which, as they come through holes bored through the hill, sceptics sometimes catch sight of; inscriptions two thousand years old,\* but deepened as time wears them. The place is a labyrinth of carved rocks, a happy valley of laughing Buddhas, and queens of Heaven, and squatting Buddhas, and hideous hook-nosed gods of India. There is a pervading smell of frankincense, and the single priest found here and there in solitary places, moaning his ritual, makes the place yet more lonely; and through this strange scene you pass through narrow paths to the foot of the colossal terrace steps which mount to the great temple itself. The wild birds are flying about this vast echoing hall of Buddha; the idols are still bigger, and still more richly gilt. In the great 'gallery of five hundred gods' all that can be done by art, laborious, but ignorant of beauty, reaches its climax. The cowed but tonsured bonzes come forth to greet us. Excellent tea and great choice of sweetmeats await us in the refectory.

"The wonders of this Hangchow Lake deserve better description than the object of these letters will allow me to attempt. The temple and tomb of the faithful minister of state, Yo Fei, occupy acres of ground and thousands of tons of monumental wood, stone, and iron. The imperial palace upon the lake, with its garden of rock-work and green ponds, its large library of unused books, its dim metal mirrors, richly embroidered cushions, and ricketty old chairs, opened to us with great difficulty, and under the immediate pressure of the almighty dollar. I hope some one under less imperative obligation to eschew the merely picturesque, and to seek only for facts which may have a practicable bearing, may yet describe these objects. My favourite eventide occupation was to ascend one of these hills, and sit at the foot of one of these half-burnt pagodas which stand about like blasted cypress-trees, and look down upon the Hangchow. The famous city lies like a map beneath me. Not a curl of smoke—not a building more lofty

than the orthodox two-storied joss-house. I can see not only public temples, but also many of those private ancestral temples, which are to a Chinese gentleman what the chancel of his parish church is to an English squire. Little gardens, perhaps not forty feet square, full of weeds, and rockwork, and little ponds; an oblong pavilion, with tablets upon the walls, descriptive of the names and achievements of the ancestors,—a kneeling-stool, an incense vase, candlesticks, a brazier to burn paper made in imitation of Sycee silver, and a sacrificial tub—such is a Chinaman's private chapel. Here he comes on solemn days, and, the garden being weeded, and all things painted and renewed for the occasion, he prays and sacrifices to his ancestors, and feasts with his friends. If the Chinaman has a superstition, this is it. His Buddhism is a ceremonial to the many, and a speculative philosophy to the adept, no more.

"Mr. Edkins' object in visiting the temples of the lake was to hold controversy with the priests, so I had more opportunity of hearing what they really believe than usually falls to the lot of travellers who cannot read the Pali books. They did not feel his arguments against idolatry. They treat their grotesque gods with as much contempt as we do. They divide the votaries into three classes. First come the learned men, who perform the ritual, and observe the abstinence from animal food, merely as a matter of discipline, but place their religion in absolute mental abstraction, tending to that perfection which shall fit them to be absorbed into that something which, as they say, faith can conceive, but words cannot describe. Secondly come those who, unable to mount to this intellectual yearning after purification from all human sentiments, strive by devotion to fit themselves for the heaven of the western Buddha, where transmigration shall cease, and they shall for all eternity sit upon a lotus-flower, and gaze upon Buddha, drawing happiness from his presence. Thirdly follow the vulgar, whose devotion can rise no higher than the sensual ceremonies, who strike their foreheads upon the steps of the temples, who burn incense, offer candles made from the tallow-tree, and save up their cash for festival days. So far as my experience goes, this class is confined almost entirely to old women, and the priests say that their one unvarying aspiration is that at their next transmigration they may become men.

"Such is Buddhism as we see it in China. But this is not all. A Chinese poet, who eight hundred years ago built an ugly straight-down in this beautiful Lake of Sec-hoo about the same time invented the Ten

\* This is probably an error; Buddhism has been proved incontestably to be no older than the date ascribed to it in this History. These temples were erected since Anno Domini.



Gods of Hell, and grafted them upon the Buddhist faith to terrify men from crime. There is also a reformed sect of Buddhists, who call themselves 'Do-nothings,' and who place the perfection of man in abstaining from all worship, all virtue, and all vice. When the Jesuit missionaries saw the mitres, the tonsure, the incense, the choir, and the statues of the Queen of Heaven, they exclaimed that the devil had been allowed to burlesque their religion. We Protestants may almost say the same. These reformed Buddhists deduce their origin from a teacher who was crucified in the province of Shantung some six hundred years ago, and they shock the missionaries by blasphemous parallels. I have heard that the present Bishop of Victoria investigated this sect, and sent home an account of them, but, for some reason, the statement was suppressed.

"Then we have the Taoists, or cultivators of perfect reason, which is a philosophy having also its temples and its ceremonies. We have the worship of Heaven, which is the prerogative of the emperor, and we have the state religion, the philosophy of Confucius, which is but metaphysics and ethics.

"All these may form good subject of discussion to laboriously idle men, but they are of very little practical importance. They are speculations, not superstitions. They are thought over, they are not felt. They inspire no fanaticism, they create no zeal, they make no martyrs, they generate no intolerance. They are not faiths that men will fight for, or die for, or even feel zealous for. Your Chinese doctor is a man of great subtlety, of great politeness, but of the coldest indifference. He is a most pachydermatous beast, so far as the zeal of the Christian missionary is concerned. 'Do you believe in Jesus Christ?' asks the missionary after long teaching, patiently heard. 'Certainly I do,' coldly answers the hearer. 'But why do you believe? Are you convinced—do you feel that what I have been saying is true?'—'I believe it because you say so,' is the polite and hopeless answer.

"It is this which makes the earnest missionary despond. A Chinaman has no superstition.\* He has nothing that can be overthrown, and leave a void. He will chin his joss, burn crackers before he starts on a voyage, or light a candle for a partner or a useful clerk who may be in danger of death. But it's only hope of 'good luck,' or fear of 'bad luck.' The feeling is no deeper than that which in religious and enlightened Eng-

land causes so many horse-shoes to be nailed up to keep out witches, or which makes decent housewives, who can read and write, separate crossed knives, throw pinches of salt over their shoulder, and avoid walking under a ladder.

"Clustered upon this hill, within the walls of Hangchow, are temples of all these varied forms of paganism, and perhaps within the year the same idolater has bowed in all of them. Two lofty green mounds are perhaps too large for mere private tombs, and mark the spot of some public hero-worship; but in other cases the architecture of the sacred and public edifices is all alike, and you cannot distinguish temples from custom-houses or mandarin offices."

The illustration of Buddhism afforded by the foregoing extract is very remarkable. No modern traveller has probably possessed similar opportunities of witnessing the Buddhist religion in its full practical exhibition as the writer, and it affords a singular and striking exhibition of what Buddhism is where its power is unchecked.

Another religion of Hindoostan is that of the Jains. Dr. Cooke Taylor calls their religion a branch of Brahminism; it might with more propriety be termed a branch of Buddhism. In most of their doctrines these two religions agree, and in very many of their practices. Yet the Jains adopt and multiply the Hindoo gods. They, however, regard all the gods of Hindooism—even the *dies majora*—as inferior to certain saints of their own, whom they call Tirtankeras, of whom there are seventy-two.\* They erect temples, and have colossal images of their Tirtankeras placed in them, also marble altars, and likenesses of their saints above them in relief.

There is one peculiarity which strikes Europeans, and particularly Roman Catholic Europeans,—the practice of auricular confession. This prevailed in ancient Babylon, like all, or nearly all, the chief superstitions of heathen nations. The Tartars are represented as using the confessional by Humboldt, and the Mexicans by Prescott. Humboldt did not seem to be aware that the Tartars whom he represents thus were of the sect of the Jains; some of them were probably Buddhists, or professing a mixture of Jainism and Buddhism. Dr. Stevenson, of Bombay, has proved that the Jains extensively adopt this exercise. Dr. Cooke Taylor represents them as having no priests; Mr. Elphinstone, on the contrary, describes their religious leaders by that name. There are no bloody

\* The writer furnishes abundant proof that the Buddhist is almost as much a slave to superstition as the Brahmins, although there is less of heart in his religion.

\* Dr. Cooke Taylor represents them as twenty-four, but this is an error; there are three sets of Tirtankeras, each twenty-four in number.



sacrifices among them, but bloodless offerings are presented to their saints, and to the gods of the Hindoo Pantheon, by officials sacredly set apart for such purposes. They are as much priests as those of the Hindoo religion.

The Jains' religion originated about the sixth century of our era. It attained the acme of its elevation and influence in the twelfth, and, after maintaining its position for about one hundred and fifty years, rapidly declined. Their chief seats of power are in the west of India. They are much addicted to commercial pursuits and banking. Several very rich bankers are numbered among them. The Brahmins persecuted them, as they did the Buddhists, and with similar success; indeed, with the exception of the Mohammedans, the followers of Brahma are the most bigoted and persecuting of any sect in India.

Brahminism, Buddhism, and Jainism, are represented as religions of Hindoo origin, but other systems which have existence in India are generally described as of foreign origin. Buddhism and Jainism certainly originated in Hindoostan, but Brahminism, in its ancient and peculiar characteristics, was known in Persia\* in times as remote as any of which we have an account in Hindoo history.

Gheberism was imported into Hindoostan from Persia, of which country it is supposed to have been the most ancient form of religion. Its votaries are known in India by the name of Parsees. These people are scattered through various parts of India, and are few in number as compared with the other sects. The object of their adoration is the sun, and fire as supposed to come from that source. Their prophet is Zoroaster. The origin of fire-worship is Babylonian; it is another stream of idolatry from the great source.

The Ghebers trace their doctrines to "Malek Gheber" (the mighty king); and he is undoubtedly identical with Nimrod, the first who began to be mighty (Gheber), and the first Molech, or king. The title which Berossus, the Chaldean historian, gives to Nimrod is Al-orus (the god of fire). During the lifetime of Nimrod he assumed to be the Bollen,† or priest, of the sun, or priest of Baal. Fire being the representation of the sun, it was also worshipped as emanating from the one god, which the sun was then considered to be. When Taumuz, the son of Nimrod, was deified, Nimrod himself was made a god. The story of Phaeton driving the chariot of the sun, and the consequent catastrophe, is

\* Sir John Malcolm.

† Hence the Roman Vulcan.

but the story of Taumuz, his sudden death, and the temporary cessation of the worship of the sun and the heavenly bodies. Zoroaster was Taumuz—the word being originally Zero-ashta, the seed of the woman, referring to the promise in Eden. The Zoroaster who lived in the time of Darius Hystaspes must not be confounded with the primitive Zoroaster.\*

The author of the *Moral Identity of Rome and Babylon* thus writes on this subject:—"The identity of Bacchus and Zoroaster is easily proved. The very epithet Pyrisporus bestowed on Bacchus in the Orphic Hymns (Hymn xliv. 1) goes far to establish that identity. When the primeval promise of Eden began to be forgotten, the meaning of the name Zero-ashta was lost to all who knew only the *exoteric* doctrine of paganism; and as *ashta* signified the 'fire' in Chaldee as well as 'the woman,' and the rites of Taumuz had much to do with fire-worship, Zero-ashta came to be rendered 'the seed of fire,' and hence the epithet 'Pyrisporus,' or Ignigena, 'fire-born,' as applied to Bacchus. From this misunderstanding of the meaning of the name Zero-ashta came the whole story about the unborn infant Bacchus having been rescued from the flames that consumed his mother Semele, when Jupiter came in his glory to visit her. Now there was another name by which Zoroaster was known, which is not a little instructive, and that is Zoro-ades, or 'the only seed.' The ancient pagans, while they recognised supremely one only God, knew also that there was one only *seed*, on whom the hopes of the world depended. In almost all nations not only was a great god known under the name of Zero or Zer, 'the seed,' and a great goddess under the name of Ashta or Isha, 'the woman,' but the great god Zero is frequently characterised by some epithet that implies that he is the 'only one.' Now what can account for such names and epithets? Genesis iii. 15, can account for them; nothing else can. The name Zoro-ades also strikingly illustrates the saying of Paul—"He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of *one*, And to thy seed, which is Christ."

In Persia, and portions of Central Asia, Affghanistan, and Thibet, the worshippers of fire are scattered as a persecuted sect. Those who bear the crescent as their ensign pursue with vindictive sword those whose ensign and idol are the sun. The Mohammedans seem to have been raised up in the retributive providence of God to execute his wrath upon all forms of idolatry, and the votaries of fire have not been spared.

\* Wilson's *Parsee Religion*, p. 398.



The Parsees hold tenaciously by their creed and deity—

“As the sunflower turns to her god when he sets  
The same look which she gave when he rose.”

Among the Parsees of India are many wealthy men, as merchants and bankers. As a class, they are much superior to the other natives, and are more loyal and faithful.

The Sikhs are confined to the Punjaub; their religion is modern, and is a mixture of Mohammedanism and Brahminism. The Sikh people hate both, and are ever ready to arm against the Hindoos and Mohammedans, whose ascendancy they dread much more than that of the British. Before the conquest of the Punjaub, the Sikh country was governed by a sort of theocracy. The nation was the Khalsa, or church. The maharajah was head over both. The Maharajah Dhuleep Singh is now in England; and since the conquest of his territory for crimes in which he had no part, he has been a loyal British subject, as also he is an accomplished gentleman and sincere Christian. Dr. Sir William Logan is the agent of the East India Company to whose care in this country the maharajah is committed, and who participates in those enlightened principles which his illustrious and amiable charge has happily espoused.

Such are the heathen systems of India. A writer in a recent number of *Blackwood's Magazine* remarks—“Polytheism, and its never-failing attendant, idolatry, which in modern times disappeared so much from the face of the earth, still exist in pristine vigour in the Indian peninsula.” Unhappily there are large portions of the face of the earth where polytheism and idolatry still prevail; but the opinion is a just one, that it is in the Indian peninsula that both polytheism and idolatry prevail in pristine force. However erroneous the doctrine may be that the worship of idols necessarily attends polytheism, it is a sequence so general as to justify the inference that where the one prevails the other will probably exist. The same writer justly observes that had the Jewish people, in the days of monotheistic orthodoxy, known the idolatry of India, their prophets would have uttered still more terrible anathemas against it than they uttered against the systems of surrounding nations. “The lowlands of Tyre and Philistia might bow to the false gods of Dagon; the banks of Abana and Pharpar, and the groves of the Orontes, might be gay with the licentious rites of Ashtaroth; memories of the gods of Egypt stood recorded in the Pentateuch; and in the dark hours of the captivity the Hebrews looked with heightened hatred upon the

nobler symbol-worship of Assyria; but not Assyria and Egypt combined would have equalled that stupendous development of paganism and idolatry which still exists as a spectacle for man's humiliation in India.” It is, however, some relief to this picture that the progressive character of Hindoo idolatry seems to have ceased. The doctrine of development, so great a favourite with the doctors of the Christian Church when desirous to defend or commend some favourite heresy, was a prevalent one among the ministers of Indian idolatries. The systems accordingly went on developing themselves, until the cumbrous structures of ethics and devotion, raised by the adventurous casuists and theorists, became too ponderous to bear further accumulation. There are few new temples erecting for any of the systems of idolatry in India; and the existing temples, of whatever style—whether the rock temples of the ghauts, or the lofty domed topes of Ceylon, dedicated to Buddha, or the “tall elliptical temples of Orissa,” the glory of Juggernaut—are barely preserved in repair. No new accessions of gods or shrines seem to be now made; and there is in this a sign strikingly indicative that the idolatry of India has reached its culminating point, and that the depraved imagination of its people has reached the extent of its creative power in the department of polytheistic idolatry. Indeed, the land is covered with temples: in Conjeveram alone there are one hundred and twenty-five edifices devoted to idols, of which the horrid god Siva has one hundred and eight.

Long since there seemed to be a cessation of progress in the invention of gods and erection of temples, there yet continued a minor activity of the imagination in devising representations of the previously recognised deities. The makers of idols were numerous; in all the cities and villages the craftsmen might be seen idol-making. The manufacture was as varied as extensive. Gods for an English halfpenny or an Indian rupee could be obtained, according to the quality of the image; but if the idols obtained consecration, then the price was rather according to the quality of the god. Consecrated, and even unconsecrated idols, were purchased by the rich at a great cost. The consecration, as to its costliness, depends upon the popularity of the deity, which generally involves a greater number of texts, prayers, and ceremonies in proportion as the god has a great reputation. The idol finally, in most cases, receives a sort of baptism in the Ganges, and becomes a proper household god. Deities of this sort, made of gold and silver, executed



in a superior manner, and richly decorated with precious stones, are to be found in the houses of the wealthy. It is observable, however, that the progressive character of this god-manufacture, which produced such countless varieties of representations, has received a check. The carving, sculpture, and architecture of Hindoo, Jain, Buddhist, and Gheber, have to a great extent lost their originality,—nor is there the same inclination to bestow large sums on household images. It is impossible not to regard this fact as hopeful, in forming an opinion of the prospects of the heathen religions of India.

In all the pagan superstitions of the peninsula the doctrines of penance, as an expiation of sin, and of self-torture, for the purpose of raising human nature to the divine, are held. To such an extent is this carried, that, whether Buddhist, Jain, or Brahmin, all hope to rise to a god-like existence hereafter, by making their existence, for the most part, miserable here. A clergyman well acquainted with India describes this process as leading to the following absurd and degrading exhibitions:—"Some were interred, others, with the head downwards, the legs, from the knees, remaining above ground; some sat on iron spikes; others performed the penance of the five fires, being seated in the midst of four, while the burning sun poured its rays upon the naked head."\*

Another feature common to the heathenism of India is licentiousness. The doctrines of Buddha, as professed by Buddhists proper and by Jains, are adverse to this, but so also are the doctrines of pure Brahminism. The practice over all India, and under all its superstitions, is, however, at variance with the better ethics of the religious theories which are professed. Various superstitious reasons are found for a licentiousness the most abominable; whatever the moral philosophy pervading the creeds, the low character of the deities degrades the worshippers and the worship, and inspires impurity. In Bruce's *Sights and Scenes in the East*, a description is given of the voluptuous dances before the idol of the goddess Durga, such as ought to silence the European apologists for the "innocent superstitions of the East." In the hills, among the Khonds, intoxication is indulged as a stimulus to lasciviousness, which is supposed to be acceptable to the "earth goddess," who bears various names.

Among the false religions of India, Mohammedanism holds a prominent place—not so much from the numerical proportion of its votaries, as from their relative power.

\* *The Land of the Vedas*, by the Rev. P. Percival.

In another publication\* the author of this History gave a summary of the history and religion of Mohammed, so concise and complete as to suit this account of the religions of India.

Mohammedanism is summed up in this sentence—"There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." Early in the seventh century an Arabian enthusiast conceived the idea of a reformation among his pagan countrymen. It appears that he was moved by patriotic and conscientious motives. In his inquiries and reflections he became tolerably acquainted with the Christian and Jewish scriptures, the inspiration of which he did not fully recognise, or formed only vague notions of its nature and character. To the Jews he took an aversion on account of their venality, intolerance, and pride of race. The Christians did not exemplify their religion any better than the Jews did theirs; and as he became estranged from the idolatry of his fathers, he was increasingly shocked by the idolatry of the Christians, and concluded that theirs could not be the ultimate faith of the servants of God in this world. Thus reasoning, he became as zealous to overthrow the idolatry of the Christian altars as that of the pagan, which once he served and finding some to sympathise with him in his views of the simplicity of worship and the unity of God, he conceived the idea of a great reformation. So plain did the amount of truth he had gathered appear to him, that he could not believe in any sincere resistance to it; and reasoning like other bigots before and since, that he who opposed truth opposed God, and ought to be punished, the doctrine of force became an essential part of his system. He soon found obstacles from pagans, Jews, and Christians, not to be surmounted without address, and he resorted to policy and pious frauds akin to such as he perceived to be so successful in the hands of pagan and Christian priests, and Jewish rabbis. Here the faithful historian becomes baffled in his attempts to discover where sincerity ends and imposture begins, and where the strong man's mental vision becomes itself deranged in the tumults of his imaginations, his projects, and his sufferings. And as success crowned his deeds and misdeeds, his sincere iconoclasm, love of justice, and earnest promulgation of fundamental religious truth, become more inextricably mingled with signs of mental aberration, all-devouring ambition, and cunning imposture.

\* Nolan's *Illustrated History of the War against Russia*. London: J. S. Virtue, City Road and Ivy Lane. Dedicated by permission to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.



It is the habit of writers to treat of the life of Mohammed with as much of the *odium theologicum* as would season the keenest ecclesiastical controversy; and he is praised, and the Koran, which he professed to give by inspiration, is lauded as a literary and ethical miracle, or he is denounced as an unmitigated impostor, and his book as a farago of nonsense and fraud. The book, however, was very much in character with the man—with a man of strong mind, of ambitious enterprise—a religious reformer in a dark age, ignorant of the Gospel, willing to do a supposed good by deceptive means, feigning an inspiration he did not feel, and fancying an inspiration that was not real. Thus constituted and actuated, he propounded, as the book of a prophet, that which was only the dream or the device of a fanatic. It is likely that Jewish and Christian aid were afforded him in its composition, and that aid none of the best. He succeeded among an imaginative people by the overwhelming force of his imagination, among a simple people by the amazing directness of his object, among a brave people by his unexampled intrepidity, amongst a roving people by his passion for adventure, and in a superstitious and ignorant age by the display of superior knowledge and more sacred pretensions than other men, and withal by a deep sympathy with the current prejudices of his race and of humanity. He taught that Moses was a prophet, the forerunner of Christ, and Christ a prophet, the forerunner of himself; he supposed, or affected to believe, that he was the promised Comforter—the Paraclete foretold by Christ as the teacher of all things, and the consummator of divine revelation.

The ecclesiastical system of Mohammed is simple. Other religions are tolerated, this is established. It is a religion without a priesthood; no sacrifices bleed within its temples, and no altars are reared. Its ministers are rulers and doctors; they govern the faithful according to the Koran, offer devotions, and instruct. Within the mosque all believers may pray, even aloud, but only believers must enter. To proselyte to the true faith is a virtue, if disdain for the infidel does not operate as a bar to the effort. To abandon the true faith is sacrilege, and its penalty death. Even the proselyte who apostatizes dies.

The social condition of the people who profess it is formed by their religion and their political institutions, as, indeed, is the case with all nations, whatever their creed.

The Mohammedans of India differ very much from their brethren in Western and Northern Asia, as well as from those in

Europe and Africa. Everywhere else, except so far as sectarian differences divide, the features of Mohammedan faith and character possess a clear identity; in India they are so modified by caste, and by the heathenism which holds so tenaciously its position, that Indo-Mohammedanism has a distinctive character. The various inroads of the Prophet's followers were followed by extensive efforts at proselytism; force, guile, and gold, were all freely used to bring over the heathen to Islam; and all were so far successful, that multitudes joined, bearing into their new circle of religious fellowship the love, and, as far as possible, the practice of their old superstitions. The result has been that while the Mohammedan and heathen populations hate one another, and the monotheism of the followers of the Prophet is rigid and uncompromising, they yet adopt castes and customs that are Brahminical, and which give to the social life of the Indo-Mohammedans peculiarities of character very dissimilar from those of their fellow-disciples elsewhere. The Patans and Affghans retain the simpler and sterner service of the old faith, but in Southern Hindoostan so strong a leaven of pagan custom has insinuated itself into the social life of Mohammedans, that but for their pure theism they might be mistaken for Hindoos. The festivals of Mohammedan India strikingly illustrate this; no Turk, or even Affghan, would take part in scenes of such levity. Even fasts and solemnities (so-called) assume much of the wild and exuberant gaiety which characterises the festivals of the Hindoos. Processions, garlands, pyrotechnic displays, &c., mark these occasions. The boat processions on the Ganges by night are scenes of remarkable beauty and boisterous mirth. On these occasions rafts are towed along, bearing fantastic palaces, towers, pagodas, triumphal arches, all hung with brilliant lamps, while rockets shoot up in glittering flight, and the ruffled waters gleam in the broken reflections of the many-coloured lamps and artificial fires. The Hindoos crowd the river's bank, utter their joyous acclamations, beat their rude drums, and express their excited sympathy.\* It is the political action, and what they deem ceremonial uncleanness of the Islamites, that excite in the high caste Hindoos repugnance to Mohammedans. Where the latter, by conformity to caste, and adoption of Hindoo customs, relax their antipathies to Hindooism, even the Brahmins give a certain countenance to their religious rites, especially their festivals. Whatever of their general character the Mohammedans of India have lost, they retain the

\* Missionary reports.



fieree intolerance which they everywhere else exhibit, and the desire to attain power as a religious duty, by means no matter how repulsive and sanguinary. Tyrants everywhere, they are in India as despotic as the genius of their creed might be supposed to make them, and their history on every stage exhibits them.

Besides heathens and Mohammedans, there are Jews in India. The Beni-Israel constitute an interesting class. They are a remnant of the ten tribes carried away in the great and final captivity. They are, however, too inconsiderable in number or influence to require notice at any length in this place.

There are Christians of various oriental sects among the population of the peninsula. Most of these hold opinions obscured by superstition. There are Armenian, Copt, and Syrian Christians. The last-named are most numerous, and allege themselves to be disciples of St. Thomas the apostle.

There are many Roman Catholics among the natives, in the portions of the country where the Portuguese and French settled. The Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries put forth extraordinary efforts to make proselytes. Many of their modes of procedure were most praiseworthy; they studied the languages of the people with indefatigable industry, and exposed themselves fearlessly to the climate, and to every hardship necessary to their great task. Some of their proceedings cannot be too much censured. They pretended to be Brahmins of the highest caste, having in their own country enjoyed the religion of the Vedas. They accordingly assumed the dress and modes of living of the "Suniassi," the most perfect order of the Brahmins in those days, and united with them in ceremonies which no enlightened and honest conscience could allow its possessor to participate. Where guile failed, force was resorted to, and the history of the inquisition at Goa is as horrible as that of Juggernaut at Orissa,—at all events, when we recollect that the cruel and sanguinary deeds done in connection with the former were in the name of the all-merciful Saviour. The native Roman Catholic population, except at Pondicherry, where they are under the instruction of enlightened French priests, is as degraded as that of the Mohammedans and heathens. The Portuguese erected many fine churches, the ruins of which alone remain. At Goa, Bassein, Chaul, and various other places, extensive ruins of this description exist. Dr. Taylor affirms that such remains at Bassein are comparable to those of Pompeii.

The early Protestant missionaries do not appear to have been very successful, but they refrained from all deceptive methods, such as the Jesuits adopted to make proselytes. The Dutch, however, although they avoided the affectation of sympathy with the Brahmins, which the Jesuits assumed, yet, like them, they resorted to persecution, but of a much milder form. Bribery, however, they practised in common with the Jesuits, refusing all civil offices, however unimportant, to natives, unless they submitted to baptism. Numbers complied, and made an ostensible profession of Christianity for the advantages which they derived, but fell away as soon as these temporal benefits were withdrawn. A writer, who imparts his own religious prejudices into his relation of the missionary history of India, remarks with an air of triumph—"The descendants of the Jesuit and Presbyterian converts have long since disappeared from the land, and are only remembered in musty ecclesiastical records."\* To whatever extent this may be true of the descendants of the proselytes made by the Dutch, it is not correct as to those made by the Jesuits, whose numbers are still considerable.

The first Protestant missionary was sent to India in 1705, under the auspices of the King of Denmark. He established himself at Tranquebar, then a Danish settlement, where he founded a church and school, and laboured with assiduity and zeal, which were attended with partial success. Schwartz, and other like-minded men, under the auspices of Denmark, preached the gospel in India, and promoted Christian education, with gradually-increasing advantage, during the first half of the eighteenth century. At the close of that period, Kiemander was employed by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. He established a school at Cuddapore, in the presidency of Madras, and laboured there for eight years, with some fruits attending his ministry; but found that, at every step, caste was the grand obstruction to the gospel. In 1758, he proceeded to Calcutta, and organised there more efficient means of conducting his enterprise. In 1770 he erected a church, and soon had several hundred native children, and some adults, in attendance. Towards the close of the century, William Carey, a native of Northamptonshire, a baptist minister, proceeded to Calcutta, where he attempted to preach the gospel and establish schools; but so fierce was the opposition of the East India Company to him, that he was obliged to take refuge in Serampore, under the protection of

\* Capper, p. 442.



Denmark—the government of that country was then more favourable than that of England to religious efforts for the enlightenment of the heathen, and Mr. Carey received protection, encouragement, and support. Mr. Carey being a man of most determined will, and believing that he was in the path of duty, persevered in his efforts to do good to the natives, and to conquer the opposition of the East India Company. His educational efforts at Serampore were very successful, and he was so upheld by the religious community in England, that the company became partly ashamed and partly afraid in connection with their hostility to missions. Mr. Carey became even an influential man at Calcutta, for the gifted Marquis of Wellesley was so sensible of his moral worth, knowledge of India, remarkable good sense, and extensive acquirements, that he appointed the invincible missionary to a professorship in the College of Fort William.

At this juncture, the East India Company supported the Hindoo idolatry by public grants of money, and in every conceivable way trimmed to the Brahmins. Even in the educational institutions of the company there seemed a greater desire to foster the religion of the Hindoos than of Christ: happily, such a spirit has passed away from that body, but it was long and obstinately fostered, and, at the period when the Serampore mission began its work, and for long after, remained in full force. In the year 1793, the renewal of the company's charter came before the Houses of Parliament, and a formidable opposition to the religious policy of that body was organised. Mr. Wilberforce, although bigotedly hostile to the repeal of the corporation and test acts, was a strenuous friend to the baptist missions, and to all evangelical efforts among the heathen. He succeeded in passing a series of resolutions, that missionaries and schoolmasters should be provided for the Christian instruction of the natives of India. The resolutions were, however, impracticable. They were not cordially supported by the religious public of England, nor by the "voluntary" missionary societies. All persons who had an extensive acquaintance with India, declared that such measures "went too fast and too far," and would, if practically attempted, excite opposition on the part of the natives of a formidable character, especially as the agents of Roman Catholic powers would not fail to represent the movement to the natives in the light of a forcible interference with their religion. These views, the want of unanimous support on the part of the friends of missions, and the remonstrances of the company, caused the government to

hesitate in adopting such a policy, and the resolutions remained in abeyance. It was generally believed that the government yielded to the influence of Mr. Wilberforce in the Commons, but never intended to act upon his views. It soon became known in India that the resolutions of Wilberforce were not to be carried out, and a renewed and fierce persecution against the Serampore mission was the result. Its tracts were called in and burnt by order of the governor in council, who also prohibited the printing of any books whatever in the Danish settlements by English subjects. The British Christian missionaries were not understood by the governor or council; and they might as well have sought to prohibit by law the blowing of the monsoons. The Serampore mission took no heed to the interdicts of the anti-gospel confederacy at Calcutta, and the few Christian ministers in that city pursued their labours with unabated zeal. The governor and council became enraged at this obstinacy, and prohibited all preaching to the natives, and the issuing of all books or tracts having a tendency to make proselytes to the Christian religion. The conduct of the government was more befitting a club of atheists, than a council of men professing to be Christians. The person then presiding over the councils of India was Lord Minto. He was not only the bitter enemy of the extension of the Christian religion by even the most fair, honourable, and politic means, but he was the patron of Hindoo "laws, literature, and religion." He was a bad politician, and a worse Christian. As devil-worship is a part of the religion of India, it is no exaggeration to say that the noble lord would have patronised the worship of the devil to promote his ill-conceived policy. The government at home was not, however, much more honest, earnest, or enlightened on religious subjects than his lordship: he, on the whole, very fairly represented them.

In 1799, the Serampore mission was reinforced by a fresh accession of missionaries; money, printing-presses, and various other instrumentality of usefulness were liberally sent to it from England, and the edicts of the governor-general and his council produced no more effect upon its plans and purposes than upon the waters of the Indian Ocean. The good work went on, and the moral influence of the friends of the missionaries in England became too powerful for the government. In 1813, the consent of parliament was obtained for ecclesiastical establishments according to the English and Scottish churches. In the reign of William III. promise had been made that chaplains should be provided, and



that they should be instructed in the languages of the people, in order to facilitate their usefulness. The government in 1813 was only returning to the principles espoused a century and a quarter before by the hero of the revolution.

The first bishop of the Church of England who was appointed in virtue of the new order of things was Dr. Middleton. At the close of 1814, he accepted *all India* as his diocese. On his arrival there he found fifteen chaplains in Bengal, twelve in the presidency of Madras, and five in that of Bombay. He immediately appointed an archdeacon for each presidency, and increased the number of clergymen in them all. He patronised the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and that for the Propagation of the Gospel. Under his auspices a mission college was founded in Calcutta. He died on the 8th of July, 1822, having laid the foundation for the modern episcopal church of British India.

It was not difficult to find a suitable successor to Dr. Middleton, although many at the time believed it impossible. Eminently qualified men abounded in England then, as now, for any enterprise; and provided there were impartiality in their selection, there could be no difficulty in obtaining such. The choice fell upon the amiable and gifted Heber, who arrived in Calcutta in October, 1823. In 1824 he proceeded thence on a tour of inspection through the upper provinces, returning by Bombay, Ceylon, and Madras. These journeys were of much importance to the religious interests of India, as information was obtained by which subsequent religious operations were guided. On April 2, 1826, while heated, this remarkable man took a cold bath, by which his life was suddenly terminated. His genius, piety, and usefulness will ever be cherished in the memory of his country and the church of God.

Heber was succeeded by Dr. Turner, who arrived at Calcutta in 1829, and died the year following. On the 7th of April, Dr. Daniel Wilson, rector of Islington, was appointed Bishop of Calcutta, and reached the sphere of his labours early in October following. He had been a man of great popularity and usefulness as a parochial minister, and the promise which was thus excited as to his activity and zeal in India was fulfilled; he laboured for many years, visiting nearly every part of India, and, by his example and wisdom, stimulating and directing the zeal, not only of the ministers of his own church, but of the various other evangelical communities, by all of whom he was respected and loved. If Dr. Wilson lays down his labours

from ill health, he will, it is alleged, be succeeded by his son, who has also held the rectory of Islington since his father's promotion to the bishopric of Calcutta.

When the East India Company's charter was altered in 1834, it was arranged that two additional bishops should be appointed, one for Madras and one for Bombay. Dr. Corrie, the archdeacon of Madras, was nominated to that bishopric, after nearly thirty years' residence in India. He held his newly-acquired honour scarcely a year, when he died, regretted by all the European inhabitants, not only of the presidency, but of India. Dr. Carr, the archdeacon of Bombay, was appointed to the new diocese in that presidency: he was installed in February, 1838, and resigned from ill health in 1851.

In the arrangements of 1813, it was agreed that two clergymen of the Church of Scotland should be appointed as chaplains in each presidency. This number has been since increased.

The renewal of the company's charter opened the way for all Christian missionaries in India, for the free circulation of the word of God, and of religious tracts and books. After forty years' experience, it has been proved beyond controversy that the fears of free discussion entertained by the government were groundless, and that good has been produced, in proportion as the efforts of the missionaries were unconnected with government in any form. As Professor Wilson has clearly shown, the natives have no unconquerable jealousy of the voluntary labours of missionaries; it is of the action of government in that way that they are invariably jealous and vigilant.

Missionaries now labour unimpeded by government in every part of India, and they have established educational institutions in which the young are trained in the knowledge of Christ. This is the more important, as in the schools and colleges instituted by government the mention of Christianity is prohibited. No book is allowed within them in which Christ is named. If any of the pupils become converts to Christianity they are dismissed.\* According to one authority, if any officer of a government college pen an article for a religious periodical, he is subjected to censure, perhaps to dismissal. It is important, however angry the protests of many zealous men, that the government should refuse to identify itself with proselytism; but if a native, whether in its colleges, serving in its army, or numbered among its civil servants, chooses to avow Christianity, it is unjust to lay him therefore

\* *Government Education in India*, by W. Knighton, A.M.



under disqualifications. While the censors of the East India Company are eager to fix upon it the consequences of any error in its regulations to secure the appearance and reality of impartiality to the natives, they omit to show the many instances in which, of late years, missionary societies have been favoured and aided by the company, even at the hazard of a charge of partiality from other quarters. This has been more particularly the case in connection with the missions of the Established Church: the aid afforded to the Church Missionary Society in their educational efforts among the Santals is an instance. Soon after the suppression of the Santal insurrection of 1855, the director of instruction in Bengal addressed a letter to the corresponding committee of the Church Missionary Society in Calcutta, stating that the government were willing to give liberal assistance for the establishment of schools among the Santals, if the society would undertake their establishment and management. The corresponding committee accepted the offer. After various communications respecting the proposed plan, the secretary to the government of India officially announced to the society, under date of November 28th, 1856, the principle upon which all such grants would be made; and the communication furnishes a complete refutation of the alleged hostility of the company to the religious education of the natives. What the company protests against is, even the semblance of proselytism in the government schools.

"The governor-general in council, viewing the proposed measure as a grant-in-aid to a missionary body for the secular education of an uncivilised tribe, considers it entirely in accordance with the views expressed in the honourable court's despatch of the 19th of July, 1854, and differing in degree only, not in kind, from the grants already made to individual missionaries for like purposes with the honourable court's full approbation and sanction. His lordship in council is of opinion that if the Church Missionary Society, or if any respectable person or body of persons, undertakes to establish good schools among the Santals, the government is bound to render very liberal assistance, in proportion to the extent to which the work may be carried, subject only to the inspection of the officers of the education department, and upon the condition that the government in no way interferes with the religious instruction given, and that the expense of such instruction is borne by those who impart it. His lordship in council accordingly sanctions the proposed scheme as a wise and perfectly legitimate

application of the principle of grants-in-aid, and authorises the lieutenant-governor to carry it out forthwith."

The efforts of several of the missionary societies to commit the company to a course which the natives would regard as one of official proselytism have been frequent. Such a course the people of England are not prepared to support. The company goes as far as public opinion in England would justify, as the above official letter shows. That the conduct of the company in this matter is appreciated by the religious community of India attached to the Church of England is evident from the charge delivered by the Bishop of Madras, September 29th, 1856:—"The government 'grants-in-aid' will be of great service to the cause of missions. When it is considered that there are little less than twenty thousand young people under religious instruction, and how much the societies are crippled for want of means in imparting a thoroughly good education to these young people, I think you will agree with me that it will indeed be a seasonable and happy help."\*

As soon as freedom of missionary effort was recognised, many societies sent forth labourers into the vast field. The following is a list of the principal associations for this purpose:—

- The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
- The Church Missionary Society.
- The London Missionary Society.
- The Baptist Missionary Society.
- The General Baptist Missionary Society.
- The Scotch Church Missionary Society.
- The Free Church of Scotland Missionary Society.
- The Wesleyan Missionary Society.
- The American Missionary Society.
- The German Missionary Society.

Dr. Cooke Taylor thus describes the characteristics of the labourers, and their labours:—"The chief characteristic of the missionaries is the love of maximising and belauding all their own efforts, in order to secure the advantages of their position. Yet their success as preachers is not great, for it is difficult to induce the natives to adopt the systems of men who have no principle in common with themselves. The natives stand aloof, or if they approach the European padre, it is to receive a present—a bribe—or some particle of instruction on points of which they were previously ignorant."

Very seldom has a more unjust verdict been pronounced than this upon any men honestly engaged in a good work, and it can only be reconciled with the integrity of Dr. Taylor by supposing that he had given very inadequate attention to the subject upon

\* *Church Missionary Record*, July, 1857.



which he thus so decidedly pronounced. That there have been agents of some of the societies who effected little in India, and who clung to their positions there because they would never have obtained an equally respectable ministerial position at home, is, unhappily, certain. That such men should be tempted to colour their reports to the home directories is natural. No one will deny that this has occurred many times during the labours of the last half-century. But that it should have occurred so seldom is surprising, and that it should at all occur hereafter, is next to impossible, from the number in the field, the mutual contact of the agents of different societies and sects, and the absolute certainty that the press of India would detect and expose misrepresentations of any kind. To describe as "the chief characteristic of the missionaries" a desire to belaud themselves or their labours—to distort or misstate them in any way—is as gross a slander as ever was written by one who attained the reputation of impartiality. Many missionaries in India have taken too desponding a view of things. It has actually been "the chief characteristic of the missionaries" sent there to minimise, not to "maximise"—adopting Dr. Taylor's own phraseology. A careful perusal of missionary letters and statements will prove this. The compilation of the home reports does not rest with the missionary, but with committees and secretaries in London; the missionary does not determine how few or how many of his own letters shall be given to the public, nor what extracts from any letter may be given or withheld. No doubt the peculiar constitution of the man, or his view of things on the whole, will influence a secretary in making these selections. He may deem it necessary to exclude the less hopeful views of his correspondent in the field of work, and in his own more sanguine temperament select the more buoyant anticipations of the faithful labourer for the perusal of the members of the society. But the charge would not be just as against societies any more than as against missionaries, that there existed a disposition to give a false colouring, for venal or other personal purposes, to the experiences gleaned in the scene of religious effort. A perusal of the reports of all the societies engaged in the noble cause will leave with any impartial man the conviction that the charge of Dr. Taylor, reiterated by so many others, is without foundation in fact.

The amount of effort put forth by the religious societies previous to the revolt is a subject of great interest, not only to the Christian Church, but to the political and commercial world, influenced as governments

and as commerce must ever be by the moral condition of the governed.

The fifty-seventh report of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East affords the following interesting statistics:—

#### BOMBAY AND WESTERN INDIA MISSION.\*

##### MISSION ESTABLISHMENT.

- 13 Ordained European Missionaries.
- 4 Ordained Native Missionaries.
- 2 European Catechists and Teachers.
- 1 European Female Teacher.
- 2 East-Indian Teachers.
- 5 Native Catechists and Readers.
- 26 Native Assistants and Teachers.

At Nasik there is a native Christian colony and an industrial institution. Several young natives of education have been converted, and are disposed to be useful to their fellow-countrymen.

#### SUMMARY OF THE BOMBAY AND WESTERN INDIA MISSION.

Stations . . . . .	6
Communicants . . . . .	73
Native Christians . . . . .	260
Schools, including the Robert-Money School .	28
Scholars . . . . .	1780

#### CALCUTTA AND NORTH INDIA MISSION.†

##### MISSION ESTABLISHMENT.

- 45 Ordained European Missionaries.
- 1 Ordained Native Missionary.
- 6 European Catechists and Teachers.
- 2 European Female Teachers.
- 5 East-Indian Catechists and Teachers.
- 33 Native Catechists.
- 66 Native Scripture-Readers.
- 307 Native Teachers and Schoolmasters.
- 26 Native Schoolmistresses.

The North India mission field occupies the greatest extent of country, and numbers the largest staff of European missionaries of any of the society's missions. The distance between its extreme stations is fifteen hundred miles; but by the wonderful facilities of modern intercommunication the whole district will soon be traversed in a few days, as a message is even now sent in a few minutes.

#### SUMMARY OF THE CALCUTTA AND NORTH INDIA MISSION.

Stations . . . . .	27
Communicants . . . . .	1119
Native Christians . . . . .	7409
Seminaries and Schools . . . . .	119
Seminarists and Scholars . . . . .	7027

#### MADRAS AND SOUTH INDIA MISSION.‡

##### MISSION ESTABLISHMENT.

- 33 Ordained European Missionaries.
- 3 Ordained East-Indian Missionaries.

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\* European missionaries first arrived in 1820.  
† European missionaries first arrived in 1816.  
‡ European missionaries first arrived in 1814.

15	Ordained Native Missionaries.
8	European Catechists and Teachers.
2	European Printers and Agents.
2	European Female Teachers.
8	East-Indian Catechists and Teachers.
2	East-Indian Female Teachers.
70	Native Catechists.
171	Native Scripture-Readers.
374	Native Teachers and Schoolmasters.
106	Native Schoolmistresses.

The statistical tables of the South India mission at the close of the year 1856 exhibited a very gratifying result; while there was a steady increase in the number of the baptised converts, and in the number of communicants, there had also been a large accession of more than two thousand to the number of those who had renounced idolatry, and placed themselves under Christian instruction. The whole number of converts, baptised and unbaptised, had risen from 33,121 to 35,799. The communicants had increased from 5201 to 5344. In the number of school children there had been a small decrease, from 11,617 to 11,294, in consequence of the introduction of fees.

## SUMMARY OF THE MADRAS AND SOUTH INDIA MISSION.

Stations . . . . .	27
Communicants . . . . .	5,344
Seminaries and Schools . . . . .	451
Seminarists and Scholars . . . . .	11,060
Natives under Christian instruction—	
Baptised . . . . .	23,398
Unbaptised . . . . .	12,401
—	35,799

## CEYLON MISSION.\*

## MISSION ESTABLISHMENT.

9	Ordained European Missionaries.
2	Ordained Native Missionaries.
3	European Catechists and Teachers.
31	Native Catechists.
4	Native Scripture-Readers.
78	Native Teachers and Schoolmasters.
28	Native Schoolmistresses.

## SUMMARY OF THE CEYLON MISSION.

Stations . . . . .	7
Communicants . . . . .	364
Schools, including Cotta Institution . . .	87
Seminarists and Scholars . . . . .	2959
Native Christians . . . . .	2344

The London Missionary Society, chiefly sustained and served by congregationalists, was among the earliest in the path of missionary labour, and selected India as one of the fields of its benevolent enterprise. At present its efforts there may be statistically represented by the following statement:—

## NORTHERN INDIA.

Churches . . . . .	8
Communicants . . . . .	200

Juvenile Day and Boarding Schools, and other Educational Institutions . . . . .	28
Scholars receiving Education in the Society's Seminaries . . . . .	2211

## PENINSULAR INDIA.

Churches . . . . .	12
Communicants . . . . .	551
Schools, &c. . . . .	95
Scholars . . . . .	4118

## TRAVANCORE.

Churches . . . . .	7
Communicants . . . . .	937
Schools . . . . .	211
Scholars . . . . .	7000

The missionaries are not quite so numerous as the churches, but ministers and native teachers, computed together, considerably exceed the members of such Christian assemblies. The society, by its constitution, cannot receive government support even for its educational agencies, but individual members of the government have been its liberal contributors. Mr. Colvin, late governor of the north-west provinces, was a supporter of the schools at Benares, and Lord Harris, the governor of Madras, presided at the last annual examination of the society's educational institution in the capital of that presidency.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society conducts important operations in India. According to its last annual report, it extensively employs native Christians as catechists, and even as ministers.

The Baptists, as previously shown, were the first British missionaries to devote attention to India. Smaller in numbers, and weaker in resources than the great bodies whose labours are shown in the foregoing tables, they do not employ so many agents as either of them; but their work has been most honourable; they bravely pioneered the way for others, and the names of Carey and Marshman (father-in-law of the gallant Havelock of Lucknow) will ever be held in honour as amongst the best benefactors of India.

The Scottish missionary societies are also inferior in resources to the great English societies; but Dr. Duff and other eminent men have gone forth from them, and rendered great service to the cause of Christian education.

The churches of the United States of America have been also zealous in efforts to extend the gospel in India. The Presbyterian board of foreign missions alone has thirty missionaries there, and several hundred native families are attached to their communion in the north-west provinces.

For a considerable number of years, versions of the Bible, and of portions of the Bible, in the various languages and dialects of India

\* European missionaries first arrived in 1818.



have been in circulation, and lately, renewed and vigorous exertion has been put forth to secure correct translations by men eminent in their reputation for knowledge of these languages. The following is the society's report as to the auxiliaries in India, and the number of copies which each has distributed:—

Calcutta Bible Society, instituted 1811 . . .	919,350
Serampore Missionaries . . . . .	200,000
North India Bible Society, at Agra, instituted 1845 . . . . .	75,528
Madras Bible Society, instituted 1820 . . .	1,028,996
Bombay Bible Society, instituted 1813 . . .	222,718
Colombo Bible Society, instituted 1812, with various Branches in Ceylon . . .	42,605
Jaffna Bible Society . . . . .	113,115

The Religious Tract Society has sent gratuitously, or sold at reduced prices, copies of works in the various languages of India, which are supposed to be written on subjects most calculated to draw the attention of the natives to the great themes of the Christian religion. It is remarkable that all these societies work in the most complete harmony. British, Americans, and Germans, whatever their nationality; churchmen and dissenters, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, whatever their sect, are one in spirit for the great work of evangelising the heathen. That an extensive influence is being produced is obvious to all observers capable of forming an opinion. Many of the natives are beginning to inquire; and there are symptoms in the decay of old institutions, that the cumbrous fabrics of idolatry are beginning to give way. Christianity is operating among them in two ways; it exhibits its own glorious life amidst the decadence of antique idolatries, they grow old, and are stricken by the touch of ever-changing time, while Christianity puts forth the vitality and vigour of perennial youth; and while it is itself lifeful, and healthful as it is beautiful, it is gradually contributing to the decay of all the old superstitions that yet stand in ponderous and gloomy magnitude around it. The beautiful banyan-tree grows and thrives amidst ruins, the dilapidation of which it hastens; flourishing in its bloom above the time-smitten temple or pagoda, it strikes its roots beneath their foundations, and at last brings the proud trophies of past ages in rubbish around it. Such will be the history of Christianity in India. The idol-cars and temples will be shattered, and known only in the memory of the mischiefs they created, while the imperishable truth of God triumphs. It is the decree of God for India and for every land, "*Magna est veritas prevalebit.*"

#### LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, &c.

The languages of India are numerous, and in the hill countries, among the wild and but partially subdued tribes already noticed, those spoken are scarcely known to Europeans. There are no books extant in those tongues, nor are they even organised, their character and construction being as little known to intelligent Indians as to English.

The ancient language of India, at all events of the prevailing race, was Sanscrit, which, as all scholars are aware, is one of the most ancient in the world. It is probably as old as the date of the confusion of tongues at Babel. From the Sanscrit the Indo-European family of languages is mainly derived. The languages of southern India are not, however, derived from that stock. The Tamil is supposed to be the oldest of these. There are Sanscrit derivatives in them all, but not to a great extent. The great antiquity of the Sanscrit may be illustrated by the circumstance that the Hymns of the Rigveda are asserted by the great Sanscrit scholar, Professor Wilson, to have been written at least fifteen centuries prior to the Christian era, so they may be even as ancient as the writings of Moses. A more complete and comprehensive study of the languages of India and the neighbouring countries is a desideratum not only for the enrichment of philological learning, but as important to ethnological inquiry. One of the greatest of living philosophers has written:—"Languages compared together, and considered as objects of the natural history of the mind, and when separated into families according to the analogies existing in their internal structure, have become a rich source of historical knowledge; and this is probably one of the most brilliant results of modern study in the last sixty or seventy years. From the very fact of their being products of the intellectual force of mankind, they lead us, by means of the elements of their organism, into an obscure distance, unreached by traditionary records. The comparative study of languages shows us that races now separated by vast tracts of land are allied together, and have migrated from one common primitive seat; it indicates the course and direction of all migrations, and in tracing the leading epochs of development, recognises, by means of the more or less changed structure of the language, in the permanence of certain forms, or in the more or less advanced destruction of the formative system, *which* race has retained most nearly the language common to all who had emigrated from the general seat of origin."\*

\* *Cosmos*: Otté's translation, vol. ii. p. 471.



Of the three distinct families into which the languages of the world are divided by philologists—the Semitic, the Japhetic, or Indo-European (called also Iranian and Arian), and the Hamitic—the Sanscrit is identified with the second. Most profound philologists concur in deriving these three families of languages from a common origin, which is supposed to be lost. The Chevalier Bunsen describes the Iranian “stock,” or family of languages, as having eight more or less extensive branches. The first and most ancient he considers to be the Celtic; the second, the Thracian or Illyrian; the third, the Armenian; the fourth, the Iranian or Arian; the fifth, the Greek and Roman; the sixth, the Slavonic.

The class to which the most eminent languages of India and Persia belong is, according to the chevalier, only fourth on the list as to antiquity. His remarks on this subject are as interesting as appropriate. “The fourth formation we propose to call the Arian,\* or the Iranian, as presented in Iran proper. Here we must establish two great subdivisions: the one comprises the nations of Iran proper, or the Arian stock, the languages of Media and Persia. Its most primitive representative is the *Zend*. We designate by this name both the language of the most ancient cuneiform inscriptions (or Persian inscriptions in Assyrian characters) of the sixth and fifth century, B.C., and that of the ancient parts of the *Zend-Avesta*, or the sacred books of the Parsees, as explained by Burnouf and Lassen. We take the one as the latest specimen of the western dialect of the ancient Persian and Median (for the two nations had one tongue), in its evanescent state, as a dead language; the other as an ancient specimen of its eastern dialect, preserved for ages by tradition, and therefore not quite pure in its vocalism, but most complete in its system of forms. The younger representatives of the Persian language are the Pehlevi (the language of the Sassanians) and the Pazend, the mother of the present, or modern Persian tongue, which is represented in its purity by Ferdusi, about the year 1000 [of our era]. The Pushtu, or language of the Affghans, belongs to the same branch. The second subdivision embraces the Arian languages of India, represented by the Sanscrit and its daughters.”†

Dr. Max Müller considers the languages which are spoken by many of the nations around India as derived from the Chinese. He describes the Tartarie branch as having

\* He uses the words Arian and Iranian both in a generic and specific sense.

† *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History applied to Language and Religion*, vol. ii. p. 6.

spread in a northern, and the Bhotya in a southern direction: “the former spreading through Asia towards the European peninsula, and the seats of political civilisation; the latter tending toward the Indian peninsula, and encircling the native land of the Brahmanic Arians.” Upon this the Chevalier Bunsen observes:—“The study of the Tibetan or Bhotya language, and that of the Burmese, offers the nearest link between the Chinese and the more recent formations; but even a comparison of Sanscrit roots is indicated by our method. For it is the characteristics of the noblest languages and nations, that they preserve most of the ancient heirlooms of humanity, remodelling and universalising it at the same time with productive originality.”

The Sanscrit is exceedingly perfect, and, at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great, was spoken by a large proportion of the people, certainly by all the superior classes. The names of places and objects, handed down by the Greeks, are all of Sanscrit origin. It is that in which the Brahminical books are written. Sir William Jones considered it the most finished of all the dead languages, more complete, copious, and refined than either Latin or Greek.

The Pali is the sacred language of the Buddhists. The Sanscrit and Pali have been frequently represented as bearing a relation to one another, similar to that which the Greek and Latin now do in Europe.

The chief languages of India derived from the Sanscrit are—“Bengâli, Assamese, Orissan, and Tirlhutiya, spoken in the eastern provinces; Nepâlese, Câshmiri, and Doguri, prevailing in the north; Punjabi, Multani, Sindhi, Kutchi, Guzerati, and Kunkuna, found on the western side; Bikanera, Marwara, Jayapura, Udayapura, Haruli, Braja Bhaka, Malavi, Bundelakhadi, Maghada, and Mahratta, all spoken in the south.” In the central provinces the Hinduwee is the parent of a class of dialects, provincial and local, such as the Menwa and other dialects of Rajpootana; Mahratta is the vernacular in the whole of Candleish, Aungababad, and some remote districts into which it was introduced by the incursions of the Mahrattas. Hindustanee is the principal of the Hinduwee family of dialects, and it is spoken throughout the whole of Northern India, and generally by those even who use more frequently some provincial or local dialect. The languages in Southern India, not derived from the Sanscrit, are, as to their origin, subjects of keen discussion among philologists. It is contended by many who have given much attention to the philosophy of language, that they are not derivable from any existing



language. The Tamil is the vernacular in the Carnatic; the Teloogoo prevailing coastwise from Madras to Orissa; Kamata (or Canarese) extending from the basin of the upper Caverry to the Mangera arm of the Godavery; Tuluva on the Canara coast; and Malayalim along the coast from Canara to Cape Comorin, and is commonly called the Malabar tongue.

The Prakrit, which appears to have been the first corruption of the Sanscrit, is a dead language; there is a Prakrit literature as well as a Sanscrit, and it is popularly more read, but the Brahmins cultivate acquaintance more intimately with the parent language.

The literature of India is interesting. Beside the sacred books in the Sanscrit and Prakrit, there are poems of considerable value, sacred and heroic epics, and hymns to the deities. Concerning the poetry of the Hindoos, oriental scholars differ very much in their estimate: some praising them as rivaling the works of Homer; others describing them as ornate and tasteless, abounding in vapid thoughts and puerile repetitions. Some of the specimens translated into English deserve a higher reputation than Mr. Colebrooke and others are disposed to concede; nor are there wanting passages of exquisite beauty, written with rhetorical effect and artistic arrangement.

There are few translations of the choice works of Indian literature in the English language. The French, Germans, Italians, Russians, and even the modern Greeks, have translations of various productions of merit, originally written in the old tongue of India, of which there is no English translation. There are many scraps, and detached portions of these works, in various periodicals published in Calcutta and Bombay, but the government of India has done scarcely anything to promote in England a knowledge of Indian literature. The Honourable East India Company throws the blame of this neglect upon the royal government. The Board of Control, it is alleged, has systematically opposed all pecuniary outlay for such purposes. England is indebted to the enterprise of individuals for what she knows of Sanscrit literature, and to no one more than Professor Wilson.

There are two great epic poems in the Sanscrit which have obtained the praise of oriental scholars—the *Rama Yana* and the *Mahabharat*. Rama was son of the King of Oude, and possessed of extraordinary physical strength and audacious courage. His wife, Sita, was abducted by a sorcerer king, whose kingdom was the island of Ceylon. Rama, having formed an alliance with Hanu-

man, chief of the monkeys, made war upon the sorcerer; they constructed a bridge of a miraculous nature across the sea from the peninsula to Ceylon. Over this, the allied Hindoos and monkeys being joined by celestial spirits, proceeded, and attacked the sorcerer and his army of demons with complete success. Marvellous achievements were necessary to this triumph, and these are narrated with so much power in some places, and puerility in others, that it might be doubted whether it was not the work of various minds.

The drama is better known to the English literary public than other portions of Hindoo literature. The learned librarian of the India-House has translated several of the best specimens. The chief piece, *Sacoutala*, was translated by Sir William Jones. The number of the dramatic compositions known to us does not exceed sixty. Some of these are of very ancient date, and some are modern. It would appear that each play was performed but once—on occasion of some great festival—in the hall or court of a palace; the people, generally, probably from this cause, know nothing of this department of their literature, the most learned Brahmins being acquainted only with certain portions, which do not appear to have been remembered for their literary merit so much as from circumstantial reasons. There is no longer any taste for this description of literature among the Brahmins.

Almost all classes of the people are familiar with passages from the *Rama Yana*, which they seem never tired of repeating. This has been adduced as a proof of its great literary merits, but the fact arises mainly from the sympathy of the native mind with the superstitions, absurdities, and atrocities which are the subjects of the poem.

There are some good pastorals, and a few descriptive pieces that have peculiar merits; but generally the specimens of poetry which remain, and almost all of modern composition, are devoid of energy, imagination, or delicacy of taste.

It is observable that while the Hindoos have obtained a character in Europe for gentleness, or had prior to the late horrible revolt acquired such, the passages in their poetic works which are chiefly, if not exclusively, marked by energy, are those which give expression to revenge. It would be hardly possible to cull from any language more profound and eager utterances of vengeance than may be selected from the Hindoo poetry. In one of the dramas, *Rakshasa*, a Brahmin, is thus made to exult in the destruction of Nanda:—



" 'Tis known to all the world  
 I vowed the death of Nanda, and I slew him;  
 The current of a vow will work its way,  
 And cannot be resisted. What is done  
 Is spread abroad, and I no more have power  
 To stop the tale. Why should I? Be it known  
 The fires of my wrath alone expire,  
 Like the fierce conflagration of a forest,  
 From lack of fuel, not of weariness.  
 The flames of my just anger have consumed  
 The branching ornaments of Nanda's stem,  
 Abandoned by the frightened priests and people,  
 They have enveloped in a shower of ashes  
 The blighted tree of his ambitious councils;  
 And they have overcast with sorrow's clouds  
 The smiling heaven of those moon-like looks,  
 That shed the light of love upon my foes."

The spirit of vengeance which fires every sentiment, suggests every image, and entwines itself in every graceful and delicate turn of expression, in this elegant and poetical passage, generally pervades the productions of Hindoo authors of any ability.

The efforts of the government to promote the education of the native youth of India have been referred to when describing its religious condition. It is more than a hundred years since the first attempt was made, by voluntary Christian benevolence, for the education of indigent *Christian* children in India. Out of this effort arose the free school of Calcutta. In 1781 Mr. Hastings founded the Mohammedan college of Calcutta. In 1795 a Sanscrit college was founded at Benares, by an act of the imperial parliament. The educational efforts of the Baptist missionaries were pursued steadily at Serampore during the latter part of the last century, and the foundation was laid for subsequent and more efficient efforts of the same kind. In 1821 the Hindoo college of Calcutta was established. Government grants and individual benevolence contributed to make this an institution worthy of the object. A few wealthy natives took an interest in the undertaking, and one of some celebrity, Ram-mohun Roy, became its benefactor. In 1830 the Rev. Dr. Duff, a missionary, opened a school or college for the instruction of the natives, under the auspices of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This institution professed to give instruction on Christian principles, which was not permitted in the government college. The friends of each censured the other, but both were right in the courses respectively adopted. The government acted wisely in abstaining from all interference in religious matters, thereby not only avoiding the jealousy of the natives, but the mutual jealousies of different Christian denominations. Dr. Duff, as the representative of a particular religious community, and his mission to India being essentially of a

religious character, acted wisely in basing the education imparted upon the Gospel. The government at Calcutta soon after organised a general committee of public instruction, which did not work so well as was expected. In 1832 "the council of education" was appointed, instead of the previous committee of instruction. The persons composing the council were civil officers of high rank, the judge of the supreme court, two natives, and a paid secretary; the secretary, being the officer of the government, really administering the department of education, the council being merely nominal. The duties imposed upon this officer, who was a professor in the Hindoo college, physician to the fever hospital, government book agent, inspector of schools, &c. &c., were so numerous, as to throw around his office an air of the ludicrous. The impression naturally left upon an impartial observer was, that the government never seriously intended a man with such a multitude of appointments to do anything; in fact, the secretary of the council appeared to be a sort of autocrat, from whose decisions there was no appeal. The result was what might be expected, very considerable dissatisfaction among the professors of the college and the public generally. In 1835 Lord William Bentinck inaugurated a new educational policy—that of encouraging the English language, and education mainly, if not exclusively, through its medium. This has influenced the character of the instruction communicated in the government colleges, so as to revolutionise the whole system. The natives do not favour the plan; they cling to their vernacular languages, or are ambitious of becoming Sanscrit scholars, and more conversant with the literature of that language. Many are, however, desirous of learning English, as opening a way to their political advancement. In 1836 the Mohammedan college of Hadji Mohammed Moksini was made available for general instruction. It is delightfully situated on a bank of the Ganges, thirty miles from Calcutta, and in the midst of a considerable population. The system is the same as in the chief colleges at Calcutta and Benares. About the same time the college at Dacca was established. Since then, at Kishnagur, Agra, and Delhi, other institutions of a similar nature have been founded. Schools have also been opened there by government, but in many cases too much prominence has been given to the English language. There are nearly two hundred government educational institutions in the Bengal presidency, and the north-west provinces connected with it. The amount of money expended upon them is not far short of £100,000 annually. This includes



the medical college of Calcutta, which is the best managed and most successful in the presidency, perhaps in India.

The educational efforts of the government in the Bombay presidency are considerable, as compared with the other presidencies and the proportion of population. The Elphinstone Institution, comprising a college and high and low school; the Grant Medical College; and the Poonah Sanscrit College,—are all highly respectable, and professors of eminent reputation are employed in them. The district and village vernacular schools are about two hundred and fifty in number. About £20,000 per annum is spent for educational purposes in the Bombay presidency.

Madras is less provided with means of superior instruction than the sister presidencies, so far as government is concerned. The University High School in the city of Madras, is the only institution where education in the English tongue is afforded. There are but few vernacular schools in the presidency, and scarcely £6000 a year is expended for educational purposes. It is, however, a pleasing fact, that where the government has done least, voluntary effort has done most. If in Madras only a few thousand pupils receive instruction under the patronage of the state, the voluntary religious and educational societies have established one thousand schools, and are educating one hundred thousand children. Bombay has rather less than one hundred voluntary schools, in which there are about six thousand five hundred scholars, not quite half the number to which the government affords instruction in that presidency. Bengal has not many more voluntary schools than Bombay, but they are better attended, the proportion being about three to one. Besides these general schools, there are boarding schools for the orphans of native Christians, especially recent converts, who endure much persecution if of the higher castes.

The education in all these schools is confined to boys. The nature of the institutions, and the habits of the people, confine the attendance upon them to male children and youths. The prejudice against female education is very strong in the native mind. Woman is held in contempt throughout India, as in all other heathen countries. In this contemptuous feeling woman herself is acquiescent. The voluntary societies have instituted nearly four hundred schools throughout India for female children, exclusive of about one hundred boarding schools. The females in the orphan schools have been generally either the daughters of converts, or children saved from famine, or from the destruction to

which female infants are subjected in various parts of India. These humane exertions for the female population have been chiefly made in Southern India, within the presidency of Madras. Few efforts have as yet been made to impart religious or other intelligence to the adult female population: the difficulties in the way, arising from oriental jealousy and prejudice, are great, yet not altogether insurmountable.

The system of education adopted in the government schools is obsolete, and the progress made by the scholars not very encouraging. Many of the teachers are natives, and few appear to take to their work heartily. The same may be said of the native professors in the higher schools. Impartial observers have described them as listless, and exercising but small beneficial influence.

Since the introduction of the government colleges and high schools, many of the natives educated in them have become infidels. It would not be very difficult to make a Jain a deist, or a Buddhist an atheist; the Brahmin is not so ready a convert to any form of infidelity. The education of the more respectable natives in European knowledge has hitherto not improved them much in any way, except the acquisition of English, French, and a smattering of science. Their vanity and assumption of learning would be incredible, if not so well attested. The merest nonsense is published, by "Young Bengal" especially, as if the creations of unrivalled genius. In a much less degree a similar effect is observed upon the pupils of the schools, not one in twenty of whom make any acquisitions of a solid kind. In the voluntary schools there is this advantage, that the elements of the Christian religion are communicated, however little may be received of whatever else is taught.

It is a remarkable fact, that few native youths educated in the government colleges remain loyal to the government. As all literature of a religious complexion is necessarily prohibited by the authorities, the young men find no access to such; but infidel books of the worst character are obtained, as the libraries are not regulated with sufficient stringency in this respect. "Young India," as they leave their Alma Mater,—great English and French scholars in their own esteem,—are generally concealed infidels and open rebels. At the various associations of which they are members, subjects of discussion are constantly selected for the purpose of displaying the indignation which they profess to feel that foreigners should govern their country. The speeches made on these occasions betray the most inflated self-conceit, gross ignorance of



moral and political philosophy, and a spirit and principle thoroughly adverse to British rule. The following graphic sketch by an eye-witness will enlighten our readers as to some of the causes which operate in rendering of little value the school and college system of India:—“On any ordinary day the visitor will see, on a table in the midst of a small room, one of the ‘professors’ sitting in oriental fashion, after the manner of tailors; his head is bare, his shoulders are bare; the day is hot, and the roll of muslin which envelops his body out of doors has been removed; the ample rotundity of the stomach heaves regularly above the muslin folds which encircle the loins and thighs. The shaven crown of the worthy ‘professor,’ and his broad quivering back, glow with the heat; whilst a disciple, standing behind him, plies the fan vigorously to and fro, and produces a current of wind that keeps the huge mass partially cool. Around the table are squatted numbers of dirty-looking youths, carefully enveloped in their muslin dresses, as prescribed by the rules, and droning, one by one, over a manuscript page, which is handed from one to another in succession. The majority are dozing, and well they may, for it is sleepy work—the same verses nasally intoned by one after another with unvarying monotony, and doubtless with similar errors. The ‘professor’ seldom speaks, for he too is dozing heavily on the table, anxiously awaiting the bell that is to release him to liberty and dinner. The same scene is being repeated in other similar rooms, where other ‘professors’ are similarly dozing and teaching, and other youths similarly shut up from the light of God’s sun, which shines without; and of his spirit, which should shine within them.”

The newspapers and other periodicals printed in the native languages are conducted in a manner in perfect keeping with the state of “Young India,” as above described. Furious and bitter attacks upon the government are circulated through such media all over the land. These seldom possess satire, for which the native mind does not seem to have relish or capacity; indeed, so little are the people generally capable of comprehending it, that the keenest satire upon their own gods and superstitions are listened to with imperturbable gravity, and treated as if serious argumentations. The false statements, appeals to the pride of race, and to the superstitious feeling of the people,—with which the infidel writers themselves had no sympathy,—which have appeared in the vernacular press, did much to sow suspicion in the minds of the soldiery, and to inflame the passions and ambition of

the native princes, preparing both for the revolt which has recently poured such a torrent of disorder and havoc over the country. Whatever administrative alterations may be effected in India resulting from that event, a radical change in the system of education ought to be among the most prominent.

Happily, there is a new native literature now springing up, which, although it may not as yet have had time to work much good, is, like leaven, silently and gradually operating in the mass. The Religious Tract Society has issued various works, prepared by persons well acquainted with the people, and these, distributed in most of the languages spoken in the country, are beginning to be objects of curiosity. The Roman character is now adopted in printing these works, and persons of great authority in such matters maintain that much facility to the extension of knowledge will result from the plan. The experiment has, however, yet to be tried; the benefit expected is doubtful.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, like the Tract Society, is diffusing knowledge through the medium of the vernacular languages, making the sacred Scriptures a standard book in every tongue. Dr. Yates’ version of the Bengalee Bible, with Mr. Wenger’s revisions, and a carefully revised Hindui version, are now being actively circulated in Bengal. Last May the printing of 20,000 copies of the Gospel, in the Hindui-Kaithi, was commenced under the superintendence of the Rev. A. Sternberg of Mozufferpore. The Hindui-Nagri Old Testament has been completed and issued at Allahabad, by the Rev. J. Owen, of the American Presbyterian Mission, under the auspices of the Agra Bible Society. The Old Testament, in Pwo-Karem, is in progress. It is being conducted by the American missionaries in Pegu; a grant of £500 to the object has been voted by the London Society. Whatever be the character of the education given in the existing schools, the people are being taught to read, and can therefore use the books circulated. In view of this fact the North India Bible Society issued, a few months ago, the following remarkable and spirited address:—“Education is making considerable advance. The people are becoming better able to read our books, and we hope more interested in searching into our religion. The country is also rapidly filling up with missionaries, who are the main instruments in spreading our books among the people. The past year has given us considerable accessions, and we have now within what may be called the bounds of our society, about 100 missionaries of various



denominations, most of whom will look to this society for their supplies. It is also gratifying to be able to state, that there are scattered over the country an apparently increasing number of laymen, who are desirous of distributing the Bible, and who are frequently making demands upon our stock. The field of our operations also, though already of vast extent, is continually widening. During the past year, Oude has given to us three millions of immortal souls, and the course of events shows that it cannot be long before the gates of Affghanistan will be thrown open for the entrance of the Gospel."

The district in which this society operates is immense, reaching from the undefined limit in the east, where the Bengalee language meets the Hindoo, stretching thence across the centre of India to the Marathai speaking tribes, and thence including Rajpootana to the northern bounds of India, comprising a population of not less than sixty millions.

Mr. Hocrule has just finished the revision of the Urdu New Testament, in the Arabic character. An edition of the New Testament in the same language, in the Roman character, published in 1845, has been revised by Messrs. Mather, Smith, and Leupolt, the original translators. The Bombay auxiliary Bible Society has just issued a complete edition (5000 copies) of the Scriptures in the Marathai. Of the Gujurati New Testament they have lately issued 6000 copies, and since then 5000 copies of the whole Bible in that dialect.

A gratifying exemplification of the way in which the progress of education, and the circulation of books of a useful character, act upon one another, has occurred in connection with the labours of the friends of education and Bible distribution in Ceylon. During the years 1856-7, the issues of the Singhalese and Indo-Portuguese Scriptures amounted to 3342. A person writing from Colombo, says:—"Much attention is paid to the native educational establishments, and it is the wish of the committee that all the schools should be furnished with the entire New Testament. The Central School commission has purchased 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, recently printed for the use of the government vernacular schools." In Ceylon it is not so necessary for the government to avoid the charge of interfering with the religion of the people. The prevailing superstition being that of Buddha, there does not exist the same popular jealousy of government propagandism. The labours of these voluntary associations in Ceylon have so impressed the present governor, that he has become the patron of the auxiliary Bible

Society. Sir George Grey has ordered the remission of duty on paper, and other material sent out for the auxiliaries' use. The local committee, encouraged by these tokens of appreciation and support, recently passed a resolution to present as a gift from the society a Bible, in the vernacular, to every newly-married couple among the native Christians.

The countries around India proper are receiving similar benefits from the operation of educational and book societies. An edition of 5000 copies of the Gospel according to St. Luke has been completed in Punjabee, and an edition equally large of the Gospel of Matthew is issuing in the same dialect.

The Persian language being understood by many in the north-west provinces as well as in Persia, the Bible in that language is distributed in those countries as opportunity allows. The Gospel of Matthew has been translated into Thibetian. Types have been prepared at Secundra, and the interesting country of Thibet will be penetrated by adventurous men, desirous to circulate the word of God in its remote regions. The Rev. Mr. Clarke, of Peshawur, has translated into Pushtoo the Gospel of St. John, and the society has ordered two thousand copies in lithograph. A committee of gentlemen acquainted with the language has been formed at Peshawur, for the purpose of preparing translations of other portions of the Bible.

Both the Bible and Tract Societies have extended their operations to Assam, Tenasserim, and Pegu, where, from various circumstances, the people are likely to welcome books. In the Tenasserim provinces the *poonjies* (a *poonjie* is a sort of priest and schoolmaster) teach the people reading, writing, and arithmetic for the payment of a little labour in the rice-field. Nearly every village has its *kioung*, or school. The government has established schools of a superior character, and the missionaries, especially the American, have supplemented them, and teach the Christian Scriptures. The American Baptists have opened eight boarding and day-schools at Moulmein, with an average attendance of five hundred scholars. In the other provinces eighteen similar schools have been established, and a very considerable number of rudimental schools taught by natives. Throughout the interesting territory of Pegu the Baptist American Mission is labouring, not only to preach the Gospel to the people, but to elevate them by education. Native preachers and teachers are employed with success, and a new vernacular literature is being rapidly supplied.

The British press in India is acquiring rapidly



increasing influence. If the measure of Lord Canning, in restricting the liberty of the press during the late revolt, were a necessary policy, it proves that the English language must have made great progress among the natives. Not many years ago it would have been of no consequence whatever to the government what the English press in India published, so far as any influence it might exercise upon the natives might be taken into consideration. If, however, as many allege, the real object was to stifle discussion as to the acts of the government, it proves that the English press is no longer the subservient tool of any Indian administration, as it was wont to be considered, but that its independence and power are felt at government house. It is likely that both the motives glanced at operated with the governor-general and council; it is no longer a matter of indifference to them either as regards the public opinion of Europeans in India, or that of the natives, what the Anglo-Indian press contains in its columns.

There are now many papers in India of large circulation, guided by great talent, and maintaining high principles; such as the *Calcutta Englishman*, *Friend of India*, *Indian Charter*, *Bombay Times*, *Bombay Gazette*, *Madras Spectator*, the *Mofussilite of Meerut*, &c. The following estimate of the press of India by a gentleman who had himself been editor of the *Ceylon Examiner*, is, it may be hoped, to be received with favourable qualifications, as the language employed is severe:—"If the press of India cannot be said to rank either in talent or tone with that of the parent country, it must be confessed by impartial witnesses that it is as good as it can afford to be; and looking at all the circumstances of the case, as good and as moral as could be expected. If it is not quite so intellectual, nor nearly so high-minded, nor yet so independent, as journalism in England, let the Anglo-Indian public ask who they have to thank but themselves. The Indian press

is as worthy a reflex of the state of society in that part of the world, as is the condition of English society mirrored in the journals of this country. The *Times* or *Daily News*, published in the presidencies, would be as much out of place as would the *Quarterly* among the Esquimaux. Papers are not usually established for any higher motive than profit; and in such a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, no man having any knowledge of India would attempt to print such a paper as the London *Examiner* or *Spectator*, even had he the ability at his command to enable him to do so. Editors in India know their readers pretty well; they generally understand the sort of writing which is acceptable to them, and minister accordingly. One of the most successful journals throughout India is the *Mofussilite*, a bi-weekly journal, published at Meerut, in Bengal. It was established some dozen years since, and, by a judicious catering to the reading wants of the community, it has reached the highest position amongst Indian papers, both as regards circulation and income. Few topics escape its notice, yet these are all handled in such a light and pleasant manner, that even the most uninteresting matters rivet the attention of the Anglo-Indian, whilst in England its columns would possibly be voted 'frivolous.'"

In this chapter considerable space has been occupied with the religion, languages, and literature of India; no subject connected with its vast population could deserve more attention. The state of religion and education in any country forms the bases for legislation and government. Even commerce must keep in view the principles, conscience, and intelligence of a people whose shores are sought in the friendly and profitable exchanges of trade; certainly, at the present juncture, no theme connected with India could more earnestly require the attention of the British people than that which has occupied this chapter.

## CHAPTER III.

### PROVINCES—CHIEF CITIES.

BEFORE describing the state of the arts, the antiquities and customs, the commerce and government of the country, it is proper that some notice should be taken of its different tracts, and of its chief cities. In the general view given of India in the first chapter a description of its leading natural divisions, as

separated by mountain or river, was necessary, and this was conducted to a sufficient extent to render a very particular account of the provinces and districts undesirable.

Bengal is the chief presidency. It is divided into three provinces—the lower, central, and upper, or western. The climate



and natural productions vary with the latitude, soil, and local peculiarities. The whole presidency lies between longitude  $74^{\circ}$  and  $96^{\circ}$  east, and latitude  $16^{\circ}$  and  $31^{\circ}$  north. The three provinces comprise as the chief divisions and districts Calcutta, Patna, Moorshedabad, Dacca, Benares, Bareilly, Assam, &c.

The general appearance of the lower province is flat and uniform. Sameness and richness characterise the face of the country. There are elevated tracts, but they are only exceptions to the general level aspect. The inundations which take place in the districts watered by the Ganges show the general descent. Hamilton derives the name Bengal from the fact that the tract of annual inundation was anciently called *Beng*, and the upper parts, which were not liable to inundation, was called *Barendra*. The presidency, from its western boundary to the sea, is watered by the Ganges, and is intersected in every direction by navigable rivers, the courses of which frequently change, in consequence of the loose nature of the soil—for if any new obstacle or large accumulation of deposit create an obstruction, the river easily forces for itself a new channel. This has been a cause of difficulty to geographical and topographical explorers, especially as the natives continue to give to the neglected channel the old name, and as long as any water remains they perform their religious ablutions in what they deem the sacred flood. These changes are attended by loss, the neighbourhood of the new courses being frequently flooded to a great extent from the shallowness of the bed through which the current rolls; and the old courses becoming marshes, spread disease, as well as leave the country around without irrigation.

The banks of the rivers, especially of the Ganges, notwithstanding the flatness of the country, exhibit considerable variety of appearance. Sometimes the current, sapping away the soft earth, the banks appear precipitous; but it is dangerous to approach them, as they frequently give way. At other parts the river washes into the land, forming deep bays, and giving a picturesque aspect to the neighbourhood. The lesser rivers of Bengal have a more winding course than the larger, and where the banks are narrowest, the current is more winding, lying along the level country like a beautiful serpent basking in the Indian sun. By this more devious flow a large extent of country is irrigated. The Ganges appears to have the least circuitous course of any of the rivers, yet, within one hundred miles it increases by its windings the distance one-fourth. That part of the river which lies in a line from

Gangautie, where it flows in a small stream from the Himalayas, to Saugor Island, below Calcutta, is particularly sacred. The Hoogly river is, therefore, in the native esteem, the true Ganges; and the great branch which runs eastward to join the Brahmapootra, is by them called Puddah (Padma), or Padmawatti, and is not worshipped, although it is, in Hindoo imagination, invested with some sacredness. Wherever the Ganges runs from the south to the north, contrary to its ordinary direction, it is considered more holy than generally in other parts of its current, and is called Uttarahini. But the most sacred spots to the worshippers of the "Ganga," are those where other rivers form a junction with it; thus, Allahabad, where the Ganges and Jumna unite, has a pre-eminent sanctity, and is called, by way of distinction, Prayag. At Hurdwar, where the river escapes from the mountains, and at Saugor Island, at the mouth of the Hoogly, it is also the object of especial adoration. In the Hindoo mythology the Ganges is described as the daughter of the great mountain Himavata; she is called Ganga on account of her flowing through *Gang*, the earth. She receives various other designations, some of which are nearly as popular, and all of mythical derivation. The Brahmapootra contributes to the irrigation of Bengal; it derives its name also from a myth, as it signifies the son of Brahma; but some Hindoo mythologists trace its derivation in a different manner, which illustrates the impurity of the Hindoo imagination under the influence of idolatry.

The great river surface in Bengal, and the low-lying, marshy coast, cause fogs and penetrating dews in the cold weather, which are unfavourable to health. Some persons, however, maintain that they are rather conducive to salubrity, being not more than sufficient to supply moisture equivalent to the daily exhaustion by the sun.

The staple productions of Bengal are sugar, tobacco, silk, cotton, indigo, and rice. The different species of the last-named are almost beyond enumeration, so varied are the influence of soil, season, and mode of cultivation. The poppy is also produced in the upper portions of the presidency. Bengal is not considered so favourable to orchard produce as other portions of India, yet the natives are fond of this cultivation, and regard with reverence trees planted by their fathers. Orchards of mango-trees diversify the aspect of the country everywhere throughout the presidency. In Bahar the palm and the date are abundant. The cocoa-nut, so useful and refreshing to the Bengalees, grows in the southern portions of the territory. In



the central districts plantations of areca are common. The northern parts nurture the bassia, which is very useful; its inflated corols are nutritious, and yield an excellent spirit on distillation; the oil expressed from its seeds is used as a substitute for butter. Clumps of bamboos, which are useful for building and profitable for sale, are noticeable by the traveller in many directions. In a single year the bamboo grows to its height; in the second year its wood acquires the requisite hardness. "It is probable," observes an old writer, "that a single acre of bamboos is more profitable than ten of any other tree."

English vegetables do not grow in Bengal so luxuriantly as in England, and are noticed by English persons on their arrival for their insipidity. The potato, at least some species of it, thrives better than most other foreign vegetables.

Cattle are a considerable portion of the peasant's wealth. The buffalo, which is grazed at a very small expense, is a valuable animal, on account of its milk. As the flesh of kine is not available for food, in consequence of the religious prejudice against it, cattle are not so valuable as otherwise would be the case. Coarse blankets are made from the wool of the sheep, which is not valued in the market as an article of commerce. The Bengalee sheep are small, four horned, and of a dark grey colour; their flesh is much prized by Europeans.

In the woods apes and monkeys abound, and in the evening the jackalls, leaving their jungles, howl around the cities and villages. The monkey tribes enter the villages unmolested, bear away fruit, and do much mischief.

The population of Bengal has been already given on another page. The most recent computation to which the author has access, fixes it at seventy millions: this includes the population of the north-west provinces. Ever since the settlement of the English, the people have increased in numbers at a ratio before unknown. It met with some severe checks during that time. In 1770, it is alleged that one-fifth of the population perished by famine. In 1784, one in fifty persons fell a victim to a similar calamity. In 1787, an extraordinary inundation carried away a vast amount of property, and destroyed many lives in Eastern Bengal. In the following year, and consequent upon the disaster last named, there was a famine in the districts where it had prevailed. For nearly fifty years after that period, famine, or even scarcity, was unknown. Since then the rice harvest has been several times beneath its average, and there has been consequent suffering; but it

does not appear that any important check has been put by those seasons of distress to the increase of population.

The following computations of the population at different periods, made by competent authorities, will indicate the rate of progress, partly by natural increase, and partly by the annexation of new territory.

In 1772, the British provinces of Bengal, then consisting of Bengal and Bahar, were stated to contain twenty millions of inhabitants.\* In 1789, they were believed to contain twenty-four millions.† In 1793, including Benares, the people of the Bengal provinces were supposed to number twenty-seven millions.‡ In 1814, the result of several investigations by government, reports were published, which stated that the population amounted to thirty-nine millions.§ In 1820, more than forty millions were said to constitute the population.||

During the last thirty-five years, the ratio of natural increase has been greater than during any period of the English occupancy, and the annexation of territories has added many millions more; and now the population of Bengal exceeds that of the whole Russian empire, the Turkish empire, or the German federation.

There are many large and populous cities within this presidency, and a great number of small ones. The large villages are almost incredibly numerous, forming as it were chains of towns along the banks of the rivers, especially of the Ganges, as numerous and populous as are said to be observed along the banks of rivers in China. A writer, who knew Bengal nearly half a century since, thus described them:—"While passing them by the inland navigation, it is pleasing to view the cheerful bustle and crowded population by land and water; men, old women, birds, and beasts, all mixed and intimate, evincing a sense of security, and appearance of happiness, seen in no part of India beyond the company's territories." This picture, so well drawn for a remoter period, answers to what existed previous to the late military revolt, which entailed most disaster in those very districts.

It will promote the clearness of the narrative, and facilitate the memory of the reader, to notice the chief cities of old Bengal, before describing those which belong to provinces which, of late years, have been added to the presidency.

The chief city of India, the seat of the supreme government as well as of the presi-

\* Lord Clive. † Sir W. Jones. ‡ Mr. Colebrooke.

§ Dr. Francis Buchanan; Mr. Bayley.

|| Walter Hamilton.



dential government of Bengal, is Calcutta, one of the largest and most picturesque cities in the world, deserving the epithet applied to it in Europe and America—"the City of Palaces."

The rise and progress of the city of Calcutta have been very rapid. Previous to the English settlement it could scarcely be said to exist, except as a village.\* In 1717 it was a village belonging to the Nuddea district; the houses were in small clusters, scattered over a moderate extent of ground, and the inhabitants were the tillers of the surrounding country, and a few native traders or merchants. In the south of the Cheindsaul Ghaut a forest existed. Between it and Kidderpore there were two tolerably populous villages; their inhabitants were invited by the merchants at Calcutta to settle there. These merchants appear to have consisted chiefly of one family, named Seats, and to their enterprise the city is indebted for its first step to opulence. Where the forest and the two villages stood, Fort William, the British citadel, and the esplanade, now stand. Where now the most elegant houses of the English part of the suburbs are seen, there were then small villages of wretched houses, surrounded by pools of water. The ground between the straggling clusters of hovels was covered with jungle. A quarter of a century later it appears to have made fair progress; there were seventy English houses, the huts of the natives had increased, and several rich native merchants had good residences.† The town was then surrounded by a ditch, to protect it from the incursions of the Mahrattas. About a century ago, the ground on which the citadel now stands, and on which some of the best portions of the town are built, was dense jungle. The town was then divided into four districts—Dee Calcutta, Govindpore, Chutanutty, and Bazaar Calcutta, and contained 9451 houses, under the protection of the company, and 5267 houses, with portions of land, possessed by independent proprietors. On the land occupied by those houses there were smaller tenements, sub-let by the proprietors, which would extend the list of habitations to nearly fifty thousand. Writers, whose accounts were given soon after, estimate the number of inhabitants at four hundred thousand,‡ which appears to be in considerable excess of the fact, notwithstanding the great increase of population. Towards the close of the last century the power and population of the town were of much greater magnitude. According to government reports, the houses, shops, and other habita-

tions, not the property of the East India Company, were in number as follow:—

British subjects . . . . .	4,300
Armenians, Greeks, and Christians of other seets and nations . . . . .	3,290
Mohammedans . . . . .	14,700
Hindoos . . . . .	56,460
Chinese . . . . .	10
Total . . . . .	78,760

From the beginning of the present century the population and resources of the town have augmented. In 1802 the reports made to government represented the population as six hundred thousand, and the neighbouring country as so thickly populated, that a circle of twenty miles from government house would comprise two and a quarter millions of persons. Half a century since the extension of the superior parts of the city, and its increase in wealth, were remarkable. Calcutta had become the great capital of a great empire. Mr. Hamilton describes its condition at that time in the following general terms:—"The modern town of Calcutta extends along the east side of the river above six miles, but the breadth varies very much at different places. The esplanade, between the town and Fort William, leaves a grand opening, along the edge of which is placed the new government house, erected by the Marquis Wellesley, and continued on in a line with that edifice is a range of magnificent houses, ornamented with spacious verandahs. Chouringhee, formerly a collection of native huts, is now a district of palaces, extending for a considerable distance into the country. The architecture of the houses is Grecian, which does not appear the best adapted for the country or climate, as the pillars of the verandahs are too much elevated to keep out the sun during the morning and evening, yet at both these times, especially the latter, the heat is excessive within doors. In the rainy season this style of architecture causes other inconveniences. Perhaps a more confined style of building, Hindoo in its character, would be found of more practical comfort. The black town extends along the river to the north, and exhibits a remarkable contrast to the part inhabited by the Europeans. Persons who have only seen the latter have little conception of the remainder of the city; but those who have been there will bear witness to the wretched condition of at least six in eight parts of this externally magnificent city. The streets here are narrow, dirty, and unpaved; the houses of two stories are of brick, with flat terraced roofs, but the great majority are mud cottages, covered with small tiles, with side walls of mats, bamboos.

\* Hamilton.

† Orme.

‡ Holwell.

VOL. I.



and other combustible materials, the whole, within and without, swarming with population. Fires, as may be inferred from the construction, are of frequent occurrence, but do not in the least affect the European quarter, which, from the mode of building, is completely incombustible. In this division the houses stand detached from each other in spaces inclosed by walls, the general approach being by a flight of steps under a large verandah; their whole appearance is uncommonly elegant and respectable."

The increase in the wealth and power of the great Indian capital advanced with the century. In 1810 the population was computed at a million by the chief judge,\* but he professed to include the environs in this enumeration, and as he did not make a very distinct report as to the principle upon which he added the population of various surrounding villages, the report must be held as a very loose return. About the same period General Kyd calculated the inhabitants of the city as not more than five hundred thousand, but admitted that the population of the suburbs was very numerous.

The present aspect of the city is magnificent; its population, wealth, the number and magnitude of its public buildings, the shipping in the river, the increase of commerce, the grandeur and luxury of rich natives, of Europeans, and of the government, throw an air of splendour over the place which fascinates all who come within its influence. The modern town of Calcutta is situated on the east side of the Hoogly, and extends along it about six miles. The approach by the river from the sea is exceedingly interesting, the Hoogly being one of the most picturesque of Indian rivers, and its most beautiful spots are in the vicinity of the great city, both on the side upon which the city is built, and on the opposite bank. The course of the river is somewhat devions, a distance of sixty miles by land being by the river's course nearly eighty. As upon the Ganges proper, the water in many places washes into the land, forming deep bays, and sometimes bold jutting promontories, which, clothed with oriental foliage to their summits, arrest the traveller's attention. The beauty of the trees which flourish in Bengal is seen to singular advantage along the Hoogly. The bamboo, with its long and graceful branches; the palm, of many species, towering aloft in its dignity; the peepul, finding space for its roots in the smallest crevices of rocks, or in the partially decayed walls of buildings, displays on high its light green foliage; the babool, with its golden balls and soft rich perfume; the beau-

\* Sir Henry Russell.

tiful magnolia, and various species of the acacia;—all find their suitable places, cast their shadows upon the sparkling river, and wave, as it were, their welcome to the adventurous voyager who has sought their native groves from far-off lands. If the traveller disembarks anywhere, and passes into the surrounding country, he will find it clothed in eternal verdure; for even while the sun of India pours its vertical rays upon the plains of Bengal, so well watered is it, that the verdure still retains its freshness. All persons passing on the river are much struck with the pleasant ghauts, or landing-places. These consist of many steps, especially where the banks are precipitous, and there is architectural taste displayed in their construction. The steps are wide, with fine balustrades. It is found convenient to build temples or pagodas near them, because the natives can glide along in their boats from considerable distances without much fatigue or trouble, when the sun pours his fierce and burning radiance on river, wood, and plain. The small Hindoo temples, called mhuts, are very commonly erected near these ghauts, in groups which are picturesque rather from the skilful grouping than from their individual form, which is beehive. The Mohammedans, as well as the heathen, have erected their temples by the ghauts of the Hoogly. Their beautiful domes and minarets may be seen glistening in the vivid Indian light through the feathery foliage of the palm and bamboo. Both Mohammedans and heathens take great pains to make the neighbourhood of these temple-crowned ghauts picturesque. The stairs to the water's edge are strewn with flowers of the richest perfumes and the brightest hues; the balustrades bear entwined garlands of the double-flowered Indian jessamine, and other graceful creeping plants which serve as pendants; and, floating along the shining river, these fair offerings to false gods, or wreaths in honour of the prophet of Islam, spread their odours, and adorn the current. Thus the banks of the Hoogly seem fairy land, and its stream fairy waters; the most glowing light, the sweetest perfumes, the most graceful forms of architecture and of the forest, the richest profusion of colour reflected from foliage, flowers, and blossoms of infinite variety, the river itself at intervals so covered with these last-named offspring of beauty, that one might suppose they drew their life from its bosom. Such is the scene by day, and as night approaches there is still beauty inexpressible, however changed its aspects. The setting sun throws upon the foliage and river the richest tints; the first shadows of night fall upon innumerable circles



of fireflies, which, with their golden and emerald light, play amid the trees, and flash along the margin of the waters; and the innumerable lamps, gleaming from temples, pagodas, and mosques through the thick trees and brushwood, give an air of enchantment to the night scenes of the Hoogly. Happy is he whose leisure admits of his working up or gliding down the Hoogly in the slow-sailing budgerow, for in few lands can scenery so soft, soothing, and calmly beautiful be found.

When the European visitor approaches Calcutta, it is not discerned for any considerable distance; hidden by the thickly clustering trees, the course of the river, and the level site, it is not seen from the river until it suddenly bursts upon the view in all its splendour. The *coup d'œil* is most impressive, and the excitement of the stranger is increased every moment as one object of interest and grandeur after another comes rapidly in more distinctness before him. The pleasant gardens which descend to the river from the mansions of the merchants and superior officials cannot fail to arrest attention, even in view of the noble public edifices. Much attention is paid to these gardens, which are decorated by the magnificent trees and flowers of India, and enriched by its exquisite fruits. The gardens are nearly all on the left bank of the river, for the right is occupied by the botanial gardens of the Honourable East India Company, which are perhaps the most interesting of their kind in the world. In these gardens exotics from the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, China, Australia, the United States of America, and Europe, are carefully cultivated. There the palm, the bamboo, the peepul, and the banyan are to be seen of the loftiest height, and in all the spreading pomp of the Indian forest tree. There are some larger banyan trees in other parts of the peninsula, but one remarkable specimen may be seen in these gardens, several acres being covered by the overbranching shadow of this king of the oriental forest.

The ghauts at Calcutta are as elegant as they are convenient, and impress the stranger as he passes them, and when he lands, with the idea not only of the grandeur of the city, but of its good government.

The grand arsenal of Fort William is distant from the city about a quarter of a mile. This noble structure deserves special notice; it has an historic interest as well as a political importance. It has been generally regarded as stronger, and, as a fortress, more regular than any other in India. It is octagonal, five of the faces being regular; the other three next the river are not so. A military man

described it some years since in the following terms:—"As no approach by land is to be apprehended on this side, the river coming up to the glacis, it was merely necessary to guard against attack by water, by providing a great superiority of fire, which purpose has been attained by merely giving the citadel towards the water the form of a large salient angle, the faces of which enfilade the course of the river. From these faces the guns continue to play upon the objects until they approach very near to the city, when they would receive the fire of the batteries parallel to the river. This point is likewise defended by adjoining bastions, and a counterguard, which covers them. The five regular bastions are towards the land; the bastions have all very salient orillons, behind which are retired circular flanks, extremely spacious, and an inverse double flank at the height of the berme. This double flank would be an excellent defence, and would serve to retard the passages of the ditch, as from its form it cannot be enfiladed. The orillon preserves it from the effect of ricochet shot, and it is not to be seen from any parallel. The berme opposite to the curtain serves as a road to it, and contributes to the defence of the ditch like a *fausse-bray*. The ditch is dry, with a *eunette* in the middle, which receives the water of the river by means of two sluices, which are commanded by the fort. The counterscarp and covered way are excellent; every curtain is covered with a large half-moon, without flanks, bonnet, or redoubt, but the faces mount thirteen pieces of heavy artillery each, thus giving to the defence of these ravelins a fire of twenty-six guns. The demi-bastions which terminate the five regular fronts on each side are covered by a counterguard, of which the faces, like the half-moons, are pierced with thirteen embrasures. These counterguards are connected with two redoubts, constructed in the place of arms of the adjacent re-entering angles; the whole is faced and palisaded with care, kept in admirable condition, and capable of making a vigorous defence against any army, however formidable. The advanced works are executed on an extensive scale, and the angles of the half-moons, being extremely acute, project a great way, so as to be in view of each other beyond the flanked angle of the polygon, and capable of taking the trenches in the rear at an early period of the approach." The above description will in the main suit for the present condition of the fortress. Some alterations have been made of late years, more with a view to convenience than defence. It is the general opinion of military men that it has been planned on too extensive a scale to



answer its original intention, which was merely to serve in an extremity as a place of retreat. The number of men required to garrison it would be sufficient to keep the field against any enemy which India could furnish. Lord Clive, who designed it, is blamed for this; but Clive was not an educated soldier, he was rather one by intuition, and ought hardly to be held responsible for imperfections of military engineering. After the battle of Plassey it was natural for Clive to think that Calcutta might have to be defended, not merely against native, but European enemies, or both combined, and an army which could make head upon the plains against any native force, might not be strong enough to keep the field in the presence of native forces and European auxiliaries. Ten thousand men would be required to defend the place, and fifteen thousand can be garrisoned within it. Its cost to the company has been two millions sterling, a sum which is very far beyond its worth. The barracks are handsome, spacious, and well adapted for their purpose.

Between the fort and the town there is an extensive level space, called the esplanade. On the edge of this stands the government house, erected by the Marquis Wellesley. Continued on in a line with it is a range of fine mansions, with stuccoed fronts, and pleasant green verandahs. The government house is the most striking building in Calcutta; its appearance is much more imposing than Fort William, which has very little elevation. In the eyes of the natives, government house is of great importance, and the English residents of Calcutta are not a little proud of its splendour. It is a very extensive pile, and has four wings, one at each corner of the building, which contain the private apartments; the council-room, which occupies the north-east corner, is a splendid room, worthy of the building, and the purpose for which it is set apart. In the centre of the pile there are two rooms of very great magnificence: the lowest is paved with marble of a dark grey tint, and supported by Doric columns, *chunamed*, resembling marble; above this is the ball-room, floored with dark polished Indian wood, and supported by Ionic pillars. These rooms are lighted by superb cut glass lustres, and the ceilings are painted in a very superior style. Competent and severe critics allow that the decorations of these rooms are most tasteful. What scenes of ambition, blighted fortunes, baffled hopes, eager aspirations, unprincipled intrigue, fortunate policy, and humiliated greatness, have been witnessed within these gorgeous apartments! How often have dethroned princes passed

with unshod feet, the token of defeat and extorted homage, across those flags of marble and choice Indian floors! Short as is the time since that palace has been opened for the reception of the British rulers of India, events have transpired within it full of romantic interest, and replete with the fate of thrones and dynasties, and of the mightiest empire upon which the orient sun ever shone!

Government house does not stand alone in beauty. The custom house is a good building. Bishop's College is a Gothic structure of quadrangular form; on the north side is a tower, which is sixty-five feet high, and twenty-five feet deep. The town hall is spacious, and accommodates large public meetings, which frequently assemble there, not only for civic business, but to celebrate the anniversaries of religious, philanthropic, and scientific societies. Public dinners and balls are given in it also. The courts of justice are not only important, but impressive in their exterior effect. There are a jail, an hospital, a club-house for the Bengal Club, the adjutant-general's and quartermaster-general's offices, the Jesuits' college, Hindoo and Mohammedan colleges, and many other notable edifices, among the most remarkable of which are the Metcalfe Hall, the mint, and the medical college. The Metcalfe Hall is a building which may be justly called magnificent. It contains an extensive public library, and the library and museum of the Asiatic Society—a society planned by Sir W. Jones on his way out to India. It also affords accommodation to the Agricultural Society of Bengal. This noble building was raised in commemoration of Lord Metcalfe, whose administration of government in India was so renowned. The mint is a vast building—one of the largest piles of buildings in existence for civil administrative purposes. There the "circulating medium" of India receives its form and impress. There are few specimens of architectural skill and taste in Calcutta which equal the medical college, which is as useful as its outline is attractive.

Architectural taste is not confined to buildings for educational, governmental, or other secular purposes: Hindoo temples and mosques have their peculiarities of style, and all the religious sects of Christianity have their churches, many of which are of large size and superior structure. The grandest Christian edifice in the city is the English cathedral. It owes its existence to the zeal of Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, and cost £50,000. Her majesty presented the communion service, which is superb. She also sanctioned the bestowal of the painting of the Crucifixion, by West and Forrest, originally



designed for St. George's Chapel, Windsor, by his majesty King George III. The Honourable East India Company showed a profuse liberality in this undertaking, granting the ground on which the building stands, appointing two chaplains, to be paid from its treasury, and bestowing nearly one-third of the whole expense of the erection. It is thus described by one who has seen it:— "The style of the architecture is the English Perpendicular Gothic, with a few variations, occasioned by the climate; it is, in fact, Indo, or Christian Gothic. The tower and spire are built after the model of the admired Norwich Cathedral, with improvements suggested by that of Canterbury. Most of the details of the ornaments, externally and internally, are taken from the finest specimens of York Minster. The building is constructed of a peculiar kind of brick, specially prepared for the purpose. It is dressed with Chunar stone, and well covered and ornamented inside and out with *chunam*, which takes a polish like marble." \*

The portion of Calcutta occupied by the native population lies along the river to the north. It is an extremely wretched place. Much as Europeans are accustomed to contrasts in their capitals between the quarters occupied by the rich and the poor, they can have no conception of the antithetical force of contrast in this respect presented by Calcutta. The streets are narrow—so narrow, that they are frequently only just broad enough for an elephant to pass through. They are as dirty as they are confined, and, being unpaved, are, at certain seasons, in a condition the most abominable, and sometimes, from the nuisances which abound, altogether impassable for Europeans. The better class of houses in "the native town" are built of brick, two stories high, with flat terraced roofs; these, however, bear a small proportion to the mud huts, with tiled roofs, the sides being sometimes of bamboos, often only consisting of mats. Such fragile and inflammable buildings often take fire, and fearful conflagrations spread through that part of the town; the European portion, in consequence of the site, composition, and style of the buildings, and their frequent isolation, escapes on these occasions. The sufferings of the natives are very great at such times; for although all the materials for building are plentiful, the people are extremely poor, and the division of labour occasioned by prejudices of various kinds makes all building expensive. If fires do not ravage the mansions of the Europeans, the white ant is as sure, if a slower enemy, and buildings often become

\* Stocqueler.

insecure by its devouring energy, the beams and other timbers being completely sapped when there is no exterior appearance of mischief.

The bazaars constitute one of the peculiarities of an oriental town, and Calcutta abounds in bazaars. There the native merchants, and vendors of all conceivable commodities, practise their ingenuity; and there the most crafty European Jews would find their match in the expert operations of dealings less ingenuous than ingenious. The bazaar affords a lounge to the European disposed to pass time there; and if acquainted with a fair number of the languages of India, he may hear, and participate in, a great deal of gossip quite beyond the conception of occidental imaginations, either as to subject or manner.

The country around Calcutta is, as before noticed, champaign, rich, verdant, but little varied, except by the grouping of the woods. The rice culture makes the country swampy in many parts. The river's banks, above as well as below the town, are pretty.

About twelve miles distant, at Dum Dum, are the artillery barracks, which are spacious, pleasantly situated, and an agreeable resort from Calcutta. At a distance of sixteen miles Barrackpore is situated, where a number of native regiments, mustering the strength of a division, have cantonments. This place is also much visited from Calcutta. There are villas, and commercial settlements for various purposes, scattered over the flat country for an equal distance, to which the European residents of Calcutta make occasional journeys; but Barrackpore is perhaps the pleasantest resort, and the most frequently selected. Being partly situated on the river, its site is picturesque; the way to it by land lies through a beautiful demesne of the governor-general. From the river the landing is made by a magnificent ghaut, and in sailing past the residence of the governor-general is visible through openings in the clumps of tall trees which crown the banks.

On the opposite side of the river is Serampore, the citadel of Christian missions in India. This place is very little resorted to from Calcutta, although to good taste more attractive than Barrackpore; but the residence of officers and their families at that station, and the frequent presence of the governor-general, give it an interest denied to its prim but pleasant neighbour on the other side of the river. The esplanade at Serampore is very fine; the buildings which range along it deserve all the appellations of commendation usually applied to them. There is no town in India where order, cleanliness, and good taste, prevail as in Serampore. This superior taste extends



to the boats which belong to it, and which glide so gracefully past the rougher craft of the English settlements. The morality and social order of this city of the Danes is in keeping with its exterior beauty and the glory of its architecture. Truly, our Scandinavian brothers who founded this elect of the cities of India, deserve all honour for the skill, enterprise, perception of the beautiful, and value for the true, which, in their material and spiritual labours, they proved themselves to possess. There are many natives of consequence residing at Serampore; they also live in some state, their habitations displaying much grandeur, although less elegant than those of Europeans. The native dwellings are constructed more with a view to seclusion; they can, however, be seen from the river, peeping through the trees in which they are embowered, as openings are left for glimpses of the sacred flood as it rolls its heavy current along.

Calcutta and its neighbourhood constitute a subject so large, that many chapters might be exhausted upon it. Under the heads of government, commerce, customs, and manners, it will be necessary again to refer to its importance, and to the influence of those who reside within its confines upon the destinies of India and of all the East. Far over the oriental lands which bound the dominions of the East India Company, Calcutta, its beauty, pomp, and power, are talked of. In the populous cities of China, in the mountains of Nepaul and Thibet, among the Birmans, away to the west and north-west, to Teheran and Central Asia, to the shores of the Caspian, the Euxine, and the Bosphorus, men eagerly listen to fabulous tales of the grandeur, greatness, and resources of the government of India. Calcutta is associated in men's minds in all these wide-spread realms as a city of lavish splendour and exhaustless wealth.

One of the divisions of the province of Bengal is called the Sunderbunds. This is to the south of the presidency, and stretches one hundred and eighty miles along the sea-coast. It is a region of salt marshes and forests. The glance given of this district in the general description of India is sufficient for the purposes of this History. It is here only necessary to state that all attempts to reduce this woody and marshy region to cultivation have been only partially successful. It still continues to be a wild and inhospitable region, only inhabited by a few fakeers, whose habitations are wretched, and whose lives are in constant peril. Woodcutters resort to the forest and jungle of this district, where they frequently perish in their

adventurous occupation, devoured by alligators or beasts of prey. Tigers, as noticed in another page, abound in this region; they attack the woodcutters and fakeers, often making a prey of them. Even when these unfortunate men navigate the channels of water which intersect this wild place in every direction, the tiger is so ferocious, that he will swim after the boats, and frequently succeeds in the destruction of those on board. The Ganges has eight mouths in this region, and all the rivers and channels that so drearily intersect it are filled by its waters. There are two large currents, one called the Sunderbund passage, and the other the Ballialghaut passage. The former takes an extensive circuit, passing through the widest and deepest of the minor streams, and finally empties itself into the Hoogly. The Ballialghaut opens into a shallow lake to the east of Calcutta. These rivers, or passages, as they are called, flow for two hundred miles through thick forest. So narrow in some places are the channels of the rivers, and so dense the forests, that the masts of the vessels touch the branches of the trees. At other places the channels expand into broad marshy lakes, which, notwithstanding the woods within view, are monotonous and dreary.

Saugor Island, which is about twenty miles long and five broad, is situated on the east side of the Hoogly River, about latitude  $21^{\circ} 40'$  north. It is a healthy station for the crews of ships, and formerly it had a higher reputation in this respect, when the upper part of the Hoogly was more subject to disease, arising from the rapid decomposition of vegetable matter on its banks. Various circumstances, natural and artificial, have contributed to the better sanitary condition of the part of the river near to Calcutta. This island is celebrated in India as a place of pilgrimage. Hindoos resort to it, because there the most sacred portion of the Ganges forms its junction with the sea. Here old persons, far advanced in life, and children, are offered to the river deity, and the barbarities of heathenism, and of the Hindoo form of it in particular, are exemplified. The few persons resident on the island at the beginning of this century worshipped a sage named Capila. The place seems to have had some importance in ancient Hindoo history, and remains of tanks and temples are still to be seen. The jungle and forest of the island were the cover of a peculiarly ferocious breed of the Bengal tiger. A company of Europeans and natives, under the direction of Dr. Dunlop, cleared and settled a large portion of the dry country, and drained the marshy lands.



The district of BACKERGUNGE is marked on Wylde's large map as first in his list of civil stations in the Bengal presidency. It is situated to the north-east of the Sunderbunds. At the close of the sixteenth century a combined incursion of the Mughls and Portuguese, then settled at Chittagong, laid the country waste, and it has never fully recovered from the effect of that predatory inroad. The country is, nevertheless, fertile, producing two rice crops. Wild beasts, and men whose habits would justify the designation of wild being applied to them, prowl about a considerable portion of this territory. The Dacoits, or river-pirates, have been of late years chased and punished severely, but are not exterminated. Half a century ago gangs of Dacoits committed every species of depredation, and perpetrated horrible cruelties, and the Bengal tiger roamed about, a formidable enemy to the peaceful settler. The population consists of Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Portuguese. The first, in proportion to the second, is as five to two. The Portuguese colonies are in the southern part, and the colonists are generally inferior, mentally and physically, to either Hindoos or Mohammedans. They are spare and feeble, and blacker than the native races, by whom they are much despised. This circumstance strikingly illustrates the power of a tropical climate to deteriorate Europeans in colour and physical capacity.

The district of HOOGLY, which takes its name from the Hoogly River, is not remarkable in any way, its principal characteristics being similar to those of Bengal generally. The city of Hoogly is, however, worthy of notice. It is situated on the west side of the river, twenty-six miles above Calcutta, latitude  $22^{\circ} 54'$  north, longitude  $88^{\circ} 28'$  east. During the reign of the Moguls this city was one of great importance. Several European powers had factories there, and the commerce was considerable. In 1632, about eight years before the English settled there, and when the Portuguese were in possession of it, a Mogul army besieged and sacked it, a few only of the Portuguese escaping by means of their ships. In 1686 an accidental quarrel arose between the English and the Mogul's people. The garrison of the English factory, aided by a ship of war, inflicted a severe chastisement upon the place, and spiked all the cannon of the Mogul garrison. Five hundred houses were consumed in the conflagration caused by the conflict. This was a remarkable incident, being the first battle fought by the British in Bengal. The power of the Mogul was, however, such that the English were glad to consent to terms of

peace which were humiliating. The town is not now one of great consideration, but has still a tolerably large trade and a numerous population.

NUDDEA is a district north of Calcutta, between the twenty-second and twenty-fourth degrees of north latitude. There is nothing to distinguish it so particularly from the general features of Bengal as to call for separate description. It is, however, remarkable in the British History of India as comprising within it the town of Plassey, where Clive decided in battle the fate of Bengal, and ultimately that of India.

The district of MOORSHEDABAD is only remarkable as containing the city of the same name, which was the capital of Bengal immediately before the British established their power. It is situated about one hundred and twelve miles north of Calcutta. It stands on a very sacred branch of the Ganges, called the Bhagirathi, or Cossimbuzaar River. In 1704 Moorshed Cooly Khan transferred his seat of government to it, and gave it the name it bears instead of its previous one, Mucksoosabad. It is a miserable, filthy, and unhealthy place, containing one hundred and seventy-five thousand inhabitants. There is, however, a great deal of inland traffic, and the river is usually crowded with sailing craft, except during the long dry season. The town of Cossimbuzaar may be considered a part of Moorshedabad, and the port of it, as at that spot the river traffic centres: it is only a mile from Moorshedabad. The population is very considerable, perhaps as numerous as in any inland *trading* town of the Bengal province. Its manufacture and commerce are considerable, silk being the staple commodity.

The town of Berhampore is only six miles distant from the former places, on the eastern bank of the same river. A brigade of troops occupies fine cantonments there, and, comparatively, many European gentlemen are resident there. According to competent authorities, the situation is pleasant and salubrious.

About thirty miles N.N.W. of Moorshedabad is the town of Sooty, remarkable for the defensive preparations against the English made there by Soorajah-ad-Dowlah, who believed that their ships could come up the eastern branch of the Ganges to the northern point of the Cassembe Island, and then go down the Bhagirathi to Moorshedabad. He accordingly directed piles of vast magnitude and strength to be driven into the bed of the river: this work was so effectually accomplished, that the river has ever since been unnavigable for any craft except boats, and in the dry



seasons the passage is obstructed against even them. In 1763 a battle was fought here between the troops of Meer Cossim and the English, and the latter had their usual fortune—victory.

CHITTAGONG district is on the south-east of the Bengal province, between  $21^{\circ}$  and  $23^{\circ}$  north latitude. It has long been noted for its wildness, and a large portion of it is an exception to the general flatness of the province. The Mughls, driven from Birmanah, inhabit it, and are physically a finer race than the feeble Bengalees of the district, but are remarkable for their irregular features and bad expression of countenance. Various conflicts at the latter end of the last century, and beginning of the present, of a desultory nature arose there between the Birmans and British, in consequence of violation of territory by the former. The town of Islamabad, a place of some commercial importance, is in this district. It is also the habitation of the Kookies, a small but muscular race of robbers, who in features resemble the Chinese. Sundeep Isle\* is situated in this district, at the mouth of the great Megna, formed by the united current of the Ganges and Brahmapootra Rivers. At the close of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth century, it was the abode or rendezvous of a set of daring pirates, chiefly Portuguese, headed by a common sailor of that nation, named Sebastian, who carried on war with surrounding princes, repeatedly defeating them, and spreading the terror of his name for a great distance in those parts of Eastern Asia. Being a coarse and brutal tyrant, he was at last an object of hatred to his own followers, who forsook him, and he finally fell before one of the native rulers whom before he had despised.

DACCA-JELALPORE district is situated between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth degrees of north latitude. This district suffered horribly in the memorable famine of 1787. At that time extensive tracts—such as Bawul, Cossimpore, and Taliabad—were utterly depopulated, and during the first half of the present century continued in a wild state, overgrown with jungle, and infested with elephants. Great progress in improved cultivation has been made in Dacca; large tracts have been cleared, villages have sprung up, temples and obelisks have been erected. Schools have been instituted by the natives themselves, in which the Bengalee is grammatically taught, and the religion and law of the Hindoos. Muslin fabrics have been manufactured extensively, but the cheap productions of England now compete with them on their own ground. This district was

\* Somadwipa—the isle of the moon.

notorious, during the first quarter of the present century, for the public sale of slaves; on these occasions regular deeds of sale were executed. Up to a recent date the whole district was remarkable for crime of almost every kind; violence, murder, robbery, and perjury, seemed to be the chief offences. The Mohammedans were far more frequently offenders than the Hindoos in cases of violence, the latter in cases of fraud and perjury.

The town of Dacca is both a civil and military station, and is a place of much importance. It is built on a branch of the Ganges, named the Booree Gunga, or Old Ganges, which is a mile wide before the town. The water communication with the interior offers great commercial advantages, and the finest muslin which perhaps has been ever manufactured at one time formed the staple trade. By road it is one hundred and eighty miles from Calcutta. The neighbourhood is remarkable for its perpetual verdure. It is not one of the ancient cities of Bengal, although third in point of population and importance, and was at one time the capital of Eastern Bengal. In the reign of Aurungzebe it reached the acme of its splendour, vestiges of which remain in its varied and extensive ruins of public edifices. Remains of great causeways and bridges, caravanserais, gates, palaces, and mosques, are in wonderful profusion. Its vicinity appears to have been always prolific, verdant, and beautiful, for the remains of vast gardens—such as are to be found in the neighbourhood of few cities of the greatest magnitude—may be traced through the jungle by which their sites are now overrun. The city is not now inhabited by so rich a class of natives as formerly, but it is increasingly populous with the industrious classes, and is greatly expanding. It is deemed one of the most wealthy cities in India. During the reign of the Moguls it was a rendezvous for a large fleet, as many as seven hundred and sixty-eight armed cruisers having belonged to it. The superstition of the people assumes a gayer form here than in other parts of Bengal. They render most homage to river-gods, and perform various aquatic ceremonies of a picturesque and joyous kind. The Mohammedans adopt similar customs in honour of Elias, the prophet, whom they believe, or pretend, was a patron of rivers. In the Dacca district, at Changpore, the most delicious oranges in the world are produced.

SYLHET district is very unlike the southern and western parts of Bengal. It lies between the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth degrees of north latitude. It is bounded on the north and east by an elevated mountain ridge, where



the inhabitants are in a very wild state. It has no town of much importance, Sylhet being its capital, the neighbourhood of which is studded with picturesque conical hills, crowned with wood to their summits. The district is remarkable for its varied natural productions. As shown on another page, tea-plants of an excellent quality have been discovered on the hill-sides. It contains the largest orange groves in the world, and they are only excelled by those of Changpore in excellence. Chunam (lime) is found in the mountains. Large quantities of wax, and some ivory, are also produced. Elephants are wild in some portions of the uncultivated territory. Coal has also been found near the surface. The district is well watered, and the streams, fed in the rainy season from the mountains, deluge the lower lands, so as to ensure good rice crops. Between Sylhet and China only a few hundred miles intervene, but the country is utterly wild and inhospitable.

RUNGPORE district is situated between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth degree of north latitude. It contains little to characterise it as a district. In the neighbourhood of the town of Goalpara there are some descendants of the Portuguese settlers, who were thus described a few years ago by a gentleman acquainted with their condition:—"Here they are termed Choldar, which seems to be a corruption of soldier. None of them can either read or write; only two or three know a few words of Portuguese, and they have entirely adopted the dress of the natives. The only European customs they retain are that the women courtesy, and the men show, by the motion of the hand as they pass, that they would take off their hat if they had one. Notwithstanding the want of this distinguished covering, the men retain some portion of European activity, and are much feared by the natives, who employ them as messengers in making a demand, such as the payment of a debt, to a compliance with which they think a little fear may contribute. The females gain a subsistence chiefly by sewing, and distilling spirituous liquors, of which last article the men consume as much as they can afford, and retail the remainder. Concerning the Christian religion they appear to know little or nothing, nor have they any priests. Sometimes they go to Bawul, near Dacca, in order to procure a priest to marry them, but in general this is too expensive, and they content themselves with the public acknowledgment of their marriages." The districts and towns thus described are all that can, within the limits of a work like the present, be selected for notice in the Bengal province.

Within the presidency of Bengal is another province, that of *BAHAR*, called "Cooch Bahar." to distinguish it from the province of which Patna is the capital. The natural character of the province, and the social character of the people, differ too little from those of the province of Bengal and its inhabitants for particular detail. The old capital of Bahar was once the metropolis of both provinces; it is called *Gour*. The present town is insignificant, but the ruins of the once great city are extensive and interesting, and deserve notice here. They have been thus described by one who had the best opportunity for ascertaining the accuracy of what he wrote:—"The ruins of this town extend along the banks of the Old Ganges, and probably occupy a space of twenty square miles, which, as Indian cities are usually built, would not contain any very enormous population. Several villages now stand on its site, and eight market-places, sufficiently contiguous to form a town, have been estimated to contain three thousand houses, many of which are of brick, procured from the debris of the ancient city. Some progress has also been made in bringing the surface under cultivation, but the undertaking is much impeded by the great number of dirty tanks, swarming with alligators, musquitoes, and all sorts of vermin, and choked up with pestilential vapours. The soil is of extraordinary fertility, and well suited for the mango and mulberry. The principal ruins are a mosque, built of a black stone, called by former visitors marble, but Dr. Francis Buchanan considered it to be the black hornblende, or indurated pitstone, as he could not discover one piece of marble, either of the calcareous or of the harder kind. The bricks, which are of a most solid composition, have been sold, and carried away to Maldah, and the neighbouring towns on the Mohamanda, and even Moorshedabad has been supplied with bricks from this mass. The situation of Gour is nearly central to the populous part of Bengal and Bahar, and not far from the junction of the principal rivers which form the excellent inland navigation. Lying to the east of the Ganges, it was secured against any sudden invasion from the only quarter where hostile operations might be apprehended. No part of the site of ancient Gour is nearer to the present bank of the Ganges than four miles and a half, and some parts which were originally washed by that river are now twelve miles from it. A small stream that runs past it communicates with its west side, and is navigable during the rainy seasons. On the east, and in some places within two miles, it has the Mahamuddy River, which is always navigable, and com-



municates with the Ganges. The name of Gour is apparently derived from *gur*, which both in the ancient and modern languages of India signifies raw sugar, and from the Sanscrit term for manufactured sugar (*sarcara*) are derived the Persian, Greek, Latin, and modern European names of the cane and its produce. Goura, or, as it is commonly called, Bengalese, is the language spoken in the country of which the ancient city of Gour was the capital, and still prevails in all the districts of Bengal, excepting some tracts on the frontier, but it is spoken in the greatest purity throughout the eastern, or Dacca division of the province. Although Goura be the name of Bengal, yet the Brahmins who bear that appellation are not inhabitants of Bengal, but of Upper Hindoostan. They reside chiefly in the province of Delhi, while the Brahmins of Bengal are avowed colonists from Kanoje."

The province of **BAHAR**, in distinction from which the district of Bahar in the Bengal province is called "Cooch Bahar," lies to the north and north-west of the Bengal province, and within the Bengal presidency. It is situated between the twenty-second and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude. It is one of the most fertile and populous portions of the Bengal presidency. Its principal rivers are the Ganges, the Sone, the Gunduck, the Dummodah, the Caramnassa, and the Dewah. The inhabitants are more robust than those of the Bengal province. The productions of the soil are also more in harmony with European wants and tastes, arising from the higher latitude. The religion of the people is Brahminical. Gaya, the birthplace of Buddha, is within the province, but the Buddhists were either driven out by the Brahmins, or made to feign conversion to their teaching. Pilgrims, however, repair to Gaya from great distances, whose zeal for Buddhism prompts them to seek the birthplace of the founder of their religion. The Jains also take an interest in that place, where they allege their religion flourished before that of the Buddhists, which is not probable. In South Bahar the language spoken is called Magodha; it appears to be derived from the Sanscrit, and has a close affinity also to Bengalee and Hindoostanee. One-fourth of the population profess the Mohammedan religion.

The district of **TYRHOT** is situated in the north-west corner of the Bahar province. It is chiefly within the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degrees of north latitude. The country is hilly, and the tea-plant has been recently discovered on the slopes of the hills as an indigenous production. The country is

well watered, but portions of it are subject to terrible inundations from the too rapid increase of the Gunduck River in the rainy season. Several instances have occurred within a few years in which the sudden rush of the flood has swept away the strongest dykes and barriers erected to resist it, carrying desolation over a large area. The ordinary depth of water in the rivers is insufficient for commercial purposes. The district is remarkable for its excellent breed of horses, in which the lower parts of Bengal are so deficient. It is considered much healthier than Bengal proper, or even the lower grounds of Bahar. The Gunduck River, by which it is chiefly watered, is, near its source, called the Salgrami, from the schistous stones, containing the remains or traces of ammonites, being found in the bed of the stream. These are small round stones, about three or four inches in diameter; they are perforated sometimes in several places by worms. The spiral retreats of antediluvian molluscas, being taken by the superstitious Hindoos for "visible traces of Vishnu," are worshipped under the designation of Salgrams. Some of these bring a great price, as much as £200 having been given by wealthy natives for one. The following is the account which Hindoo legend gives of their title to the high reverence in which they are held:—Vishnu, the Preserver, created nine planets, to regulate the destinies of the human race. Sane (Saturn) commenced his reign by proposing to Brahma that he (Brahma) should submit to his influence for twelve years. Brahma referred him to Vishnu, but he was equally averse to the baleful influence of this planet, and therefore desired him to call next day. On Saturn's departure, Vishnu meditated how he could escape the misery of a twelve years' subjugation to so inauspicious a luminary, and the result was that he assumed the form of a mountain. Next day Saturn was not able to find Vishnu, but soon discovered that he had become the mountain Gandaki, into which the persecuting Saturn immediately entered in the form of a worm, called Vagra Kita (the thunderbolt worm), and began to perforate the stones of the mountain, and in this manner he persevered in afflicting the animated mountain for the twelve years, the space of time comprised in his original demand. At the end of this suffering the deity Vishnu resumed his own form, and directed that the stones of the mountain Gandaki should be in future worshipped. On being asked by Brahma how the genuine stones might be distinguished, he said they would have twenty-one marks—the same number that were on his body. Since that time the Salgrams of the river



Gunduck\* have been revered with idolatrous veneration. During the hot months the Brahmins suspend a pan, perforated with a hole, through which the water drops on the stone, and keeps it cool, and being caught below in another pan, is in the evening drank by them as an act of great piety and sanctifying efficacy. The Brahmins sell these stones, although trafficking in images is generally held by them to be dishonourable. It is forbidden in the sacred books to bathe in this river,† all devout Hindoos, therefore, abstain from ablutions there.

Of the Bahar province the principal district is the central one, which is called by the name of the province; there is not sufficient distinctive interest in the other districts to require separate notices in this general outline. The greater part of the district is level and fertile, but there are many hills, rudely broken, and naked. These are frequently insulated, rising abruptly from the plain, and producing an effect upon the landscape more peculiar than picturesque, but relieving the level sameness of the country. The heart of the district contains three distinct clusters of these hills, but they are all of little elevation. The Ganges waters the lower regions of the district, and is generally deep, nowhere fordable, and of considerable expanse, the average width being a mile. There are other rivers which also contribute their irrigating influence to the fertile plain—as the Sone, the Punpun, the Marahar, the Dardha, the Phalgu, the Loeri, the Panekene; numerous branches of these rivers flow in various directions. The climate of the Bahar district is much cooler than even the nearest neighbourhoods to the south, so that in winter the natives kindle fires to sleep by. In the early summer hot parching winds dry up every vestige of vegetation. The district is remarkable for its places of pilgrimage. There are the river Punpun, the town of Gaya, Rajagriha, Baikuntha, on the Pangchane, Lohadanda, near Giriyak, and Chuyaban Muni. The first four of these are much more frequented than the last two named.

Patna is the modern capital of Bahar. It is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, three hundred and twenty miles north-west of Calcutta, eight hundred from Bombay, and nine hundred and ten from Madras. The population numbers about three hundred and twenty thou-

\* In Northern Hindoostan the name Gunduck is a general appellation for a river.

† Some interesting papers have lately appeared in the journals of the Bombay Geographical Society in reference to the source and current of the river Gunduck, and the formation of the idolised stones, but these papers are too minute in their topographical notices, and too much in detail to give even an abstract of them in these pages.

sand. This city is in many respects well situated, and of importance. The Ganges is there five miles wide, and during the rainy seasons it seems to spread into a sea, the opposite shore being scarcely discernible. Beyond the suburbs the river divides into two branches, forming an island nine miles in length. The town and neighbourhood are by no means amongst the most pleasant in India for the residence of Europeans, for in the rainy season the whole vicinage is a vast mire, such as our troops found the Crimea in the winters of their campaign; whereas in summer, like the Crimea also, the dust is blinding, and incessantly whirled about by eddying winds. The ghauts are well constructed and imposing, and the stores are extensive. Being a great centre of the opium traffic, it is a busy place, and it has also considerable trade with the interior, especially with Nepaul, whence the Patna merchants bring wax, gold-dust, bull-tails, musk, woollen cloth named *tush*, and a variety of medicinal herbs. Saltpetre is sent down to Calcutta. There used to be considerable manufacturing activity—muslin, dimity, &c., were made to a considerable extent, but since the poppy became the chief export, the produce of the loom has fallen off: the manufactures of England also come into successful competition.

The city of Gaya is a rival of Patna; it is the sacred capital of the district, as Patna is the commercial. It is divided into an old and new town. The former, inhabited chiefly by priests and other sacred persons, is built on a rock, which is elevated between a hill and the river Fulgo. The commercial portion lies in the plain by the river. Like Patna, dust in the hot weather, and mud in the rainy weather, render the lower town, at all events, intolerable. The heat is excessive, the population dense, the pilgrims numerous, noisy, and filthy, and the inhabitants seem to have a partiality for being cooped up in the narrowest streets and most unpleasant dwelling-places. The morality of the place is no better than its physical condition; it requires all the vigilance of the police to prevent the pilgrims from being plundered, many of whom arrive wearing jewels, and in possession of other wealth. The worst class of inhabitants are the priests, who are openly dissolute, and every way dishonest.

Buddha Gaya is a neighbouring place, and may be called a city of ruins. Buchanan described it as, in his time, "situated in a plain of great extent west of the Nilajan River, and consisting of immense irregular heaps of brick and stone, with some traces of having been formerly regularly arranged, but vast quantities of the interior have been removed, and



the rest appear almost shapeless. The number of images scattered around this place for fifteen or twenty miles is astonishing, yet they appear all to have belonged to the great temple or its vicinity. Buddha Gaya was probably at one time the centre of a religion, and residence of a powerful king; the most remarkable modern edifice is a convent of Samryassies."

The town of Dinapore is also in the district of Bahar, and will, unfortunately, be memorable to Englishmen as one of the centres of mutiny in the great military revolt of 1857. It is situated on the south bank of the Ganges, eleven miles west of Patna. Previous to the late revolt, the military buildings were very fine, being much superior to those even in England. Both the officers and men, especially in the European regiments, were quartered in large airy apartments. There are many private houses of convenience and beauty occupied by military men and civilians. Good roads, well cultivated country, and pleasant gardens, exist all around. During the military insurrection much damage was done to the cantonments, and to private property in the neighbourhood.

The division of CUTTACK, attached to the Bengal government, is an interesting portion of the territory, lying within the province of Orissa, which is included in the ancient boundaries of the Deccan; for although Orissa was not included by name in the Mogul Deccan, it geographically pertains to it, and is regarded by the natives as part of it. The general character of the British possessions in the large province of Orissa resembles that of the Deccan at large, a description of which is not appropriate here. It may be observed, however, that the account given by an old writer of its commercial disadvantages is still applicable, although the influence and exertions of the Bengal and Madras governments have effected a great improvement in the means of internal communication and traffic:—"The rivers are too impetuous for navigation when they are swollen by periodical rains, and in the hot season too shallow, except near their junction with the sea, which is invariably obstructed by sand-banks. Under these circumstances, the transportation of grain from one place to another became at an early period an occupation of considerable importance, the roads being nearly as impassable for wheel carriages as the rivers were for boats. The whole of this great interchange has in consequence been always transported on bullocks, the property of a class of people named Bunjaries, not aboriginal natives of the country, but mostly emigrants from Rajpootana."

The condition of a large portion of the province of Orissa is unfavourable. The country is wild, and the people still more wild. The territory has been of late years much attended to by the government of Calcutta. Balasore, in Northern Cuttack, is a civil station. This place is situated on the south side of the Booree Bellaun River, about one hundred and twenty-five miles south-west of Calcutta. The river has considerable depth, but its channel is narrow, and its banks marshy. At the mouth there is a bar, over which no vessel can pass, even at spring-tides, which draws more than fifteen feet of water. The Portuguese and Dutch had factories at Balasore, and the place was noted for its manufactures, which have fallen away before European competition. The native vessels employed in coasting are small but well built, and well adapted to the employment in which they are engaged. Cuttack town is also a civil station of the Bengal government. It has fine military cantonments, and is remarkable for its embankments, faced with cut stone, to resist the inundations of the Mahamuddy and Cutjoury Rivers.

The district is most remarkable as containing the shrine of Juggernaut. The town adjacent is called Pooree and Pursottam. It is more than three hundred miles from Calcutta. In 1813 voluminous parliamentary papers were published concerning the pilgrimages to the temple of Juggernaut. Some of the missionaries—Dr. Carey, the celebrated Baptist missionary, among the number—have considered that more than a million persons annually visited this chief resort of fanaticism. The following account of the place, and the scenes enacted there, is as appalling as it is, unhappily, correct:—

"The temple containing the idol is an ill-formed shapeless mass of decayed granite, no way remarkable but as an object of Hindoo veneration, situated about one mile and a half from the shore. The country around is extremely sterile, the tower and temple being encompassed by low sand hills. From the sea the temple or pagoda forms an excellent landmark on a coast without any discriminating object for navigators. It is surrounded by a large, populous, filthy, ill-built town, called Pooree, inhabited by a bad-looking, sickly Hindoo population, composed mostly of the officiating priests, and officers attached to the various departments dependent on the idol. For ten miles in circumference round the temple on the land-side, taking the temple for the central point and the sea-shore for the chord, the space enclosed thereby is called the holy land of Juggernaut, its sanctity



being esteemed such as to ensure future beatitude to the Hindoo who dies within its bounds. By Abuul Fazel, in 1582, this place is described as follows:—‘In the tower of Poorsottem, on the banks of the sea, stands the temple of Jagnauth, near to which are the images of Kishni, his brother, and their sister, made of sandal-wood, which are said to be four thousand years old.’

“With respect to the origin of this image, we have the following legend, narrated in various mythological histories:—Augada, a hunter, while engaged in the chase, discharged an arrow, but, instead of hitting the prey for which it was intended, it pierced Krishna, who happened to be sitting under a tree, so that he died, and some unknown person having collected the bones of that incarnation, he put them into a box.

“About this time a king named Indradhuwua was performing austere worship to Vishnu, who directed him to form the image of Juggernaut, and to put the bones into its belly, by the doing of which action he would obtain the fruit of his devotion. The king asked who would make the image, and was told Viswacarma, the architect of the gods. To this deified mechanic he in consequence began to perform austere worship, which had such efficacy, that Viswacarma undertook to finish the job in one month, provided he was not disturbed. He accordingly commenced by building a temple upon an elevation called the Blue Mountain, in Orissa, in the course of one night, and then began to form the image in the temple; but the king was impatient, and after fifteen days went and looked at the image, in consequence of which Viswacarma refused to go on, and left it unfinished. The king was much disconcerted, and in his distress offered up prayers to Brahma, who told him not to grieve too much, for he would make the image famous even in its present imperfect shape. Being thus encouraged, King Indradhuwua invited all the demigods to attend the sitting of it up, on which occasion Brahma gave it eyes, and, by performing worship to it, established its fame. According to report, the original image lies in a pool at Juggernaut Kshetra, and it is always said that every third year the Brahmins construct a new one, into which the bones of Krishna are removed, and that while performing this exchange the officiating Brahmin acts with his eyes bandaged, lest the effulgence of the sacred relics should strike him dead. The image exhibited at present is a carved block of wood, having a frightful visage, painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour, the eyes and head very large, without legs or hands and only fractions of arms, but

at grand ceremonies he is supplied with gold or silver arms. In the interior the attending Brahmins bathe, wipe him, and carry him about like the stump of a tree. The other two idols of his brother and sister are of a white and yellow colour, and each have distinct places allotted them within the temple.

“The *ruth*, or car, on which these divinities are elevated, sixty feet high, resembles the general form of Hindoo pagodas, supported by very strong frames, placed on four or five rows of wheels, which deeply indent the ground as they turn under their ponderous load. He is accompanied by two other idols, his brother Bubraw, and his sister Shubudra, who sit on thrones nearly of equal height. The upper part of the cars are covered with English broadcloth, supplied by the British government, and are striped red and white, blue and yellow, and decorated with streamers and other ornaments. Both the walls of the temple and sides of the machine are covered with indecent sculptures. During the Ruth Jattrā, the celebration of which varies from the middle of June to the middle of July, according to the lunar year, the three images are brought forth with much ceremony and uproar, and having mounted their carriage, the immense machine is pushed and dragged along, amidst the shouts and clamour of a prodigious multitude, to what is called the idols’ garden-house, or country residence, distant from the temple only one mile and a half, but the motion is so slow, that the getting over this space usually occupies three or four days. On these occasions scenes of great horror frequently occur, both from accident and self-devotion, under the wheels of the tower, which, passing over the body of the victim, inflict instant death, by crushing the body to pieces, and their bruised and lacerated carcasses are frequently left exposed on the spot for many days after their destruction.

“The appellation of Juggernaut (Jagat Natha, lord of the world) is merely one of the thousand names of Vishnu, the preserving power, according to the Brahminical theology.

“The concourse of pilgrims to this temple is so immense, that at fifty miles distance its approach may be known by the quantity of human bones which are strewed by the way. Some old persons come to die at Juggernaut, and many measure the distance by their length on the ground; but, besides these voluntary sufferings, many endure great hardships, both when travelling and while they reside here, from exposure to the weather, bad food and water, and other evils. Many perish by dysentery, and the surrounding country abounds with skulls and human



bones; but the vicinity of Juggernaut to the sea, and the arid nature of the soil, assist to prevent the contagion which would otherwise be generated. When this object of their misplaced veneration is first perceived, the multitude of pilgrims shout aloud, and fall to the ground to worship it."

The government used to keep the temple in repair, and levied a tax upon the pilgrims; the revenue derived exceeded the expenditure; but public indignation was aroused against a connection of any kind existing between the government and a source of crime and ruin to the bodies and souls of such multitudes, and the government deferred to public opinion in this matter.

In the Bengal provinces there are the following civil stations:—Backergunge, Balasore (North Cuttack), Baraset, Beerbhoom, Behar, Bhaugulpore, Bogoorah, Bulloah, Burdwan, Calcutta, Chittagong Cuttack, Cuttack (tributary mehals), Dacca, Dinajepore, Hoogly, Jessore, Khoonda (South Cuttack), Maldah, Midnapore, Monaghyr, Moorshedabad, Mymensing, Noakhali, Nuddea, Patna, Pubna, Purneah, Rajshahye, Rungpore, Sarun, Shahabad, Sunderbunds, Sylhet, Tyrhoot, Tipperah, twenty-four Pergunnahs.

The military stations of the Bengal army extend through the north-west provinces as well as those of Bengal proper. They are as follow:—Agra, Akyab, Allahabad, Allyghur, Allypore, Almorah, Bancoorah, Bandah, Barcilly, Barrackpore, Beaur, Baitool, Bisnath (Assam), Benares, Bhopawar, Bhurtpore, Bhaugulpore, Burdwan, Berhampore, Buxar, Cawnpore, Chenab Poonjia, Chinsurah, Chittagong, or Islamabad, Chunar, Dacca, Delhi, Deyra Dhoon, Dorundah (Chotab Nagpore), Dinapore, Dum Dum, Etawah, Fort William, or Calcutta, Futtehghur, Ghazepore, Goruckpore, Gorvahati (Assam), Gurrawarrah Amritsir, Dera Ishmail Khan, Gurdaspore, Ferozepore, Jailum, Hosungabad, Hazarbaugh, Hansi, Hawaulbaugh, Juanpore, Jubbulpore, Jumaulpore, Kurnaul, Kuttack, Loodhianah, Lohoghaut, Lucknow, Muttra, Meerut, Midnapore, Mynpooree, Mirzapore, Moorshedabad, Moradabad, Mhow, Mullye, Mundlairsir, Neemuch, Nussereabad, Patna, Petoraghur, Saugor, Secrole (Benares), Sutapore (Oude), Seharunpore, Shaghehanpore, Syler, Sultanpore (Benares), Sultanpore (Oude), Khyouk Phyoo, Peshawur, Rawil Pindee, Wuzeerabad, Attock, Lahore, Mooltan, Sealkote, Mutala.

## CHAPTER IV.

### DISTRICTS AND CITIES (*Continued*)—NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

It has been explained that the north-western provinces, although connected with the Bengal presidency, have a separate administration from the Bengal provinces, under a lieutenant-governor. The military stations are occupied by the army of Bengal, and are included in the list which closes the last chapter. The civil stations of the north-western provinces are as follow:—Agra, Allahabad, Allyghur, Azinghur, Bandah (South Bundelcund), Bareilly, Benares, Bolundshuhur, Cawnpore, Delhi, Etawah, or Mynpooree, Furruckabad, Futtehpoore, Ghazepore, Goorgaon (South Delhi), Goruckpore, Humeerpore (North Bundelcund), Juanpore, Meerut, Mirzapore, Moradabad, Mozuffernugger, Muttra, Pillibheet, Seharunpore, Saheswan, Shahjehanpore, Hurreanah (West Delhi), Paniput (North Delhi), Butaulah, Gogaira, Gujerat, Jhung, Pindee Daden Khan, Shahpore, Shashkpoora.

Referring to the north-western provinces, the *Times* contained the following statement in a recent article:—"This government embraces the richest and most favoured countries

of Hindoostan, and comprehends a fourth of even the enormous population of India. It represents a presidency in itself, and, indeed, had at one time been so constituted, though the idea was never actually carried out, and Agra still remains a dependency of Calcutta."

ALLAHABAD is the province of the north-western government which lies nearest to Bengal, and is situated between the twenty-fourth and twenty-sixth degrees of north latitude. Watered by the Ganges, Jumna, Geyn, Seroo, Birmah, Arana, Caramnassa, and smaller rivers, the irrigation is adequate. It is a very productive province, the lands near the Ganges and the Jumna being exceedingly fertile; the upper parts are rocky, hilly, and bold. Opium, sugar, indigo, cotton, saltpetre, and diamonds, are the chief productions. The district which bears the general name of the province produces excellent wheat, barley, peas, beans, and plants of various kinds, yielding oils and dyes. It was at one time famous for its manufacture of cotton cloth, and still a considerable quantity is made there.



The town of ALLAHABAD is very famous in its religious, military, and commercial importance, although less so in the last-named respect than in the other sources of celebrity. Mr. Hamilton remarks:—"In every district subordinate to the English authority throughout Hindoostan the state of the police is the most important feature of its history, and its jail the most imposing edifice." This can hardly apply to the city of Allahabad, which is more noted for its splendid fort than for any other building. It is placed on a tongue of land about a quarter of a mile from the city; one side of the site is washed by the Jumna, and on the other the Ganges flows very near. The third side, near the land, is regular as a fortification, and exceedingly strong. The gateway is a tasteful Grecian erection. The government house is a fine spacious, convenient building. There is also a superior barrack. The river site of this town adapts it to internal trade and military defence. Except the river scenery, the immediate neighbourhood is not fertile nor picturesque. The population is not numerous. The distance from Calcutta is a little less than five hundred miles, from Bombay seven hundred, and from Madras eight hundred and fifty. It is eminently holy to Hindoo associations; this arises from the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna; and the natives allege that there is a subterranean river, named Lereswati, which forms a junction with both. Those who perform the prescribed ceremonies at this spot have, therefore, treble merit, and accordingly great numbers, having visited Gaya and Benares, here also pay their tribute of devotion to the gods. Some of the ceremonies are of a nature singularly to exhibit the prostration of the native mind under the debasing power of idolatry. One of these is to sit by the river's brink while the head is shaved, the devotee and the operator taking care that every hair shall drop into the river, as the result ensures a million of years in heaven for every hair thus received by the sacred confluence. Another ceremony, having more serious concomitants, is performed in the centre of the stream, the devotee having three water-bottles attached to his girdle, plunges into the deep, and is swept away; this is his passage to immortal bliss. Life is often sacrificed in the struggle of competitive pilgrims for the most sacred spots, and at the most canonical junctures of time.

BUNDELCUND is a wild district of great extent and comparatively small population; it is hilly—the hills rugged and rough, but covered in most places with low coppice. This district is celebrated for its diamond mines. These are situated in the plain of Punnah,

which extends for several miles round the town of that name. This elevated level is gravelly, and a great variety of beautiful pebbles are to be found there, among them diamonds. These "diamond mines" are alleged to be the Punassa of Ptolemy. The profits of working them are insignificant, yet some fine diamonds are occasionally found.

The town of Punnah occupies a very elevated site in latitude  $24^{\circ} 45'$  north, longitude  $80^{\circ} 13'$  east. It is not very populous, and has few good houses. Its temples and idols are out of proportion numerous. Many of the former are of superior architecture, and the latter are generally adorned with precious stones; one idol had some years ago an eye which consisted of a diamond of the highest brilliancy, and very great value. Ruins of forts, tombs, a palace, and other ancient works are picturesque, especially as being in keeping with the barren plain which stretches away in every direction.

CAWNPORE is a district which formerly belonged to Oude, and is for the most part comprehended in the Doab\* of the Ganges and the Jumna. The soil is productive: wheat, barley, Indian corn, and most European vegetables thrive. Many European fruits also come to perfection there. The town of Cawnpore has obtained a horrid notoriety in connection with the massacre perpetrated there in 1857 by the Bengal mutineers. It stands on the west side of the Ganges, latitude  $26^{\circ} 30'$  north, and longitude  $80^{\circ} 13'$  east. It has been considered an important military station, capable of affording quarters in barrack to more than ten thousand soldiers. The officers nevertheless live in their own bungalows, which are convenient and handsome. The dust is intolerable during the summer season over a large area in the neighbourhood of the town. In history Cawnpore is noted as a field of many battles, but none will be remembered with such interest by British readers as the defeats sustained by the infamous Nana Sahib from the arms of Havelock and Neill in 1857, during their efforts to relieve the garrison, women and children, afterwards so cruelly massacred.

BENARES was the name of an important district in the Allahabad province; now it is a separate division or province. It is remarkable for fertility; and also for the forest-like appearance of the landscape, affording shelter to men and cattle from the burning sun of the summer months, which is very intense,

\* This is a name given by the Hindoos to a tract of land lying between two rivers. The Doab of the Ganges and the Jumna is the most noted, and is comprised partly in the province of Allahabad, and partly in the provinces of Agra and Delhi.



although in the winter fires are not disagreeable to Europeans, and are eagerly enjoyed by the natives. The diseases of dysentery and rheumatism prevail much in the district, and Europeans are also much affected by them. The city of Benares is one of the most celebrated in India: it is situated  $25^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, and  $83^{\circ} 1'$  east longitude. The population is about three-quarters of a million. The Ganges flows past it in a sweep of about four miles, and the city is built on the external curve, where the ground is elevated, and slopes up from the river. The city is therefore visible for a great distance, and to the river and the opposite banks presents a beautiful appearance, the streets and buildings rising in tiers from the water's edge to the summit of the high bank which they crown. On a small scale, Algiers might give some notion of the picturesque effect of this arrangement; or to those who are untravelled beyond our own isles, the towns of Youghall and Cove, in the county of Cork in Ireland, may, on a very minute scale, afford the idea. The streets are narrow, just admitting the free passage of a horseman. In many places passages over the streets exist from the windows or terraced roofs of the high houses, which are built of stone or brick; formerly, the Brahmins allege, they were built of gold, but turned into stone in consequence of the deficient respect shown by their possessors to the Brahmins; and also in consequence of some other deviations from the supposed right way, less creditable to the delinquents. According to the traditions of the Brahmins, the city does not belong to the earth—the earth resting upon Amanta, the many-headed serpent (eternity); but Benares is borne up by Siva upon his trident, so that no earthquake ever sends its vibrations through the foundations of the great city. This is the more obliging of Siva, inasmuch as his proper vocation is destruction. The city is inhabited chiefly, as to the better classes of its inhabitants, by Brahmins, who are represented to live there in numbers out of all proportion to the rest of the inhabitants. These Brahmins have, in many cases, private property; and in many instances also they enjoy stipends allowed them by rich Hindoos and princes in all parts of India, for the purpose of performing in their behalf such religious ceremonies as must be performed on the spot. There are numerous Hindoos of wealth, rank, and political consequence, who take up their abode there because of the facilities offered by so holy a place for “making their salvation.” According to the Brahmins, Benares is “the Holy City:” even a European dying there may go to heaven—a privilege also

extended to Juggernaut. The religious institutions, of every description—temples, shrines, sacred ghauts, schools, &c.—are amazingly numerous. Schools and ghauts have been endowed by rich Hindoos as acts of piety or penance, so that the youth of the place are instructed in Hindoo religion, law, and literature with great zeal; and the beautiful approaches from the river to the streets of the city are numerous beyond all comparison with those of other towns. Nearly in the centre of the city there is a mosque, built by the Emperor Aurungzebe. It is placed on the highest point of land, and open to the river, so that it is in view of the whole surrounding country, and from the Ganges and its opposite bank. The Mohammedans are not numerous—they are generally computed at one to twenty as numerically compared with the Hindoos; but this is probably too high a proportion to give them. The mosque was built by them in the day of their power, upon the site of a heathen temple, removed for the purpose, and as an act of defiance to the Hindoos. There is now a splendid temple, which was built in the last century.

Although Benares depends much for its wealth and population upon its reputation for sanctity, pilgrims in vast numbers constantly visiting and expending their wealth there, yet there are natives who grow rich by commerce; and it is a depot of Indian manufactures, and for the diamonds which are brought down from Bundelcund, for the lower provinces. It is also celebrated for its lapidaries and workmen in gold. More jewels are polished in Benares than in any city of the East. A good modern writer describes it as “more eastern in character than the general run of Hindoo towns;” but all the Hindoo towns are thoroughly eastern in character, except where their existence is merely modern, and dependent upon military cantonments. Even the sea-board cities of Bombay and Madras, and the capital where the seat of government is, are oriental in their character, notwithstanding the presence of European officials, merchants, and troops.

For more than half a century Benares has belonged to the company; and although fewer Europeans reside within it than any other great city in India, it has been most peaceable. There is a general appreciation among the wealthy natives of the security of person and property afforded by the company, as contrasted with the insecurity in the native states; and this feeling is much upheld by the pilgrims whose journeys through the British possessions are safe, but insecure in the dominions of native princes, where they are often plundered of their jewels, ornaments.



and money, which it is well known many of them carry to a large value. During the great mutiny of Bengal troops, it was generally supposed that the people of Benares, excited by fanaticism, would fly to arms; but for the reason here given, it was not found difficult to preserve the post with a mere handful of troops.

Benares is at once the most intelligent and superstitious town in India. In proportion to the intelligence in native law and literature will be found the infatuation of idolatry. The *native* education of a Hindoo gives no strength to his understanding; he is made acquainted with a greater number of absurd legends, which it would be impious to doubt, and he becomes debased in superstition in proportion to the Brahminical culture he receives. The city is not quite three hundred miles from Calcutta: it is nearly eight hundred from Bombay and Madras. The sacredness of the city extends to a distance of ten miles around it.

The district of MIRZAPORE is not important, except on account of the town which bears its name. This town is situated on the banks of the Ganges, about thirty miles from Benares. There are few inland towns in India where the people have shown more activity and enterprise. The houses are of superior structure, and built of solid material; and the public buildings are numerous and respectable. Viewed from the Ganges it has a thriving and bustling appearance, which no other town on the river exhibits. The population can hardly be less than a hundred thousand.

OUDE is a province of Hindoostan to the north of Allahabad, on both sides of the Ganges, occupying, with the exception of the district of Ranpore, all the flat country between that river and the northern mountains, as well as the principal part of that fertile tract lying between the Ganges and the Jumna, known by the name of the Doab, to within forty miles of the city of Delhi. Oude and its dependencies are three hundred and sixty miles in length from east to west, and in breadth from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty, and contain five million inhabitants. The capital is Lucknow. The sovereignty was taken away from the reigning family, and it was annexed to Great Britain by Lord Dalhousie in 1856.

Oude, now a decayed town in the province of that name, is said to have been the capital of a great kingdom twelve hundred years before the Christian era. It is mentioned in the *Maha Bharat*, a famous Hindoo work written in Sanscrit. It is situated on the Goggra, nearly adjoining Fyzabad. Various districts tributary to Nepaul, ranges of hills,

and forests bound this province on the north, which led to the apprehension that it would be liable to predatory incursions when British authority was established. On the contrary, the hill-men have respected the English name, and the wise government of the prince now ruling Nepaul preserved security and peace in that direction. Oude is watered by the Ganges, the Goggra, the Goomty, and the Lye. The inhabitants of this province are probably the most manly, and best adapted for soldiers of any in India. It has been the chief recruiting ground for the Bengal army, and the men obtained far surpass, in average height, even the grenadier companies of our line regiments. A distinguished general officer, remarkable for his fine stature, observed on one occasion to the author of this History—"In the royal army I am a large man, but I was a pigmy beside the Bengal grenadiers enlisted in the upper provinces."

The distracted state of Oude at all times within British acquaintance with it, rendered it the reproach of India even among native governments. The history of that kingdom for a great number of years, and even centuries, has been one of violence and corruption. On the 10th of November, 1801, extensive cessions of territory were made to the company, yielding a revenue of thirteen and a half millions of Lucknow silver rupees. Some of the ceded districts, as Rohilcund, had been conquered by the nabob, with English assistance, not more than twenty-six years previous to their cession. In 1813 the revenue had greatly increased, being seventeen and a half millions of rupees: the subsequent increase was also considerable.

It is remarkable that during the revolt of Oude, and the concentration there of the Bengal mutineers in 1857, Nepaul afforded valuable aid to the British; yet in October, 1814, Ghaze-ad-Deen, the nabob, granted a loan to the British government of a crore of rupees (ten millions), to aid it in the war it was then waging with Nepaul. Finding that the contest with Nepaul necessitated a second campaign, the nabob lent a second crore\* of rupees. One of these loans was afterwards redeemed by territory conquered from Nepaul being transferred to the nabob.

In a work issued June, 1820, and dedicated to George Canning, then President of the Board of Control, there is the following passage, which was almost prophetic, and is singularly pertinent to recent events. The context referred to the tyranny and fiscal mismanagement of the nabobs, and their bad faith with the English government. "As might be expected under circumstances so

\* A crore of rupees was equal to a million sterling.



adverse to external tranquillity among contumacious or oppressed zemindars, many *gurries*, or native fortifications, were levelled, the whole requiring the interference and active agency of the British military, at a time when their services were urgently wanted elsewhere. The just and fair construction of the terms of subsisting treaties, as referring to the nature and extent of the vizier's authority, did not appear to warrant any more effectual interposition on the part of the British government. In construing these it is required, by every principle of justice, that the most liberal and comprehensive meaning should be given to such articles as are in favour of the party whose weakness presents no security for him but the good faith on which he relied. Much is also gained by escaping the chance of that extremity, which should force the British government to withdraw the nabob's authority, to substitute its own within his territories; *for such a necessity, although it might morally exist, could never be made out to the world, and the seizure of his possessions would be universally stigmatised as tyrannical and rapacious, a premeditated usurpation, the offspring of a base and sordid cupidity.* One emergency alone can be supposed capable of driving the British government to a conduct so repugnant to its wishes, which is, the discovery that the nabob had secretly leagued himself with their enemies, and with them was clandestinely practising its overthrow. An extreme case of this sort could only occur, however, in such a state of absolute desperation, that the nabob thought the most unpromising conspiracy preferable to a continuation of submission. Under such a condition of affairs, although he might have no troops, he could give much trouble; for having a vast command of money, he might create great mischief by secretly furnishing supplies, and *might involve the British government in the trouble and expense of a war, leaving it infinitely difficult to trace his having any concern in the machinations which led to it.*

In 1831, the annoyance experienced by the British government from the disturbed state of Oude, and the violation of treaty as to its government, especially in fiscal matters, was such that Lord W. Bentinck made peremptory demands upon the nabob for the reform of his administration, and the melioration of the condition of his people. This demand was followed by a temporary amendment on the part of the Oude government, but it soon relapsed into its old ways. In 1847, Lord Hardinge repeated the demands of Lord W. Bentinck, and threatened in two years a decisive interposition, if the requisitions of

the British government were not complied with. It was not until 1856 that the step was taken which it had been predicted in the passage above quoted would be universally stigmatised—a prediction too truly fulfilled. As it has had so important an influence on the late revolt in the Bengal army, and the late conflicts in Oude, it is desirable here to give some outline of the circumstances, and the subsequent condition of Oude; a more particular detail must be reserved for an appropriate page in the historical portion of this work.

Taking the Blue-books as our guide,\* the process of annexation appears to have been as follows:—The papers presented to the legislature open with a letter from Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General, on July 3rd, 1855, to the Court of Directors, transmitting papers relative to the condition of Oude, and a minute setting forth his propositions for the future government of Oude. The first enclosure is the minute of the governor-general of November 21st, 1854, to Colonel Outram, being instructions to the latter gentleman on assuming his appointment as British resident at the court of Lucknow. This minute was signed by three of the supreme council, and the fourth appended a minute giving it his cordial support. It states, “that the government of Oude is in a state of probation, in which it was solemnly placed by Lord Hardinge in 1847;” that Lord Hardinge told the King of Oude in that year, that if he did not amend the condition of his people “within two years,” “it would be the duty of the British government to have recourse to those extreme measures which, sixteen years before, Lord William Bentinck had declared must be enforced, for the protection of the people of Oude;” and that this was made as a “peremptory demand, by Lord Hardinge, in pursuance of the treaty of 1801.” It further states, that the warning to the king was not acted upon by the government of India at the expiration of two years, in consequence of “the occurrence of successive wars, and an unfeigned reluctance to have recourse to those extreme measures.” Lastly, it instructs Colonel Outram “to inquire into the present state of Oude, with a view to determine whether its affairs still continue in the same state in which Colonel Sleeman (the late resident) from time to time described them; and whether the duty imposed upon the British government by the treaty of 1801, a duty recognised by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, and reiterated by Lord Hardinge in 1847, would any longer admit of indulging

\* “Papers relating to Oude,” presented to parliament in 1856.



the 'reluctance' above referred to." Major-general\* Outram applied himself to the task committed to him with the vigour, determination, and sagacity for which he is so remarkable; and the result of his inquiries may be thus summed up in his own words:—"I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion that the duty imposed on the British government by the treaty of 1801 cannot any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance which the government of India has felt, heretofore, to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the state of Oude has suffered so long." His report was transmitted to Calcutta, on which there appeared a minute by Major-general Low, a member of the council, stating that these papers should, of course, be sent to the governor-general, and that he "entirely occurred in the opinions" recorded by Major-general Outram in the above extract from his despatch.

Lord Dalhousie communicated to the government at home the inquiries and opinions of Major-general Outram, and the opinions and recommendations of the leading officials at Calcutta. His lordship urged upon the government the step, admitted that it must be attended by odium, but expressed his readiness to incur whatever obloquy might ensue. The marquis had been encouraged, in the audacious and unjust policy he had previously followed, by Sir Robert Peel, who justified in parliament a less strict regard to treaty, and a less elevated principle of honour, in dealing with the native princes than would have been tolerated in maintaining relations with European sovereigns and governments. Few statesmen were less scrupulous in resorting to an expert and sophistical casuistry to support a departure from principle, or a desertion of party, than Sir Robert. Lord Dalhousie copied him in this respect, as well as followed his general policy. The disingenuous, tyrannical, and dishonest government of that nobleman alienated the confidence of native princes, capitalists, and military, and sowed broadcast the seeds of resentment and revolt. The company did not thoroughly approve of the scheme, but the Board of Control favoured it, and the committee at Leadenhall Street threw upon the governor-general the responsibility which he was so willing, and even ambitious, to incur, as the following paragraph of their despatch shows:—

It is on every account to be desired that the great measure which we have authorised should be carried into

effect under the auspices of the nobleman who has so long, and with such eminent ability and success, administered the affairs of the British empire in India; who has bestowed such attentive and earnest consideration on this particular subject; and whose acts may carry a weight of authority which might, perhaps, not in the same degree attach to the first proceedings of a new administration. Entertaining full reliance on the ability and judgment of the Marquis of Dalhousie, with the suggestions of the other members of your government before him, *we abstain from fettering his lordship's discretion by any further instructions*; and feel assured that, whichever mode of attaining *the indispensable result* may be resolved on, the change will be carried into effect in the manner best calculated to avert collisions of any kind, and with every proper and humane consideration to all persons whose feelings have a just claim to be consulted.

We are, &c.,

E. MACNAGHTEN.

W. H. SYKES.

&c. &c. &c.\*

At the close of 1855 General Outram was ordered to assemble a large military force at Cawnpore, and to enter into negotiations with the Oude government, "for the purposes mentioned in the despatch of the honourable court." On the 30th of January General Outram summoned the prime-minister of Oude to the residency at Lucknow, to inform him of the decision of the governor-general. On the 1st of February the king addressed "the resident," protesting in mild but dignified language against the subversion of his rightful authority. The resident declined all discussion, informing his majesty that the determination of his government was inflexible. He gave the king *three days* to decide. The army and people of Oude were as one man in the desire to raise the standard of resistance, and the sepoy of the Bengal army—being soon made acquainted with the danger to the independence of Oude, their native territory—heartily but secretly sympathised with its king and people. His majesty did not dare, however, to encounter the superior power of the British; he disarmed his troops, and dismounted his guns. On the 4th of February General Outram demanded that the king should sign a declaration that his "infraction of the essential engagements of previous treaties had been continued and notorious." His majesty, giving way to vehement grief and indignation, refused to sign this condemnation of himself, and expressed his determination to lay a memorial of his wrongs at the feet of the Queen of Great Britain. In 1858 he is, by his agents, endeavouring to obtain from her majesty redress of the grievances of which he complains. The king also refused to sign a new treaty, abrogating that of 1801, submitted to him by General Outram. On the 7th of February the general issued a proclamation, declaring

\* He had been promoted to that rank during the progress of his investigations.

\* Oude Blue-book, p. 236.



that "the British government had assumed to itself the exclusive and permanent administration of the territories of Oude." From that moment the soldiery and people of the kingdom were resolved to take the first opportunity of re-asserting the independence of their country, and taking vengeance upon those whom they considered its oppressors. General Outram compelled many nobles to *give bail* for their good behaviour, and many were placed under surveillance.

In September, 1856, only seven months before the revolt of 1857 began, Sir Henry Lawrence expressed himself in clear and decided terms as to the condition and prospects of the newly-annexed country. The opinions and warnings of such a man are so valuable, as to give to the following a deep interest in connection with the dark and sanguinary deeds which have since been perpetrated in Oude, and chiefly by natives of Oude at Cawnpore:—"Oude has long been the Alsatia of India. In that province were to be met, even more than at Hyderabad or at Lahore, the Afreedee and Durukzye of the Khyber, the Beloochee of Khelat, and the Wuzeeree of the Sulimani range. There also congregated the idle, the dissipated, and the disaffected of every native state in India. Added to these were many deserters from the British ranks, yet the contingent of twelve thousand men has been almost wholly filled from the old Oude army. The reason assigned for the different line of conduct is that the Punjaub was conquered, but that Oude fell in peace. In this there is a fallacy, little understood, but not the less a fallacy. Proportionally, few of the instigators of opposition at Lahore and in the Sikh army were Sikhs; they were British subjects—many of them British deserters. The general feeling of the Sikhs was hardly hostile. Many of the Sikhs were friendly—decidedly so, compared with the Hindoostanees in the Punjaub service. The King of Oude employed fifty-nine thousand soldiers; his chiefs and officials at least as many more. Of these vast numbers, one-fifth at the utmost have found employment in the police and irregular corps. Yet these levies, with half a dozen regular corps, form the whole army of occupation. This seems a grave mistake. Why not, at least, make a change? Why not move some of the Punjaub regiments that have been keeping constant watch and ward on the Indus for seven years to Oude, and send some of the king's people to the north-west? The king had some eight thousand artillery; of these about five hundred may have obtained employment, the rest, young and old, are on the world. Surely, if there was danger in

employing Sikhs in 1849, it would be well to remove some portion of the Oude levies from Oude, where such materials for mischief still remain. In the province are two hundred and forty-six forts, besides innumerable smaller strongholds, many of them sheltered within thick jungles. In these forts are four hundred and seventy-six guns. Forts and guns should all be in the hands of government, or the forts should be razed. Many a foolish fellow has been urged on to his own ruin by the possession of a paltry fort; and many a paltry mud fort has repulsed British troops. The eighty or ninety thousand disbanded Oude soldiers are the brethren of the British sepoys. . . . A paragraph in the *Delhi Gazette*, announcing that the Oude authorities are disposed to dispense with the service of the regular regiments for Lucknow, tempts a few further words of caution, though we do not altogether credit the newspaper report. The earliest days of annexation are not the safest. Be liberal, considerate, and merciful, but be prompt, watchful, and even quietly suspicious. Let not the loose characters floating on the surface of society, especially such a society as Lucknow, be too far tempted or trusted. Wellington's maxim of 'keeping the troops out of sight' answered for England; it will not answer for India. There must be trusty bayonets within sight of the understandings, if not of the eyes, of Indian subjects before they will pay willing obedience or any revenue. Of late years the wheels of government have been moving very fast; many native prejudices have been shocked. Natives are now threatened with the abolition of polygamy. It would not be difficult to twist this into an attack on Hindooism. At any rate, the faster the vessel glides the more need of caution—of watching the weather, the rocks, and the shoals.

" 'Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.' "

The advent of the greased cartridge irritation thus found the army of Bengal already disaffected, and precipitated revolt.

Fyzabad (beautiful residence) was the capital of Oude during the last century, until 1775, when Lucknow was promoted to that honour. The situation of Fyzabad is favourable for pleasure and sanitary advantages, having a good site upon the south bank of the Goggra. The town is large and populous, but few Europeans reside or visit there. The ruins of the palace of Shujah-ad-Dowlah yet remain; there are also ruins of a fortress which was of considerable strength. The attention of Europeans has been much directed to this city, from the circumstance of its having been the residence of the once cele-



brated Bhow Begum, widow of Shujah-ad-Dowlah, and mother of Asuph-ad-Dowlah. When the Marquis of Wellesley was governor-general, the begum announced to him her intention to leave to the British government the whole of her property, and to make the government also her sole executor. No doubt existed of her right to do so, but her purpose becoming known to the court and people of Oude, great astonishment and disapprobation was excited. The English government, unwilling to take advantage of her highness's favourable intentions, endeavoured to induce her to leave the property to the royal house of Oude, under certain stipulations, alike beneficial to it and to the country; but the importunities and representations made by the governor-general and his agents failed for a long time to produce the effects desired. Ultimately the royal lady relented towards her family in some degree, but displayed her partiality for the British government, or her resentment against her own connexions, by leaving a large portion of her property to the former. The Bhow Begum died in 1815, and during the following year the resident at Lucknow proceeded to Fyzabad, and carried into effect the will of the deceased. Her wealth was passing great—in money, land, jewels, shawls, robes, cattle, and other property. A large sum was set apart to erect and preserve a suitable mausoleum, and for religious offerings; the nabob inherited about a quarter of a million sterling per annum, the British government receiving about three-quarters of a million sterling, which was distributed in Oude on political grounds, pensions being given to various members of the royal family.

Lucknow has obtained celebrity by the resistance of its heroic garrison during the revolt of 1857, and by the successful and chivalrous efforts of Generals Outram, Havelock, and Campbell to relieve it. The town is situated on the south side of the Goomty, which is navigable for boats of considerable size even during the dry season. The Goomty falls into the Ganges between Benares and Ghazepore. It is in latitude  $26^{\circ} 51'$  north, and longitude  $80^{\circ} 50'$  east, and is about six hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta. The native portion of the city lies low, and the streets are filthy and narrow. The European portion is elegant and picturesque, villas after the English fashion being numerous. The architecture is striking. The mosques and mausolea are built in a decorative style, and have gilded roofs. The Imaum Barra and Roumi Durwaz are the two chief public edifices. Of the Imaum Barra the following description has been given:—"This

grand mosque consists of two courts rising with a steep ascent, one above the other. It contains besides the mosque a college for instruction in Mussulman law, apartments for the religious establishment maintained there, and a noble gallery, in the midst of which, under a brilliant tabernacle of silver, cut-glass, and precious stones, lie buried the remains of its founder Asuph-ad-Dowlah. The whole is in a very noble style of Eastern Gothic, and is remarkable for richness and variety, as well as for the proportions and general good taste of its principal features."\* The tomb of Sandut Ali is very magnificent. When the city is seen at a distance, domes and minarets gleam in the bright clear sun, producing an aspect of much splendour. The *Bombay Gazette* represents Lucknow as bearing in its situation and its salient points a strong resemblance to Delhi:—"As Delhi is bounded on one side by the Jumna, so Lucknow is bounded by the Goomty; and the wall of Delhi is represented sufficiently for our purpose by a canal which skirts the opposite side of Lucknow. The palace at Delhi and the fort of Selimghur are in the position of the residency and the Muchee Bawan at Lucknow. In that division of Lucknow which is represented at Delhi by that which lies between the palace and the Jumna Musjid on one side, and the Delhi, Turcoman, and Ajmeer gates on the other, are a number of extensive buildings, occupying probably large walled enclosures—the Secunderbagh, Motee Mahal, the barracks, mess-house, &c. Opposite these, on the outer side of the canal, are the Dilkhoosha Park and Palace, and La Martinière, a large school for Christian children, maintained on funds bequeathed by General Claude Martin. This school is situate at the junction of the canal above-mentioned with the Goomty, and the Dilkhoosha adjoins it. The Alumbagh, so often mentioned lately, stands in relation to Lucknow topographically much as the Flagstaff Tower does to Delhi, and about two miles from the bridge over the canal which leads into the city, and which at Delhi would be the Cashmere gate. The residency lies due north from the Alumbagh, and the positions which we have mentioned are to the eastward of the residency, occupying a suburban district between the Goomty and the canal, about two miles in length, and varying in breadth from a mile to a mile and a half. Secunderbagh is the furthest and most eastward end from the residency. Then come the barracks and mess-house, and then the Motee Mahal (Pearl Palace), which is close upon the bank of the Goomty, and a few hundred yards from the residency."

\* Captain Stocqueler.



AGRA is a considerable province of North-western India. It is bounded by Delhi on the north, on the south by Malwa, on the east by Oude and Allahabad, and on the west by Ajmeer. It is generally flat, and where irrigated it is fertile; there are, however, few rivers to confer that advantage. Indigo, sugar, and cotton, are the crops best adapted to it; these are produced prolifically in the Doab. The Ganges, Chambul, and Jumna, afford the chief supplies of water to the province. Good horses are bred in several districts. Elephants, tigers, bears, buffaloes, and rhinoceroses, are numerous in the places best suited to their habits. There is also a great variety of birds, some of which are delicious eating. The inhabitants are well formed and handsome, generally Hindoos, although the Mohammedans also are numerous. In the district of Agra stands the city of Agra, the capital not only of the province, but of North-western India, the residence of the lieutenant-governor. It was once the most splendid of all the Indian cities, and now exhibits the most magnificent ruins; it was taken by the British in the war with the Mahrattas in 1803. It stands on the right bank of the Jumna, a branch of the Ganges, one hundred miles south by east of Delhi, seven hundred from Calcutta, six hundred and forty from Bombay, and nine hundred and eighty from Madras. The houses are built like those of Benares, in several stories, and are sometimes raised to a great elevation. The fort is of large dimensions, and very strong, built of red stone, possessing the colour and hardness of jasper, dug from the quarries of Futtehpoore. It has a ditch of great depth, and a double rampart, the inner one being of enormous height, with bastions at regular distances.

The Taj Mehal is erected near the city, and is esteemed by many to be the most gorgeous monument in Hindoostan. The Mogul emperor, Shah Jehan, erected it in commemoration of his empress, Noor Jehan, "the light of the world." According to Mohammedan accounts she was supremely beautiful, and had great power over her lord; she requested that he would build a tomb which would perpetuate her fame, and this great monument was the result of her command. It is inscribed as belonging to the Ranoo Begum, "ornament of the palace." Its cost was nearly three and a quarter millions sterling. Twenty thousand workmen were employed for more than twenty years in its completion. The architect was a Frenchman, "Austin de Bordeaux." The building occupies the north side of a large quadrangle over the river Jumna. The entrance to the quadrangle is

through a gateway of colossal proportions, and great architectural beauty. The area is laid out in pleasant parterres, containing choice flowers and shrubs, the emblematic cypress having the chief place. The paths are laid down with freestone slabs, and have "running along the centre a basin, with a row of jets-d'eau in the middle from one extremity to the other." The quadrangle measures nine hundred and sixty-four feet by three hundred and twenty. The mausoleum, the terrace upon which it is placed, and the minarets, are all formed of the finest white marble, inlaid with precious stones. Pillars and cupolas of white marble crown the red stone wall which surrounds the quadrangle. The inside of the mosque, and of the apartments built in the walls and erected upon them, are lined with white marble. The remains of the emperor, as well as those of the empress, lie within a vault beneath the building: the descent to this vault is by a flight of tastefully-constructed steps. "Their remains are covered by two slabs of marble; and directly over these slabs, upon the floor above, in the great centre room under the dome, stand two other slabs, or cenotaphs, of the same marble, exquisitely worked in mosaic. Upon that of the queen, amid wreaths of flowers, are worked in black letters passages from the Koran. Upon the slab over the emperor there are none, merely a mosaic wall of flowers and the date of his death."

A few miles from Agra, at Secunda, there is another magnificent tomb, that of Akbar. "It stands in a square area of about forty English acres, enclosed by an embattled wall, with octagonal towers at the angles, surmounted by open pavilions, and four very noble gateways of red granite, the principal of which is inlaid with marble, and has four high marble minarets. The space within is planted with trees and divided into green alleys, leading to the central building, which is a sort of solid pyramid, surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble, surrounded by most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the circle of which is a small altar-tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material and to the graceful forms of Arabic characters which form its chief ornament." The actual place of the monarch's sepulture is in a vault of white marble at the bottom of the building.

The plain all around Agra, more especially in some directions, is marked by ruins of palaces, mosques, temples, and tombs, showing the imposing grandeur of the city of Agra in



days passed away. Its present population is considerable, but not what it once was. The high stone houses, the gardens, the canal, and the general position, must have afforded peculiar advantages to the revolted sepoys who resisted the united forces of Campbell and Havelock in 1857; and the way in which, notwithstanding these advantages,\* they were vanquished, displays one of the proudest triumphs of British military skill and heroism.

Mathura, situated on the west bank of the Jumna, is thirty miles from Agra, and is remarkable, with Bundralbund in its neighbourhood, for the ruins of ancient idolatrous shrines which it contains. The vicinity is more especially celebrated as the scene of the birth and early days of Krishna, the boy-god of the Hindoos. Sacred monies of a large species used to be fed by the priests and votaries—Mahhaje Scindia left a sum of money for that purpose; but the money is not forthcoming when wanted, nor are the monies protected as once they were. Still, however, the superstition is preserved.

Gwalior is a fortress in the district of the same name, in the province of Agra, situated on a rock about four miles in length, but narrow and nearly flat on the top, with sides almost perpendicular, from two to three hundred feet above the surrounding plain. The rampart conforms to the edge of the precipice all round; and the only entrance is by steps running up the side of the rock, defended on the side next the country by a wall and bastions. The area within is full of noble buildings, reservoirs of water, wells, and cultivated land; so that it is a little district within itself. At the north-west foot of a mountain is the town, which is well built. This fortress is considered as the Gibraltar of the East; but in 1780, Major Popham took it by an unexpected night escalade. Before it became subjected finally to the British, it was repeatedly attacked and taken. In the occupation of British troops it would be impregnable, at all events to a native army, whatever its force.

DELHI is called the imperial province, the city of that name having been the seat of the Mogul empire. It is to the extreme north-west of the government of the north-west provinces, and is one of the most temperate portions of Hindoostan. The chief rivers are the Ganges and the Jumna, which, during the rainy season, inundate the country, and conduce to its fertility. This division is, however, thinly inhabited compared with the lower provinces.

The chief object of interest in the province is the city of Delhi, famous as the capital of the Moguls, as the rendezvous of the revolted

sepoys of 1857; infamous for the cruelties perpetrated by the revolters upon women and children; and finally deriving celebrity from the extraordinary siege, conducted to a successful issue by a small force of British troops and native soldiers under General Wilson, against the obstinate defence of the revolters. Our engraving presents with fidelity and effect the site, architecture, and military position of the place. It is built in the form of an oblong square, is bounded on the south by the river Jumna, along which all the principal buildings, including the king's palace, stand. It is surrounded by an old wall of red granite, which was erected long before the invention of artillery. As is common with eastern cities defended by walls, a large portion of the enclosure is occupied by gardens. These run from the king's palace to the Lahore gate. Modern Delhi lies to the east and beyond the walls, and in that direction, for some miles, the ruins of the old city extend. It is not only the ancient capital of the Patan and Mogul empires—it is the natural capital of Hindoostan. It contains the grandest architecture of the East—palaces, tombs, mosques, and towers of unrivalled splendour are grouped within it. Its situation for commercial and political purposes is eminently advantageous, and was every way a suitable site for a grand, imperial, and dominant city. On taking the census of 1846, it was ascertained that Delhi contained 25,611 houses, 9945 shops, mostly one-storied, 261 mosques, 188 temples, 1 church, 678 wells, and 196 schools. The total population consisted of 137,977 souls, of whom 69,738 were males, and 68,239 females. Of these 90 families, or 327 persons, were Christians; 14,768 families, or 66,120 persons, were Mohammedans; and 19,257 families, or 71,530 persons, were Hindoos. In the year 1846 there were born 1994 males, and 1910 females. The marriages were 953 in number, and 4850 deaths occurred. Of the last, 1320 took place before the age of twelve months, 493 between twelve months and two years, 843 between two and twelve years, and 2194 above that age. The census of the thirteen villages forming the suburbs of Delhi comes down to 1847: they then contained 22,302 inhabitants—namely, of Hindoos, 709 cultivators, 14,906 non-cultivators; and of Mohammedans, 495 cultivators, and 6192 non-cultivators. Previous to the revolt of 1857 it was the great arsenal of the British government in India, and garrisoned by Hindoo and Mohammedan troops. The following brief but complete outline of its defensive capabilities, by an engineer officer,\* shows the import-

\* Captain Lawrence.



ance of the city under the British government, when the late outbreak tested that importance in so sanguinary a manner:—"Delhi is a strongly fortified city, more than seven miles in extent, having a citadel, to be taken by escalade or by regular approaches. The defences are described as being second only to those of Mooltan, which cost us a long and sanguinary siege. The walls are built of solid masonry, of no great height. The ditch is narrow, and not very deep, and the flanking works, as frequently happens in oriental fortresses, do not properly enfilade the curtain. Martello towers, however, exist at intervals: they are semicircular in form, and loopholed for musketry. Spiral staircases lead from the top of the walls down through the towers to chambers on a level with the ditch, and those are loopholed for infantry fire, most galling to an escalading party crossing the ditch. The bastions defending the curtains are also furnished with banquettes for riflemen; but these may be kept down by shelling. Fortunately the extent of the wall forbids the belief that the whole of them can be effectually manned, and much may be done by surprise and concentration that would otherwise be difficult to attain. Delhi was garrisoned by the 30th, 54th, and 74th native infantry, and a battery of native artillery; but that which rendered its possession still more important was its value as an arsenal. The arsenal in the interior of the city contained nine hundred thousand cartridges, two complete siege trains, a large number of field guns, and ten thousand muskets. The powder magazine had been long since removed, at the desire of the inhabitants, from the city to the cantonments outside Delhi, and contained not less than ten thousand barrels."

For a long time previous to the outbreak, the descendant of the great mogul was a mere puppet in the hands of the British political agents. He was a pensioner, receiving from the company £96,000 per annum; he affected the parade, without the power, of a king. The officers of the company, civil and military, treated him with all the exterior deference due to a crowned head. When "the king" went abroad, he was attended by armed escorts, and followed by a crowd of retainers. All Europeans, however distinguished their position, uncovered as "his majesty passed;" while he, bearing himself in kingly state, remained covered, no matter by whom saluted. The troops presented arms, and the people ostentatiously showed reverence to the king and the court. The envoys or representatives of the governor-general, when admitted to an audience,

approached "the king and padishaw" with folded arms, the attitude of petition. Within the precincts of the palace, over his own retainers the company conceded to the king sovereign rights, but these did not extend farther; in the city he received the homage due to a king, but could claim no service or obedience. The members of the royal family were remarkable for their low intellectual capacity, and their ungovernable passions. Of the three hundred princes and princesses of whom the royal family was composed, there were probably not three of average intellectual power. The conduct of all these persons during the late revolt was atrocious beyond description. The men perpetrated crimes at the mention of which all Europeans shudder, and the women excited them to these deeds, although their own sex and helpless infants were the victims. Most of the male members of the royal family met the doom which men inflict upon murderers, and some of the monsters had no other consolation in dying than the remembrance of the atrocities they committed upon the defenceless. The royal state, the palace, and the general grandeur of the city have been recently described in an English periodical, published in India, in terms which bring the whole in one general and striking picture to the mind.

"Few are aware of the remains of former magnificence still existing in this old imperial city, whose ruins extend over a larger space than our own metropolis, and display greater architectural glories than the latter would if reduced to a like state. A competent authority has said that the former possessors of Delhi built like giants, and finished their work like jewellers. The buildings are mostly of a fine red granite, inlaid with tracery and flowers of white and coloured marbles and precious stones; but such a fine artistic taste pervades these ornaments, that they are never out of place, nor produce a tawdry effect, but constitute a fine whole, like the decorations of our Gothic cathedrals, grand in the extended glance, yet striking in the close examination by the beauty of individual parts. However, when we know that what is called Gothic architecture was the invention of the Spanish Arabs, and by architects educated in their schools carried to most parts of Europe, in the middle ages, we shall cease to wonder at the similarity of structure in buildings so far apart as Delhi and York Minster. The Jumna Musjid, or grand mosque of Delhi, is, in fact, one of the finest Gothic edifices in the world, and, except in the broad and high flight of steps leading to the entrance, a picture of it might be taken for the cathedral front. This magnificent place of worship was built



by the Emperor Jehanghur, at the cost of ten lacs of rupees. Two minarets at the sides alone distinguish its structure from that of our own churches. These rise to a height of one hundred and thirty feet, constructed of marble and red stone, used alternately, to produce a finer effect. In our damp climate and smoky towns the beauty of this combination would soon be lost by an accumulation of moss and soot, but in the pure sky of India it is unimpaired for ever. The pillar-like minaret is not, however, an invariable characteristic of Mohammedan architecture, as in Morocco mosques are seen, especially those of an old date, with the massive square tower, by many imagined characteristic of Christian temples. In the days of Moorish science these were used as astronomical observatories. The Jumna Musjid is two hundred and sixty-one feet in length; the front is covered with marble of surpassing whiteness; the cornice has ten compartments, which are inlaid with Arabic inscriptions in black stone of the same kind, which, from the elegant form of the oriental letters, produce the finest effect; the inner pavement is of white marble slabs, ornamented with black borders, and is exceedingly beautiful; and the coolness produced by lining the walls and roof with white marble slabs is in delicious contrast to the suffocation of an Anglo-Indian church. But until we copy from the natives the principles of building adapted to the climate, as well as many other things, we must always expect to be in India like an unskilful rider on a headstrong horse—in constant fear of a fall. The pulpit is of marble, and the kibra is adorned with delicate fringe-work. The summit of the minarets gives a wide view over the city and surrounding country. Besides this fine edifice, there are other mosques; but it is unnecessary to particularise them, further than to say they are all beautiful in their kind, and some show traces of what we call the early Norman school of architecture. The imperial palace, the pride of Delhi, and wonder of the early travellers, was built by Shah Jehan. It is of red granite, and far surpasses the Kremlin in magnificence, being a structure in all respects worthy of the governors of one of the mightiest and most splendid empires which the world has seen—that of the Indian Mohammedans. The entrance gate surpasses anything of the kind in Europe, and is so high, that a man can ride through it mounted on an elephant. But this fair outside is not all: on entering, the visitor proceeds down a long aisle, like that of a cathedral, ornamented with inscriptions from the Koran and flowers, all beautifully cut, with that delicacy and patience for which Eastern workmen are so famed. In

the middle of this is an octagon court. The apartments are all ornamented in the same manner with inlaid flowers and foliage of precious marble. Many of the rooms are lined with white marble, inlaid with flowers and leaves of green serpentine, *lapis lazuli*, blue and red porphyry, so arranged as to give the appearance of natural plants creeping over the walls. Some of the flowers have as many as sixty separate pieces of shaded stone used in their structure, that a more natural appearance might be produced. The private hall of audience, where, in former times, the Great Mogul used to receive particular persons, and confer titles of nobility, is a pavilion of white marble, opening on one side to a large garden, and on the other to the palace. Round the frieze is the motto which Moore has translated in *Lalla Rookh*:—

“ ‘ If there be an elysium on earth,  
It is this! it is this!’ ”

The pillars and arches are inlaid with gold and carved flowers, exquisitely delicate, and inscriptions in the most elaborate Persian character. The floor is of marble, beautifully inlaid. The public hall of audience, where the shah used to sit in state to hear the complaints and receive the petitions of his subjects, is in the outer court of his palace. This, like the other, is of marble, but larger. Three sides are opened, and the fourth is closed by a black wall, clothed with inlaying and inscriptions. The throne is in the centre, raised ten feet from the ground, so that the monarch could see and be seen by any one who wished to address him, but who might be impeded by his attendants. That splendid peacock throne, which we have all heard of from our infancy, was carried off by Nadir Shah, and now graces the palace of Teheran. But still, even in its present state, that of Delhi is the most noble palace the world can boast, excelling anything which the poverty of a European imagination could ever produce, either in ancient or modern times.”

Since the fall of Delhi, under the besieging army of General Wilson, in 1857, great pains have been taken to render its future government effective, and to appoint officials of intelligence, and likely by their force of character to awe the disaffected.

HURREANAH is a large district of the Delhi province. It derives its name from its verdure, the word *hurya* in Hindoostanee meaning green. It is, however, only verdant by comparison with neighbourhoods of less fertile character, as it is not on the whole a blooming territory. The Sultan Feroze conveyed by a canal the waters of the Jumna to Hissar, but the canal becoming choked up through



neglect, the irrigation to which it so much contributed was reduced, and the land fell away from its previous productiveness and cheerful aspect. A road through Hurreanah to the Punjaub was formerly a highway of traffic between Hindoostan and Cashmere, Candahar, Cabul, and Persia. The district contains extensive pasture-grounds, and formerly it was remarkable for the haunts of lions in those vicinities. The lion of Upper India is a less formidable creature than the tiger of Lower India, but the former infests neighbourhoods where more mischief can be effected by his presence. Horses, camels, and bullocks, are reared for the other provinces. Previous to the influence of the East India Company being established in these parts, the people were turbulent, and exceedingly divided by tribal and religious animosities; this was especially the case in the pergunnah of Rotuck, where village contended against village in incessant warfare. Rotuck and Bhowavery are considerable towns in Hurreanah, but the most interesting historically are Hansi and Hissar. The remains of the last-mentioned town are of vast extent; it is, indeed, difficult to define their limits. Hansi is situated near to Hissar, and contains many vestiges of ancient works and buildings.

The district of ROTUCK is chiefly remarkable for the town of Rotuck, which is situated within its confines. It was once a very large place; it is now a city of ruins.

The division or province of MEERUT was formerly a part of the Delhi province. There are few things to characterise this division. It has several good towns, but none of great extent or numerous population. The chief towns are Meerut, Sirdhana, Katouli, and Hustinapore.

Meerut is the capital town of the division, and has obtained an unenviable notoriety as the focus of revolt (or at all events the first place in which the revolt was developed) of the sepoy army in 1857. The town is a small one, but the military cantonments in its neighbourhood greatly increase its importance. They are situated north of the town, and, extending for two miles, afford accommodation, it is alleged, for nearly twenty thousand men. The town is only thirty miles from Delhi, which lies south-west. The neighbourhood is a rich grassy plain, somewhat resembling the prairies of the western world.

Sirdhana, or, as some write it, Seerdhuna, is situated N.N.E., of Delhi, in latitude  $29^{\circ} 12'$  north, and longitude  $77^{\circ} 31'$  east. This is also a small town. At one time it was noted in India as the capital of "Somroo," and afterwards of his widow, Somroo Begum. The real name of Somroo was Walter Reini-

hard. That adventurer was a native of Treves. Early in life he became a French soldier, and took the name of Summer, which the natives of Hindoostan pronounced Somroo. Having come to Bengal, he entered a Swiss corps in Calcutta, from which he deserted, and fled to the upper provinces, and served under Sirdar Jung as a private soldier. Cossim Ali was then Nabob of Bengal, and he had a favourite, an Armenian, named Gregory, into whose service "Somroo" entered. It was by this adventurer that the English captives at Patna, in 1763, were massacred. He was unfaithful to the master whom he in that way unworthily served, and, choosing many masters, was unfaithful to them all. He, however, rose in the service of Nujuff Khan, who assigned to him the city, and at his death gave it over to Somroo's widow, or rather concubine, in condition of her maintaining a certain military force for the khan's advantage. This remarkable person lived long, was faithful to the company, received from them especial marks of favour, and managed the territory, the administration of which had been committed to her, with as much ability as she conducted her affairs with the company's government.

Hustinapore (or Hustinanagara) is situated fifty miles north-east from Delhi. It is built on a branch of the Ganges, formerly the bed of that river. The place is now very small, but at one time it was a great city, for its remains are spread over a wide surface, or rather the vestiges of its foundations, for ant-hills cover the extensive site.

SEHARUNPORE is a district of the Meerut division. It lies between the Jumna and the Ganges, where they run parallel, more than fifty miles apart. It is not inundated, like other river districts, yet has, without that fertilising influence, been always esteemed most productive. The extremes of heat and cold are felt in this district—the summer burning up the verdure, the winter being cold enough for fires.

Hurdwar is a town of small size but much bustle and activity in this district. It is also an emporium for a considerable extent of country, and was formerly much more so. Horses, mules, camels, tobacco, antimony, asafoetida, dried fruits,—such as apricots, figs, prunes, raisins, almonds, pistachio nuts, pomegranates, &c.,—from Cabul, Candahar, Mooltan, &c., are brought to this mart. From Cashmere and Amritsir pattoos and dootas are also conveyed to this active little place. Here also may be seen turbans, looking-glasses, toys in brass and ivory, and various articles in metals and bone, from Jeypore; shields from Rohileund, Lucknow, and Sylhet;



and rock-salt from Lahore. Half a century ago, bows and arrow from the Doab and Mooltan might also be seen exposed for sale in Hurdwar. A vast concourse of people, arriving by caravans, crowd the town, and pitch their tents in the neighbourhood, during the fairs. A quarter of a million of persons was some time ago computed as the average influx of dealers on the two great occasions of commercial assemblage. The assemblages of devotees are as numerous as those of the traders, for at this place the Ganges bursts out from the upland and rocky country into the plains of Hindoostan. Numerous bodies of fakeers make ostentatious professions of piety, and multitudes of their disciples perform their sacred ablutions in the river. These congregated multitudes present an extremely picturesque aspect. There is as much variety of costume and personal appearance as may be seen in Tiflis or other frontier towns in Georgia and Imeritia, when the Caucasian tribes repair thither for curiosity or commerce. The various sects wear colours upon their foreheads, made with ochre or paint, as tokens of the god they serve. Some of these sects never shave the head or beard, but allow the latter to flow down upon their breasts, and bind the former in tresses round their heads as a turban. The fairs at Hurdwar were formerly as certainly associated with religious feuds, as an Irish fair is marked by a faction fight or a row. Many perished in these sanguinary sectarian disturbances. The company's government has imposed regulations which effectually preserve the peace and promote the secure transaction of business.

ALLYGHUR is a district situated in the Doab of the Ganges, in about the twenty-eighth degree of north latitude, bounded by that river and the Jumna. It is well watered and fertile. Allyghur, the chief town of the district, is only remarkable for its very strong fort.

ROHILCUND is marked as a province in the lists given from M'Kenna in our second chapter, but the name of BAREILLY, which is inserted as a district of that province, has been lately given to the name of the province itself. The territory included in Bareilly, Rohilcund, and the other districts connected with them, is, with the exception of Benares, the most populous in the regulation provinces of the Agra government; but the topographical and social peculiarities of the province are not so distinguished from those of the provinces in this government already de-

scribed as to require especial notice. The town of Bareilly is of some importance, as there is a population of seventy thousand persons, and a strong fort. The population is one-third Mohammedan, a large proportion. The Ganges flows on the western boundary.

As the chief disturbances during the revolt of 1857 took place in these provinces, the following general sketch of the sphere of revolution will be useful:—"The scene on which the active operations of our Indian forces are now concentrated, assumes, in comparison with the territorial proportions of the empire, very narrow dimensions, and admits of being readily brought under a comprehensive view. The Ganges and the Jumna Rivers measure in their course the entire length of the plains of Hindoostan. To the north-west of the sources of these streams lies the Punjaub, constituting the extreme province of the Bengal presidency, and at Allahabad, where the two rivers unite, commences a succession of districts terminating with Lower Bengal, in which insurrection has either never broken out, or has been successfully put down. It is between the two points thus definable, or, as may be more precisely expressed, between Allahabad to the south-east, and Umballah to the north-west, that the disturbed territories lie. They comprehend the central seats of the old Mogul power, Oude and Bengal in those days being governed by viceroys, and the Punjaub having passed into the hands of the Sikhs. In the usual territorial nomenclature of India, they are described as the north-western provinces, having become attached, as new districts, in the extension of our empire, to the already settled dominions of Bengal. It is in this great district that the revolt, in its worst and most dangerous features, has been raging; and if the city of Agra be taken as a centre, a comparatively small circuit will include all the spots at which operations of immediate importance took place. Here the insurgents-in-arms were joined by all the villains and marauders representing the scum of an oriental population, in the ferment of a revolt. The chief hold of this murderous swarm was Delhi. There are but two other points at which the insurgents mustered in any considerable numbers—Bithoor and Lucknow. The former of these is the residency of the treacherous and cowardly assassin Nana Sahib, who, after his butchery at Cawnpore, intrenched himself near his own abode, with a force computed at twenty thousand men. The latter attracted the bulk of the mutineers in Oude."



## CHAPTER V.

DISTRICTS AND CITIES (*Continued*)—NON-REGULATION PROVINCES OF THE BENGAL AND NORTH-WESTERN GOVERNMENTS.

IN the second chapter lists of the territories described as non-regulation provinces will be found. To give a minute particularisation of their topographical character, resources, and climates, would demand larger space than the extent of this work allows, but a general sketch may be supplied sufficient to interest the reader, and increase his information concerning the vast regions which are more or less subjected to the control of Britain.

Amongst the provinces now under consideration the PUNJAB deserves a prominent place. The whole country extending from the north-western frontier to the borders of Affghanistan and Thibet is comprehended under this general name. The capital is Lahore. Loodiana, Umritsir, Peshawur, and other large cities, surrounded by flourishing districts, are also centres of extensive influence, having all the importance of capitals in their respective regions. Upon the final conquest of the Sikhs, the Punjab was settled as a separate government subsidiary to Bengal, and under the administration of Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence it has attained to very great prosperity. So ably has the distinguished man last named maintained the authority of his government, that during the fearful revolt of 1857, which extended to his territories, he was enabled to quell the mutiny of the insurgent sepoys with promptitude, preserve the loyalty of the people, and even organise auxiliary forces for the re-establishment of order in the north-western provinces.

The Punjab is divided for purposes of government and revenue into divisions and districts, which are as follow:—

LAHORE DIVISION.—Gordaspore; Umritsir; Sealkote; Goojranwalla; Lahore.

MOOLTAN DIVISION.—Jhung; Googaira; Mooltan.

LETA DIVISION.—Kanghur; Dera Ghazee Khan; Dera Ismail Khan; Leia.

JHELM DIVISION.—Shahpore; Gujerat; Jhelum; Rawul Pindee.

PESHAWUR DIVISION.—Huzara; Peshawur; Kohat.

The general reports upon the administration of the Punjab, especially for the years 1849-51, being the two first years after annexation, furnish a mass of intelligence concerning the country, which proves the value of the conquest, and the possibility, by good government, of bringing the whole British territory of India to a condition of agricultural, com-

mercial, and fiscal wealth, such as affords the brightest hope. The following document shows that this is the view taken by the directors of the company: the summary it contains of the great effects produced by the skilful administration of Sir Henry Lawrence, and the prospects, since partly realised, of prosperity to the territory, is so precise and comprehensive, that it will much abbreviate our review of the condition of this province.

*The Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council.*

*Political Department, 26th October, 1853.*

1. Your letter in the foreign department, dated 2nd July, 1853, transmits to us a general report on the administration of the Punjab, nominally for the years 1849-50 and 1850-51 (being the first two years after the annexation of the province to the British dominions), but bringing down all the main results to the close of the third year.

2. The various divisions of the report, and of its enclosures, will be taken into special consideration in the several departments to which they relate. We will not, however, delay to express to you the high satisfaction with which we have read this record of a wise and eminently successful administration.

3. In the short period which has elapsed since the Punjab became a part of the British dominions, results have been achieved such as could scarcely have been hoped for as the reward of many years of well-directed exertions. The formidable army which it had required so many battles to subdue has been quietly disbanded, and the turbulent soldiery have settled to industrious pursuits. Peace and security reign throughout the country, and the amount of crime is as small as in our best administered territories. Justice has been made accessible, without costly formalities, to the whole population. Industry and commerce have been set free. A great mass of oppressive and burdensome taxation has been abolished. Money rents have been substituted for payments in kind, and a settlement of the land revenue has been completed in nearly the whole country, at a considerable reduction on the former amount. In the settlement the best lights of recent experience have been turned to the utmost account, and the various errors committed in a more imperfect state of our knowledge of India have been carefully avoided. Cultivation has already largely increased. Notwithstanding the great sacrifices of revenue, there was a surplus, after defraying the civil and the local military expenses, of fifty-two lacs in the first, and sixty-four and a half lacs in the second year after annexation. During the next ten years the construction of the Baree Doab canal and its branches, and of the great net-work of roads already in rapid progress, will absorb the greater part of the surplus; but even during this interval, according to the board's estimate, a balance will be left of more than double the amount of the cost of two corps, at which the governor-general computes the augmentation of the general military expenses of India due to the acquisition of the Punjab. After the important works in question are completed, the board of administration, apparently on sound data, calculates on a permanent surplus of fifty lacs per annum applicable to general purposes.



4. Results like these reflect the highest honour on the administration of your lordship in council, and on the system of Indian government generally. It is a source of just pride to us that our services, civil and military, should have afforded men capable, in so short a time, of carrying into full effect such a series of enlightened and beneficent measures. The executive functionaries in the subordinate ranks have proved themselves worthy of the honourable career which awaits them. The members of the board of administration, Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, Mr. Mansell, and Mr. Montgomery, have entitled themselves to be placed in the foremost rank of Indian administrators.

5. We approve your intention of printing and publishing the report for general information, and, as we shall take the same course in this country, it will be unnecessary for you to send us any copies.

We are, &c.,

R. ELLICE.

J. OLIPHANT.

&c. &c.

The Punjaub proper is distinguished from the Cis and Trans-Sutlej states. The first of the three departments in this classification comprises that portion of Runjeet Singh's country not included in the two latter. The Cis-Sutlej is that portion of the country bearing the general name of Punjaub, which formed the borders of the Sikh state—conquests made by the wild and predatory horsemen of the Khalsa army. The Trans-Sutlej is comprised in the Jullundur Doab, and the mountain region of Kangra. The entire Punjaub is in the form of a vast triangle, containing five doabs lying between the five rivers which give to the whole region its name. The Cis-Sutlej states comprise a tract of country which lies between the British north-western frontier and the river Sutlej. The Trans-Sutlej states were surrendered to the British in 1846: they are comprised, as already stated, in the Jullundur Doab and the hill region. The former portion of country is situated between the Beas and the Sutlej: the hill country ranges between the Ravee and the Beas.

The PUNJAUB PROPER will first receive notice. This territory contains four out of the five doabs already referred to, and comprehends the historic portions of the country; as Sir Henry Lawrence said, "all those tracts most difficult to defend, most arduous to govern, and most requiring physical, social, and moral improvement." In its greatest breadth it reaches from the seventieth to the seventy-fifth meridian of longitude, and in its greatest length from the thirty-fourth to the twenty-ninth parallel of north latitude. The apex of the triangle is found at the extreme south, where the five rivers mingle, the mighty Indus receiving the others into its bosom. The eastern side is washed by the Sutlej, and the Beas, which forms a junction with the Sutlej. The western side is marked

by the Sulimaneerange, and the mountains which extend to the valley of the Cabul River. In the north-west angle the base rests on the hills which overlook the valley of Peshawur and Huzzara; thence proceeding eastward it touches the lower boundary of the country allotted to Gholab Singh upon the conquest of the Sikhs—the region of Jummoo and Cashmere. The four doabs which constitute "the Punjaub proper" are still recognised by the designations which they obtained under the Mogul reign:—Baree Doab lies between the Beas and the Ravee; Rechmah Doab is between the Ravee and the Chenab; Chuj Doab is situated between the Chenab and the Jhelum; the Scinde Saugor Doab, which is also called "the Ocean of the Indus," is enclosed by that river and by the Jhelum. The Baree Doab is the most celebrated, as being the home of the Sikh nation, and containing the three greatest cities—Lahore, Umritsir, and Mooltan.

The whole of this country is most valuable and productive. There is a strange regularity of physical character in all the four doabs of which it is constituted. The centres of these doabs comprise large tracts covered with brushwood and jungle, inhabited by the aborigines of the country, an ignorant, barbarous people, who lead a nomad life. They cultivate small spots around their dwellings, which are like oases in the desert. The water lies deep, but the soil is rich, and repays any toil expended in digging wells for irrigation. In these wild regions herds of fine cattle are nurtured: oxen, buffaloes, sheep, goats, camels, and horses are bred in great numbers. The camels of the Cabul caravans are supplied from these wild strips of country. From these woody regions all the great cities derive their fuel; and thence grass is obtained for the cavalry cantonments and the horses of private persons. "Portions of it will become the scene of gigantic undertakings, which will tax the skill and resources of the state, but which will, ultimately, yield an ample return for the outlay of capital. Indeed, the Punjaub could ill spare its wastes; they are almost as important as the cultivated tracts."\* This opinion, although uttered by so eminent a person, that any country, however situated, could not spare its wastes, is not to be entertained; the productions of these wastes would, in a more scientific way, be produced elsewhere, or the increased wealth of extended and profitable cultivation enable the cultivators to bring from a distance what now occupies the place where advantageous culture should reign. Between these central strips and the rivers by which each

\* Sir Henry Lawrence.



doab is bounded, fertile lands, amply irrigated, spread away, teeming with the natural wealth of northern Ind. These lands are not picturesque, and but seldom undulated; but, like the wide prairies of the western hemisphere, offer boundless agricultural resources. The husbandmen by whom these rich plains are tilled, are brave, skilful, and industrious; a robust, hardy, self-reliant race, ready to hold the plough or wield the sword, as occasion requires. In the higher parts of the country innumerable rills distil their fertilising influence upon the soil as they trickle from the mountains: about eighty miles of the upper part of the Punjaub contains a net-work of these rivulets, which, like veins in the animal system, spread over the whole surface. In the Scinde Saugor Doab, the central strip is but little wooded, and is a trackless, sandy waste. This doab is somewhat undulated, and therefore, notwithstanding its desert and salt tracts, is more picturesque. The salt range lies east and west from the Jhelum to the Indus, then, reappearing on the opposite bank of the latter river, extends to the Sulimane hills. The veins of rock-salt in this region are of great value, and its produce much prized in India, where the prejudice against sea-made salt is very great, partly arising from the way in which it is adulterated for the markets of the interior. The upper and lower Scinde Saugor are wild, sterile, and monotonous, except where the land, breaking into abrupt glens, and sweeping into waves of unequal surface, relieves the sameness of the general waste.

The population of "the Punjaub proper" is chiefly Jat. Many of them are Mohammedans in religion, but the great majority inherit the Sikh faith. The Gujurs are also numerous and nomad; they are good agriculturists, but better shepherds. They are far superior to the Gujurs of Hindoostan in industry, integrity, and civil order. The Rajpoots have so often made successful predatory incursions, that they have, in course of time, become numerous; they are indifferent cultivators, but good soldiers. There are various sects of Mohammedans, of Affghan, Persian, and Central Asia origin; but they are in bad reputation, and are generally sulky or dejected. The Pathans have, however, acquired consequence: Mooltan is their chief residence. They are a bold, energetic, and persevering race. Runjeet Singh had much difficulty in effecting their subjugation. Major Edwardes found in them important auxiliaries against the Sikh army when before Mooltan; and when, during the second siege, General Whish conducted his operations against that place, it was with Pathans and

Affghans chiefly that Edwardes and Lake kept open the communications in the rear of the besieging army. Raens, Dogras, and other tribes less noted are scattered over the country. The Raens, although not numerous as a whole, take up their residence in the neighbourhood of every great city as market-gardeners, and are unrivalled either in Asia or Europe in this department of cultivation. All the tribes above named furnish the soldiers and cultivators: the merchants and traders are of other tribes; they are chiefly taken from the Khutrees. This class is despised by all the other races; traders and accountants being supposed to be effeminate persons. This contempt is not justified by facts, although some occasion for it seems to exist in the peaceable deportment of the Khutrees, who are not disposed to appeal to arms like their ruder brethren, on every occasion of difference, personal or national. This class has often exemplified superior courage, and always maintained a social status superior in civilization to the agricultural and soldier tribes. Of late years the Brahmins have usurped many positions of importance, and increased the natural hatred to their caste and religion. From the Chenab to the Indus the Hindoo race is numerous, and they are mostly Mohammedans. It may be seen from these classes into which the population is divided, that the elements of social antagonism are active and numerous. With the single exception of the Sikhs, it is remarkable that the Hindoo races, whether converts to a foreign creed, or professors of their ancestral faith, consider themselves as subjects by nature, and born to obedience. They are disposed to regard each successive dynasty with equal favour or equal indifference; whereas, the pure Mussulman races, descendants of the Arab conquerors of Asia, retain much of the ferocity, bigotry, and independence of ancient days. They look upon empire as their heritage, and consider themselves as foreigners settled in the land for the purpose of ruling it. They hate every dynasty except their own, and regard the British as the worst, because the most powerful, of usurpers. East of the Indus, then, the vast majority of the population are our natural subjects; beyond that river they are our natural antagonists.

The climate of "the Punjaub proper" is uncertain, but much more temperate than that of Hindoostan. Forest and fruit-trees are not abundant, except in the neighbourhood of Mooltan, where dense groves of date and palm are picturesque to the eye, and beneficial to the people.

Under the Sikh administration, before the



British conquest, the state of the country as to the repression of crime, or the redress of wrongs, was unsatisfactory. "Written law there was none: still, rude justice was dealt out. Private property in land, the relative rights of landholders and cultivators, the corporate capacities of village communities, were all recognised. Under the direction of the local authorities, private arbitration was extensively resorted to. The most difficult questions of real and personal property were adjudicated by these tribunals. The adjustment of affairs in a commercial emporium like Umritsir, required no further interposition than this: the arbitrators would, according to their respective faiths, consult the Mussulman Shureh, or the Hindoo Shaster; the kazees and kanoongoes exercised, privately and indirectly, those functions which had descended to them since the imperial times. The former continued to ordain marriage ceremonies, to register last testaments, and attest deeds; the latter to declare recorded facts, and expound local customs. The maharajah constantly made tours through his dominions: he would listen to complainants during his rides, and he would become angered with any governor in whose province complaints were numerous. At court, also, he would receive individual appeals." \*

When the French General Avitabile obtained influence with Runjeet Singh, he introduced European modes of punishment, and especially hanging. Previously fine, mutilation, or death by being blown from a cannon's mouth, were the penal inflictions exclusively in use. When the British inflicted upon the Sikhs their penultimate defeat, reform under the influence of the Lawrences was vigorously carried out. The following summary of their efforts, and of the successes attending them, were given by the commissioners of the Punjab in their report to the government:—"The overgrown army was reduced; the discharged soldiers were paid up; the troops were paid, disciplined, and worked with regularity; the finances were scrutinized; the arrears justly due from the tax-gatherers were demanded with rigour; efforts were made, by the enforcement of economy, to free the exchequer from its long accruing liabilities. In the fiscal department, arrangements were made to fix and limit both the demand on the people and the remuneration of the revenue officers. Summary settlements of the land revenue were made, and a liberal salary was allowed to the kardars. It was hoped that by these means the people would have to pay less, while the state received more. The multiplicity of indirect and miscellaneous

taxes was simplified, and the budget was so framed that the revenue, while restricted to a few fixed duties, should not be diminished. Here again, it was believed that a relief would be afforded to the people without any sacrifice to the state interests. Individuals of character and repute were appointed as separate administrators of civil and criminal justice. The penal code was reduced to writing, and rendered more severe and just, and yet more humane. Heinous crimes were referred to the council of regency, and appeals from all the local rulers were regularly heard. Official misfeasance was systematically prosecuted. European officers were deputed to visit the out-lying districts. All the chiefs, who might be considered to represent the intelligence, the honesty and influential interests of the country, were summoned to Lahore, for the purpose of framing rules and regulations for the future; and an assembly of fifty Sikh elders, heads of villages, under the guidance of Sirdar Lena Singh, sat for some months at Lahore, in the autumn of 1847, to frame a code of simple law for the guidance of the Sikh people. The resources of the kingdom were examined, and their development was studied. Plans were formed for the construction of new canals, the repair of old ones, the re-opening of ruined wells, and the re-peopling of deserted villages. An engineer of rank and experience was appointed from the British service; and three lacs from the revenue were set apart by the council for public improvements."

This glowing picture was not over coloured. All these improvements were attempted with every prospect of complete success, in consequence of the affairs of the Punjab having been committed to competent and vigorous men, whose intellectual attainments and administrative talents secured feasibility of plan and promptitude of execution.

These bright prospects were darkened by the thunder-cloud of war. The mother of Dhuleep Singh carried on a course of political intrigue such as would not have been possible in any other part of India. Women hold a higher place in the social regulations of the Khalsa than would be possible in a Mohammedan or Brahminical community. Whatever advantage the Sikh people derived from this in the happiness of their homesteads, they suffered much from it politically, for the chief plotters of the court, and the most reckless and unprincipled, were the royal ladies. Their capacity to comprehend the interests of their country, and its great political relations, was small; but their aptitude for finesse was extraordinary, and, at last, their intrigues invoked the fall of their

\* Blue-book.



country before an injured and superior power. The labours of the British agents in 1847 were interrupted by the revolt of Moolraj, the resistance of his soldiery, and the rapid succession of revolts, until all the chiefs of note, except Gholab Singh, were in arms. The bolt of battle smote the whole land; the avenging arms of England penetrated every defile and fastness from Mooltan to Peshawur; the power of the Khalsa perished, and the sceptre of Lahore was trodden in the dust. English power became ascendant without any intermediate accessories of rajahs, or chiefs, or governments; the cause of reform and administrative efficiency, so well begun, was resumed, and the genius of the Lawrences and Major (now Colonel) Edwardes had full scope in their noble counsels and operations. The good work has gone on, and whoever desires to study this interesting country, its people, its extraordinary advancement in prosperity and civilization within the last eight years, must compare its present condition with what it was when the Lawrences and Edwardes began their labours.\*

The frontiers of the country thus briefly described are extremely interesting in most directions.

The district of HUZARA is in the north-west angle of the Scinde Saugor Doab. It consists of a hilly country; and nestled among the hills are valleys bright and beautiful with verdure and wild flowers, or covered with huge masses of disjected rocks, between which spring up a great variety of the wild products of hilly regions in tropical latitudes. Three-fifths of the whole of this district are rock and hill. The plain of Huzzara is the only vale of any extent: in this the district-capital, Hurreepore, is situated, and also the cantonment of Burookate. In the wild mountains which bound this district a brave and indomitable race have long maintained their independence. They set at defiance the Moguls; and Runjeet Singh and his Sikhs, in the acme of their glory, failed to subjugate them. Every crag and ravine was a fortress for freedom—

“ ’Twas sweeter to bleed for an age at her shrine,  
Than to sleep for one moment in chains.”

What arms could not effect, British moral influence accomplished. Major Abbot, having been placed in charge of the district before and subsequent to the last Sikh war, conciliated the gallant mountaineers by his justice and moderation. The country offers to its inhabitants so many means of defence against disciplined forces, and such facilities for eluding pursuit, that except under judicious

management the allegiance of these tribes can never be secured.

PESHAWUR is situated to the north-west of Huzzara on the right bank of the Indus. It contains four divisions—Eusufzye, Hustnuggur, Doaba, and Peshawur proper. The valley of Peshawur has become almost as famed for its beauty as the vale of Cashmere. It forms the extreme western corner of the British empire in India. On one side only it is open to the plain of the Indus; it is in all other directions begirt by hills—the Khyber, Mohmunud, Swat, and Khuttuk. The Cabul River and its tributaries water the valley effectually, ensuring its irrigation and fertility. The total area is two thousand four hundred square miles. There is historic interest connected with this vale, for the great road over which all invaders of India have passed lies through it. It is thus the key of India. Peshawur proper is divided into two portions, one lying upon the right bank of the Cabul River, and adjoining the Khuttuk and Afreedee hills; the other is a triangular territory not unlike in form to the whole Punjaub. This triangle is bounded by the Cabul River and the Bara River on either side, and the base by the Khyber hills. This is the loveliest and most fertile spot in the whole valley, and the city of Peshawur stands in the midst of it. The inhabitants of Peshawur proper belong to mixed races, Afreedees, Hindoos, and certain aboriginal tribes being the most numerous. Previous to the last Sikh war Gholab Singh, under the guidance of Colonel G. Lawrence, effected much improvement in the condition of the people. After the annexation, a strong garrison of more than ten thousand men occupied Peshawur; but this force was gradually weakened after 1853, and was considerably reduced at the period of the mutiny in 1857. The peace, if not the security, of the Punjaub proper, depends upon the relations with the tribes on the Peshawur frontier. Some of these are held in subjection to the British, some in friendly alliance. To the south of Peshawur is Kohat, a valley thirty-five miles long, four miles broad. Of this and the surrounding neighbourhood, we select the following description officially given to the Directors of the East India Company:—

“ It is important to the British government as connecting Peshawur with our other Trans-Indus possessions. Kohat is only approachable from Peshawur by two passes, both passing through the Afreedee hills; the shortest and most practicable is a dangerous defile of fourteen miles, with little water; the second is a more difficult and more circuitous pass, held by the Jauckhel Afreedees

\* Indian Blue-books; Edwardes's *Year in the Punjaub*.



and called after their name. From the Indus it is also approached by two passes, that of Koolshalgurh, and that of Kalabagh, both passing through the Khuttuk hills. A like number connect it with Bunnoo, the Soorduk pass, seven miles long, direct between Bahadoor Kheyl and Luttummer, and the Koonk-i-gao, a circuitous but safer route from Nurree to Khurruck. The revenue is fixed at a low rate, as the villagers are refractory, and, if pressed, betake themselves to the hills. Those portions, however, which are held by the hill tribe of Khuttuks are usually quiet. The Khuttuks indeed have, in this neighbourhood, been uniformly faithful and obedient, and their chief, Khevaja Mohammed Khan, who holds in farm the southern hill portion, deserves well of the government for various acts of fidelity and good service. The valley is famous for its salt mines, the chief of which, at Bahadoor Kheyl, is guarded by a fort. At Kohat itself there is also a force, with a cantonment and a fort.

"In continuation of the Kohat valley, there runs the valley of Hungoo, twenty miles long by two or three broad, and opens into the plains of Meeranzye. The latter plain, about nine miles square, and bounded on the south-west by the Khoorun River, scarcely twenty miles distant from where it emerges into the Bunnoo plain, is held by seven fortified villages, which, by order of the most noble the governor-general, have been taken under British protection. Each village is an independent commonwealth, but, unfortunately, the communities have ranged themselves under two opposing factions. This internal strife is fomented by the Wuzerees and other tribes, who, by interference and encroachments, have contrived to appropriate some of the choicest lands in the valley."

South of Kohat lies the valley of Bunnoo, only accessible by the two passes of Soorduk and Koonk-i-gao. "The lands are chiefly rich and fertile, intersected by the Khoorun, and irrigated by water-cuts. The only uncultivated portion is the 'Thul,' or pasturage ground, at the base of the hills. During the winter months the Wuzerees pasture their flocks and herds, and erect patriarchal huts of skins with wooden frame-work. In the summer months they retire to the cold mountain heights, taking their cattle and dwellings with them. This tribe formerly wrested a portion of the cultivated lands from the Bunnoochees, and have been confirmed in their possession. The villages are well built, and were once walled in, but all fortifications have been now dismantled. There is a substantial fort at Dhuleepghur, the capital, and a mili-

tary road leading to it. A cantonment has lately been added. Notwithstanding the efforts that have been made for their amelioration, the people are still evil disposed and indifferent to human life, though some improvement in their habits is certainly perceptible. However, much of their demoralisation is owing to the injudicious combination of weakness and severity with which the Sikhs used to treat them."\* In 1847 Lieutenant (now Colonel) Edwardes was dispatched with a Sikh force to collect revenue, but did not succeed; the next year the same officer, entrusted with more authority, conducted a similar force into the valley, and, by his conciliation and firmness happily blended, succeeded in removing dissatisfaction, and organising a revenue system.

A series of valleys stretch away in these boundary regions, accessible only by passes, irrigated by mountain streams, and peopled by races exceedingly diverse in their habits and character, but all robust and brave.

Shah Nawaz Khan farmed the government revenue, and preserved the peace of some of these districts. The Sikhs, jealous of his attachment to the English, deposed him before the last Sikh war, but Major (Colonel) Edwardes reinstated him when the annexation took place.

The defiles of the Sulimane range, the "three Tokes," and the champaign of the Derajat, are wild regions, generally sterile, difficult of access, infested by robbers, the agricultural inhabitants dwelling in fortified villages.

The cultivated line of the Indus, descending from the hills, is exceedingly picturesque in some places. Dera Ghuznee Khan is a spot of peculiar loveliness, remarkable for its beautiful and prolific groves of dates.

The whole of the Huzzara and Trans-Indus frontier is inhabited by tribes who have by their courage and depredations sustained a certain notoriety for ages. It would occupy too much space to give a minute notice of them. The following list comprises the chief tribes, and the forces which they can bring into the field:—

Turnoulees . . . . .	6,000
Afreedeas . . . . .	15,000
Momunds . . . . .	12,000
Khuttuks . . . . .	15,000
Eusufzyes . . . . .	30,000
Wuzerees . . . . .	15,000
Kusranees . . . . .	5,000
Belooch tribes . . . . .	25,000
Sheeranees . . . . .	10,000
Bhuttenees . . . . .	5,000

Nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men could be summoned to arms against the Bri-

\* Major (now Colonel) Edwardes.



tish along the frontier hills from Peshawur and Huzzara to Scinde. Motives of plunder keep some in arms almost constantly, a restless and reckless disposition influences others; but the chief sources of apprehension from the incursions of these predatory races are their indisposition to taxes, which they regard as tribute to the stranger, and an indignity; and their religious fanaticism, by which their reluctance to pay tribute is aggravated. They are all Mohammedans, entirely under the influence of their religious teachers, and sometimes goaded almost to madness by the fanaticism which such of their instructors as lay claim to extraordinary communications with Heaven are generally able to inspire. As a specimen of the faith and feeling disseminated among these tribes, and the more martial races of India and Affghanistan generally, the following, which was widely diffused during the revolt of 1857, will suffice to show the stimuli which these rough, brave races may receive whenever it is deemed necessary to incite them to disloyalty:—

“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.  
After the praises of God and laudation of the Chief of Prophets,  
[Be it known that] this tract which the pen is iuditing refers to waging war against the infidels.  
To fight for the Faith, and not through greedy desire of capturing cities.  
This is called by the people of Islam, in their religious code, a Jihad.  
What is told of the excellence of the Jihad in the Ku’ran and the traditions,  
That we are about to recount, impress it a little on your memory.  
God enjoins that ye, if ye be indeed of the true faith, Should straight prepare for this war of Islam against the misbelievers.  
He, on whose feet falls the dust in the ranks of war against the infidels,  
Has escaped hell, and is safe from penal fires.  
The Moslem, who has fought the good fight but for an instant,  
The garden of eternal bliss has become his due.  
O brother! hearken to the saying of the Prophet,  
The garden of Paradise is under the points of your swords.  
He that in this cause gives heartily his worldly wealth, God will give him seven hundred fold in the day of judgment.  
He that gives both his gold and the strokes of his sword,  
God will return him a seven thousand fold reward.  
He that with his wealth supplies arms to the Ghazi,  
To him also God will give the recompense of a combatant in the Jihad.  
He that neither goes himself to the war nor expends wealth in the cause,  
God will hurl on him chastisement—ay! even before his death.  
They who fall in the holy cause, though several in pieces,  
Die not, but live ever happy in the garden of bliss.  
Lo! for base greed the thousands of soldiers ye behold,  
Quitting their homes, lose life without uttering a groan.

Strange that ye call yourselves the followers of Islam,  
Yet with false excuses turn aside from the path of God.  
Ye truly have long forgotten to tread this righteous way:  
In the love of wives and children ye have forgotten your God.  
How long, wrapped up in this love, will ye slumber at home?  
Tell how long will ye be safe from the clutches of death?  
To-day if, of free will, ye surrender life for God,  
To-morrow ye shall revel in the Eden of bliss.  
If for God ye relinquish the pleasures of the world,  
Ye shall wrap yourselves for ever with heavenly joys as with a robe.  
Is it better to die abject and wretched in your homes,  
Or to devote your lives nobly in God’s holy cause?  
Ye will rue it if ye give not your lives for the cause.  
And say, now, how will ye show your faces to the Prophet?  
There is but one condition, that ye obey your imam with heart and soul;  
Else ’twill be in vain even to draw the sword.  
He that begins to fight in the Jihad, according to the dictates of his own will,  
His labour is fruitless—his blood will stream in vain.  
They who know their God and Mohammed aright  
Obey from their heart the commandments of their leaders.  
To the people of Islam it suffices to give a summons thus far,  
Let us now bring this invitation to a close.  
O God of the heavens and the earth! Lord of thy creatures!  
Give now to Moslems the power of commencing the Jihad with great might.  
Give thine own strength, and succour thy faithful people,  
And fulfil the promise thou hast made of victory to them—  
Fulfil thy word, O King! to Islam in such wise,  
That not a word may be heard save Allah, Allah!”

In the reports made to the directors of the Honourable East India Company, these tribes are represented as incapable of combination, but formidable in desultory attacks. Under a strong religious excitement they might, however, act simultaneously, if not in combination, and a very considerable force would be required to resist their prowess. It is of the utmost importance that the city and province of Peshawur be sufficiently guarded, and that its administration be such as to secure the contentment of its inhabitants. According to a very old Persian work, written in the time of Sultan Baber, the province received its name from Mahmoud of Ghuznee, when he undertook his first expedition beyond the Indus. The former name was Bagram; but Mahmoud, dissatisfied with its site, directed a new town to be erected on an advanced piece of elevated ground. The Persian verb “to bring forward” is “pesh-awurdan,”—hence “Peshawur,” or the “advanced.” The city is about forty-five miles from the right bank of the Indus. It is in form an irregular oblong, and is surrounded by a brick wall



twenty feet in height, strengthened by round towers, or bastions at the angles. There is a large suburb called Sir Assea, which has its own walls and gates. The circumference of the city and suburbs is five thousand five hundred yards, and there are thirteen gates. Troops or city police guard these gates. With the exception of two elevations the city stands on a level space. A brook runs through part of the city, which Burns and other travellers represent as sedgy and neglected, but which Mr. H. G. Raverty describes as crossed by bridges. The higher parts of the city are picturesque; the houses are large and gloomy, but considering the site and surrounding objects, these circumstances contribute to that effect. In consequence of the frequent occurrence of earthquakes in Peshawur and its neighbourhood, the houses, although built of sun-burnt bricks, are placed in wooden frames. The Sir Assea is inhabited by Hindoos and Moham-medans, in equal numbers. In 1852 there were 7306 houses, of which 4989 belonged to Mohammedans, and the remaining 2317 to Hindoos, Sikhs, and Khutrees. There were, besides, 725 suburban houses, occupied by Cashmerians and natives of the Peshawur valley. The population is little short of 60,000. When the dust storms occur, and they are not infrequent, the houses, bazaars, streets, and every object in and around the city are covered with dust; at such times the gloomy appearance of the place is unpleasant yet striking. Most of the accounts which travellers have given of this city appear to have rested on report, for there are not at present any traces of the grandeur of edifices, which, if they had existed at the time when their splendour was affirmed, would be in existence still. One mosque of superior architecture raises its tall and tasteful minarets above the town; but even this has been exaggerated as to its architectural pretensions. The city is surrounded by gardens, chiefly for vegetables, and there are the remains of several places called gardens, which were once beautiful, where persons of distinction formerly enjoyed their summer retreats. Shrines and tombs are also common in the neighbourhood, and beautiful cypress-trees are generally planted in their vicinity. The Balla Hissar is a rude fort of no great strength; there is a beautiful garden in connexion with it, which is called Shalah-i-Mah, or "the light of the moon." Throughout the province there are ruins of ancient temples and palaces, and, according to the Greek historians, cities of importance existed there in their early acquaintance with it.

The produce of the province is varied.

Cotton and corn are cultivated, but neither beyond what is wanted for the use of the inhabitants. The orchards bring forth good fruits, but only of a few kinds, more especially pears, quinces, plums, peaches, pomegranates, and a species of sloe called *amink*, which grows in abundance. The vine flourishes; a grape gleaned in June is small but of delicious flavour. In July rich and large-sized grapes are gathered; many of the branches weigh four and five pounds each. The vegetable gardens are very prolific; most of the species of vegetables known in England and in India are cultivated with success. The flora of the province is rich. The violet, commonly called "the Prophet's flower," is to be seen everywhere, it is a sweet and beautiful flower; the daisy, also, lifts its "modest, crimson-tipp'd" head in every field—a welcome sight to our soldiers. There is no other part of India where an Englishman can live so cheaply, and at the same time so comfortably, and after his home manner. Eggs, fowl, meat, game, and river fish are in abundance.

Having thus described the Punjaub proper, there remain two sections of the province to notice—the Cis-Sutlej, and the Trans-Sutlej. The Cis-SUTLEJ has been divided into five districts—namely, Ferozepore, Loodiana, Umballah, Thanusar, and Simla.

SIMLA consists of hill dependencies, ceded to the British after the Nepaulese war of 1814. Within its circle are fifty independent chiefships, and nine dependent states, also several hill rajahs and ranas, all of whom have jurisdiction within their own estates.

The town of Ferozepore is an important military station; it is about fifty-two miles S.S.E. from Lahore, the capital of the whole Sikh region, in latitude  $30^{\circ} 55'$  north, and longitude  $74^{\circ} 35'$  east. Mr. Montgomery, the commissioner for the Lahore division, contemplated, before the breaking out of the revolt in 1857, the establishment of pontoons at Ferozepore, similar to those at Agra. They were to be manufactured in England, and landed at Bombay, to be brought up the Indus to Mooltan and Ferozepore by steamers.

The town of Loodiana occupies a site on the southern bank of a small branch of the Sutlej, in latitude  $30^{\circ} 49'$  north, and longitude  $75^{\circ} 48'$  east. It is one hundred and fifteen miles south-east from Lahore, and one hundred and seventy N.N.E. from Delhi. It is an important military station. When the British extended their authority to the Sutlej, in 1803, Lord Lake recommended the selection of Loodiana as a fortified post, to provide against incursions from the Sikhs. The population is not numerous. The climate is remarkable for extremes of heat and cold;



the cold season lasts four months, and is more severe than it is sometimes in much higher latitudes.

The town of Umballah is only important strategically, in case of military operations; it was the rendezvous of the armies collected by Lord Gough to prosecute the last Sikh war. It is situated in latitude  $30^{\circ} 35'$  north, and longitude  $76^{\circ} 19'$  east.

Thanusar is a very ancient town, eighty-three miles north by east from the city of Delhi, in latitude  $29^{\circ} 55'$  north, and longitude  $76^{\circ} 48'$  east. "Near to this place stood the ancient city of Hustnapore." \*

The TRANS-SUTLEJ states were ceded to the British in 1846. The commissioners' report to the government of the India-house thus describes them:—"They consist of the Jullundur Doab, situated between the Beas and the Sutlej, and the hill territory, lying between the Ravee and the Beas. The extreme north-west boundary adjoins the Jum-moo territory; the northern includes the snowy range of the Himalayas, and touches the limits of Ladakh and Thibet. The northern capital is Kangra, celebrated for a fortress which, during the period of Mohammedan ascendancy, was an important point in all political combinations. At the close of the Sutlej campaign, the governor of this stronghold, which had so long been deemed impregnable by all native powers, refused to surrender it. A force was assembled, but before the batteries were opened the garrison capitulated. In this alpine region are included the protected principalities of Mundi, Sookait, and Cumba. In respect of physical features this hill tract is the finest district in the Punjaub; it is a succession of hills and valleys, many of which are overlooked by the snowy range. Among these valleys, the most fertile is that of Kangra, on the northern side of which the sanatorium of Dhurmsala is placed. It is profusely irrigated from the hill torrents, conducted by the husbandmen into countless channels. Its fertility is almost unrivalled. Three harvests are produced in the year. The rice is the finest in Upper India. To the north-east stretches the mountainous table-land of Mundi, with an European climate. Beyond that, again, are the petty chiefships which adjoin the Simla hills. In many parts of this region there are magnificent forests of timber-trees; fruit-trees and hedgerows are everywhere abundant." The people do not resemble the Trans-Indus population. The latter are fierce, wild, and predatory; the former are pure Rajpoots, and are honest and peaceable. They are, however, warlike, and during the insurrec-

\* Abul Fazel.

tion of 1848 were reluctant to lay down their arms. They are industrious and skilful agriculturists, but scientific agriculture is yet in its infancy in the Trans-Sutlej states.

The JULLUNDUR DOAB is one of the fairest and richest provinces in all the Punjaub. The plain is interspersed with towns and villages, where the people have many comforts, and display an aptitude for civilisation of a high order. The two chief towns of the Trans-Sutlej states are Hooshiarpore and Jullundur. Opposite Loodiana, on the other side of the river, is the fortress of Philoor, which was formerly considered the key of the Punjaub. It is now an ordnance store and magazine.

There is one independent territory in this region—KAPORETHULLA. It lies along the Beas, towards its junction with the Sutlej. This petty state is all that now remains of the great Sikh empire, the terror of which prevailed from Delhi to Teheran, and the name of which was a spell even in the high quarters of British power. The population is of great density all over the Jullundur Doab—"four hundred and twenty souls to the square mile." \*

The Trans-Sutlej states are the most profitable and most easily managed of any comprehended in the general name of the Punjaub.

These provinces,—the Cis-Sutlej, the Trans-Sutlej, and Punjaub proper,—taken as a whole, constitute one of the most important Asiatic possessions of Great Britain, as regards fertility, population, system of government, and present development of material resources.

The capital of all these regions is Lahore. This is the military city of the Sikhs, and was, not many years ago, the haughty metropolis of the Khalsa hosts. It is built upon the south side of the Ravee River, in latitude  $31^{\circ} 36'$  north, and longitude  $74^{\circ} 3'$  east. The river is in width about three hundred yards, but neither deep nor rapid, except during the periodical rains. The town has an old and in many respects a dilapidated look, which is increased by its gloomy and decayed fort. During the Sikh reign persons of peaceable habits and reputed wealth sought Umritsir in preference, as the changes and revolutions of faction at Lahore rendered it insecure. With all its pride and power, it was neither a wealthy nor respectable city. The intrigues and corruptions of the court injured it morally and commercially, impeding its prosperity, and distracting its social life. Its mosques, minarets, and mausolea, give it a peculiar interest. The mausoleum of Jehanghur, about two miles north of Lahore, is a very extensive and even magnificent building. The tomb of

\* Government report.



Noor Jehun Begum is rather more than half the dimensions of the former, and is an object of interest to the traveller. The travelling distance of Lahore from Delhi is considerably under four hundred miles; from Bombay it is a thousand, and from Calcutta at least a third more. The labours of Major Macgregor, the British agent, to improve Lahore, and to induce the citizens to exert themselves for the same object, have been energetic, intelligent, and successful. He has caused many of the streets to be widened and paved by the consent of the people, and at their own expense. The verandahs, lately of grass, and therefore quickly inflammable, have been displaced by wood verandahs, prettily carved and painted, as individual taste guided the decorations, and the streets have assumed a light and graceful appearance previously unknown. The roads leading through the city gates have been "metalled," and a circular road round the city has been repaired and planted. An old palace, crumbling into ruins, near the Delhi gate, has, with its convenient grounds, been adapted to a large, and even handsome, market-place. The old market-places have been enlarged and paved. A system of city drainage has been ably carried out. Some suppose that the cleanliness and beauty of Umritsir is now rivalled by Lahore. The city police, "small, active, intelligent, and well armed, are an excellent detective as well as protective body." The most agreeable feature of promise connected with Lahore is the public spirit of the people, who are ready to take up every scheme of improvement which the resident civil officer recommends for their adoption.

MOOLTAN was once a vast and powerful country. When Abul Fazel composed the Institutes of Akbar, it was one of the largest provinces of the empire, extending to the frontier of Persia, and comprehended all the territories now designated Mooltan, Beloochistan, Scinde, Shekarpore, Sewistan, Tatta, and the doabs connected with Lahore. It is now a comparatively limited region; having been comprehended within the Sikh dominions, it is now regarded as a part of the Punjaub. The city of Mooltan has become notorious as the scene of the revolt and desperate resistance of Moolraj, the murder of the British political agents, the gallant conduct of Lieutenant (Colonel) Edwardes in shutting Moolraj up within the defences of the city, the treachery of Shere Singh, and the siege and conquest by General Whish. It is supposed to be the Malli of Alexander's historians. The town is not large or populous. The fort was very strong, and withstood the artillery of General Whish for a long time

before Moolraj surrendered. What arms failed to accomplish, the elements subsequently effected; for during the rainy season the Chenab River, on the banks of which the fortress was built, rose and swept away its foundations, leaving nothing but a pile of ruins. Mooltan stands in latitude  $30^{\circ} 9'$  north, longitude  $71^{\circ} 7'$  east.

The moral and intellectual condition of these states affords encouragement, although there still exist many impediments to the progress of the people in these respects. The chief characteristic of crime in the Punjaub, as compared with other portions of India, is the proportion of offences against chastity. The position of women, as before observed, is socially far higher in the Sikh nation than in Hindoostan. The Hindoos and Moham-medans in the Punjaub are far from willing to concede to females the liberty allowed by their compatriots; and it is to be regretted that the use made of this liberty is very bad. Nowhere in India is female licentiousness to be seen in so great a degree as in the Punjaub. Peshawur is probably, in this respect, the most profane city in the East; and few towns in Europe, of a population no greater in number, are sunk so low in this particular vice. Although this subject belongs to the social condition of India, reserved for another chapter, yet, as the state of religion, and necessarily of morals, has already been generally treated in a separate chapter, this notice of the moral condition of the Sikhs is here given as a particular illustration of what has already been laid down, as to the specific operations upon the heart and life of the people, of the different religions they profess.

The crime of Thuggee, in the territory committed to their charge, is thus noticed in the report of the board of commissioners for the Punjaub, printed for the court of directors of the East India Company in 1854:—"It had been previously imagined that Thuggee had not spread west of the Sutlej; but towards the close of last year the discovery of sundry bodies near the grand trunk road led to inquiry, which disclosed that Thuggee, in some shape or other, existed in the Punjaub proper. The track was instantly followed up, and a separate establishment was appointed under the directions of Mr. H. Brereton, who was known to have a natural turn for detective operations; eventually the services of Captain Sleeman were obtained. Much proof has been collected, and many criminals captured. The nature of the crime, and the general habits of the criminals, have been ascertained. The Punjaubee Thugs are not so dangerous as their brethren of Hindoostan. The origin of the crime is of com-



paratively recent date. These Thugs have none of the supple sagacity, the insidious perseverance, the religious faith, the dark superstition, the sacred ceremonies, the peculiar dialect, the mysterious bond of union which so terribly distinguish the Indian Thugs. They are merely an organised body of highwaymen and murderers, rude, ferocious, and desperate. They nearly all belong to one class of Sikhs, and that the lowest. The apprehension of these desperadoes has ensured greater security than heretofore in the desolate localities of the high roads, and has caused a decrease of violent crimes."

There is a marked disposition on the part of the Sikhs to take the law into their own hands when any injury is inflicted upon them. "Blood for blood," "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," are the maxims of the populations that are spread over these regions, in whatsoever else they differ. The Hindoos are more ready to appeal to, or abide by, the tribunals, than are either the Mohammedans or the Sikhs. General Avitabile, the great commander and administrator of Runjeet Singh, fostered this revengeful spirit, or, at all events, so far complied with it as to dispense justice upon this principle. This made him popular, and the people still speak of him as one utterly stern, unpitifully severe, but unswervingly just; ever ready to listen to the complaint of soldier or peasant himself, able to discriminate, fearless to decide, and prompt to avenge. The British functionaries, however able and just, have not the same powers individually, nor would they be disposed to exercise them in the same way.

"The Board of Administration for the Punjaub," in their comparative tables of the crime committed within their jurisdiction and that committed in the north-western provinces, prove to demonstration the superior moral condition of the former; but many formidable offences in the Sikh provinces are not regarded with that horror which would show that the heart of the people was right as to the maintenance of public virtue, whatever the exceptional case of individuals or classes. This has been the case with reference to Dacoitee, which was regarded with extraordinary tolerance, even by those who suffered from it. The determination of the government to extirpate it, and, by the modes of suppression, to mark its abhorrence of the offence, has not only greatly checked the crime, but much improved the public sentiment. The terms in which "the Board" reports the successful war carried on against this crime are instructive, and give a good insight into the influence upon the Sikhs of

the events of their own history as a people. "In the Punjaub gang-robbery is a national crime, and is characteristic of the dominant race; it is associated with historic remembrances and allied with rude virtues. It is but too often dignified with qualities which command some respect even for criminals in civilized countries. In the days when the Sikhs rose into power, they were the Condottieri of Northern India; the greater the chieftain, the greater the bandit. The violent seizure of property, of villages, or of territory, was the private and political aim of all Sikh chiefs, mighty, petty, or middle class, according to their several capacities. The robber of to-day becomes the leader of armies to-morrow. Even when their power assumed a distinct form, and concentrated itself under one head, still the Sikhs frequently practised that rude art by which the tribe had risen from obscurity to empire. When this political ascendancy suddenly passed away, when warriors and adherents of the conquered government were wandering about unemployed, recourse was had to the favourite crime, which furnished the restless with excitement and the disaffected with the hope of revenge. The preventive and detective measures adopted have been already noticed. It was deemed necessary to treat the captured robbers with exemplary severity, when murder or serious wounding had occurred; the prisoners, or at least all the ringleaders, were in many cases capitally sentenced; and even when death had not ensued, yet the fact of a robbery with violence having been committed by men armed with lethal weapons, was considered to warrant capital punishment. The rapid suppression of the crime which ensued on the combined measures of detective vigilance and judicial severity, proves the sad necessity which existed for stern example."

The crime most appalling to contemplate, and, at the same time, most difficult of suppression, prevalent among the Sikhs, is infanticide. The following admirable paragraph in a report of the administrators of the Punjaub opens up the philosophy of this offence, but unhappily does not hold out the hope of its speedy extinction:—"The Punjaub is not free from this crime, which disgraces so many noble tribes in Upper India. The government are doubtless aware that, in the north-western provinces, its eradication has been found most difficult, and has frequently been the subject of grave deliberation. The board fear that the task will prove even more difficult here. This crime has become associated with the Rajpoot name, but the Rajpoots of the Punjaub have escaped the taint.



The dreadful distinction chiefly belongs to the Bedees, or priestly class among the Sikhs. Other tribes must, however, bear a share of opprobrium; such as some of the Mussulman sects, and some subdivisions of the Khutree caste. Their inherent pride and the supposed sanctity of their order make the Bedees unwilling to contract alliances for their daughters, who are consequently doomed to an early death. Now, the Rajpoots of Hindoostan and Central India murder their daughters, not because they are too proud to give them in marriage, but because they cannot afford the customary dowry and wedding expenses. In this case the incentive to the crime may be destroyed by the enactment of sumptuary laws, such as those now proposed to be established with the popular assent of the north-western provinces. But what law can be framed to touch the origin of Punjaub infanticide, to humble the remorseless pride of birth, station, and fancied sanctity? And yet, the board are persuaded that by carrying the people with us, by destroying the motives of the crime, by making its commission profitless and unfashionable, and by the gradual diffusion of morality, by such means alone can the vice be effectually put down. In our older territories, various preventive designs have been tried, but not always with good effect; such as the registry of births, the periodical mustering of the children, and general surveillance. But it may be doubted whether such means (unless most discreetly applied) are not more susceptible of abuse than of advantage. The board will give the subject their best attention, until a solution of the difficulty shall have been arrived at."

The religious condition of the whole of the Sikh provinces is to be deplored. No part of India is less provided with evangelical Christian instruction in any form. Mosques and heathen temples are supported from the public revenues, and even priests and teachers, especially superannuated persons, of all varieties of faith receive government maintenance. The extent of these disbursements is at once serious as respects the revenue, and shameful as regards the Christian consistency of the government. The principle upon which this is advocated is, that it is politic not too soon or too suddenly to abolish a previously existing state of things; that, seeing the revenues are levied from the whole nation, some portion of them should be given back in a manner to please the people. However reasonable and correct this may be as it regards pensions for civil and military service, and public works, it is both unwise and unchristian for the government to extend

its open patronage to every variety of superstition and idolatry, the votaries of which they find ready to receive it. Grants of public money in consonance with public rights and general utility, ought not to be confounded with its bestowment in vain efforts to gratify prejudice, bigotry, and idolatry. That the government commits this error the following extract will show:—

"The endowments [writing of a particular class] are both secular and religious, for the support of temples, mosques, places of pilgrimage and devotion, schools, village inns for the reception of travellers, paupers, and strangers, generally of a monastic character. These institutions are ornaments to the villages; they have some architectural pretension, and being embosomed in trees, are often the only shady spots in the neighbourhood. They add much to the comfort of rustic life, and keep alive a spirit of hospitality and piety among the agricultural people. The endowments, though occasionally reduced in amount, have on the whole been regarded with liberality, and in confirming them, the officers have mainly regarded the utility and efficiency of the institution. Such grants, when insignificant in amount, have been maintained, even though the original granter might have been the headman of the village. The grants to objects of charity or to persons of sanctity have frequently been paid in cash, and in such cases have been brought under the denomination of pensions. In regard to the charitable grants, indeed with regard to all grants, the tenour of the government letter has been observed, and the rigour of the rules has been relaxed in favour of parties who, from 'indigence, infirmity, age, or sex,' might be fitting objects of special indulgence."

In the above extract the board informs the government and the public, that in confirming previously existing endowments, the officers have chiefly regarded the utility and efficiency of the institutions so endowed. They say that the institutions selected for "their utility and efficiency," are "temples, mosques, places of pilgrimage, and devotion." Of all the native "institutions" of India, "places of pilgrimage" are the greatest curse, yet they are endowed by the board of administration of the Punjaub as places of "utility and efficiency." These institutions, they further tell us, keep alive a spirit of "piety" among the agricultural people! The schools and village inns are represented as generally of "a monastic character!" No wonder that the British public should be dissatisfied with a system which not only endows Mohammedanism and heathenism, but which displays the spirit of its working by



the ostentatious commendation of heathen or Mohammedan monastic houses, temples, mosques, places of pilgrimage, &c., by the superior officers of the government. The men who sign the report which contains all this, and to whose talents so much that was really desirable was attributable, no doubt carried out with fidelity the policy of their employers. While "persons of sanctity," as the report terms the religious impostors by whom the different populations were so frequently incited to fanaticism, were petted and pensioned, the Christian missionary was discountenanced, and the native converts persecuted by the dominant sects, with the connivance of the government: these converts were ineligible for any civil office! The administration of the Punjaub was in this respect less liberal than that of the north-west provinces. In a former chapter, when treating of the religions of India, credit was given to the government and the company for the various encouragements which have of late years been afforded to the free exercise of Christian instrumentalities, and while government interference with the religion of the people was deprecated, attention was called to the mode in which the Church Missionary Society was found to extend religious education among the Santals. Since that chapter was written, the author has learned that the decrees which thus gave scope to the Church Missionary schools have been revoked. The *Times* Calcutta correspondent, in his letter dated the 23rd of November, 1857, thus wrote:—

"You have recently argued that the court of directors are hostile to Christianity. The statement is impudently denied. Allow me to state the following fact:—On the termination of the Santal campaign, the lieutenant-governor, finding that the complete barbarism of the Santals had become dangerous, proposed to civilise them. He handed them over to the Church Missionary Society for education, selecting that body because two of its agents had won the confidence of the Santals. The tribe liked the arrangement, and began to fill the schools. The surrounding classes did not care, regarding Santals in about the light in which we regard centipedes or other dangerous vermin. There was no doubt of success, when out comes an order from the court disallowing the whole arrangement, as the development of Christianity was 'contrary to their policy!' Well, the Santals have a commissioner, a man known as no saint, a desperate hunter, always either in the saddle or inquiring into the complaints of his subjects. He was ordered to produce a new scheme. He quietly replied that he couldn't

and wouldn't, and that he hoped soon to see the end of a 'policy which made us cowards in the eyes of men, and traitors in the eyes of God.' Similar ideas are coming up from every corner of India." The conduct of the government in that respect has, however, the apology of a principle—the non-endowment of Christian education, which may be justified, but the actual endowment of Mohammedanism and heathenism in every form—their worship, shrines, pilgrimages, and "persons of sanctity"—throughout the Punjaub, and the reverence ostentatiously shown to these endowed institutions, for their efficacy, utility, and adaptation to promote piety, in the most important public documents, is an indisputable offence against the religious feeling of Great Britain, the honour of the Christian religion, and the throne of God. There are no features of God's revelation more strongly brought out than his displeasure with all who participate in any way with idols, and especially when those who profess to worship him as the one only living and true God give countenance to idolatry in any manner. Yet, in face of this, the board of administration of the Punjaub glories in the support given to idolatries, and the government at Calcutta and at home impress their sanction upon it. How is it possible for either the heathen abroad, or the masses of Christian people at home, to believe that the governing classes are not pervaded by infidelity, when they perceive how the plainest precepts of the Bible can be set aside, and the most daring crime perpetrated, if a financial or political purpose is to be gained? There is no offence which the criminal reports of the Punjaub reveal more debasing and ruinous in itself, more demoralising to society, and insulting and defiant to God, than idolatry; and there is no part of their report in which the board of administration take more credit to themselves than that in which they record their attentive concern to maintain teachers and places of idol-worship! It is well, however, to see fruits meet for repentance. Under the administration of the same John Lawrence who signed the Punjaub report the ban has been removed from entrance to official life on the part of native Christians, and the same R. Montgomery whose signature is to that report has put forth the following important document. It would, indeed, have come more gracefully years ago; one cannot help now suspecting that it is not to the favour felt for Christianity, or the impartial justice entertained towards the native Christians, that the change is to be attributed, so much as to the aroused feeling and opinion of the British people, and



their obvious determination to put an end to a state of things so disgraceful to their national and religious character as a people.

The sufferings and trials which the Almighty has permitted to come upon his people in this land during the past few months, though dark and mysterious to us, will assuredly end in his glory. The followers of Christ will now, I believe, be induced to come forward and advance the interests of his kingdom and those of his servants. The system of caste can no longer be permitted to ride in our services. Soldiers and government servants of every class must be entertained for their merits, irrespective of creed, class, or caste. The native Christians, as a body, have, with rare exceptions, been set aside. I know not one in the Punjaub (to our disgrace be it said) in any employment under government. A proposition to employ them in the public services six months ago would assuredly have been received with coldness, and would not have been complied with; but a change has come, and I believe there are few who will not eagerly employ those native Christians competent to fill appointments. I understand that in the ranks of the army at Madras there are native Christians, and I have heard that some of the guns at Agra are at this time manned by native Christians. I consider I should be wanting in my duty at this crisis if I did not endeavour to secure a portion of the numerous appointments in the judicial department for native Christians; and I shall be happy (as far as I can) to advance their interests equally with those of the Mohammedan and Hindoo candidates—their future promotion must depend on their own merits. I shall therefore feel obliged by each missionary favouring me with a list of the native Christians belonging to them, who, in their opinion, are fit for the public service.

The following suggestions will aid the missionaries in classifying their men. For burkundages (policemen in the ranks) able-bodied men are required. If the candidate can read and write, and is generally intelligent, he is pretty sure to rise rapidly to the higher ranks. For assistants in public offices, and for higher appointments in the judicial and police departments generally, it is imperative that candidates should read and write *oordoo* in the *shikostele* hand fluently, and be intelligent, ready, and trustworthy. Candidates must be prepared at first to accept the lower grade of appointments, in order that they may learn their duties, and qualify themselves for the higher posts. Arrangements can sometimes be made to apprentice a candidate for a few months, with a view to teaching him his work; but during this period the candidate must support himself. It is suggested that no persons be nominated whom the missionaries do not consider, by their character and attainments, to have a good prospect of success; better wait till a candidate qualifies himself fully than recommend an inferior man.

R. MONTGOMERY.

Who could ever suppose that the pen which panegyrised the pious utility and efficiency of temples, mosques, and places of pilgrimage and devotion, and the propriety of pensioning “persons of sanctity,” as the fakeers and other impostors were termed by him, would so soon describe the duties of Christians and the Christian Church in India, and exhort “the followers of Christ” to “come forward and advance the interests of his kingdom and those of his servants!” If all religions, Christian, Moslem, and heathen, be not equally useful in the esteem of some of the governors of Indian provinces, for the pur-

poses of political management, it is difficult to say which most meets the approbation of “the board of the administration of the Punjaub.” Upon the effect of the change of policy indicated by the paper signed by Mr. Montgomery, the *Times*’ Calcutta correspondent remarked:—“That order was issued three months ago. It was received without the slightest animosity, and is being carried into effect; that is to say, Sir John Lawrence, the one successful pro-consul in India, has in his own province decreed that caste shall cease!”

In the chapter on the religions of India, the efforts making for the religious instruction of the Punjaub were described. These efforts have been since increased, especially by the British and Foreign Bible and the Tract Societies.

The state of education in the territories of the Punjaub assigned to the government of the commissioners, is an important subject of inquiry. It appears to have been the policy of these gentlemen to assign funds for the instruction of youth in the different superstitions prevailing, accompanied by some instruction in matters of utility also. The districts where education of any kind least prevails are Peshawur and Leia. The following comparative statement of education in the Punjaub, and under the Agra (north-west) government, will give a clear idea of the deficiency in both cases, and their relative position in this respect:—

Division.	One School to every— Inhabitants.	One Scholar to every— Inhabitants.
Lahore . . . . .	1,783·98 . . . . .	214·85
Jhelum . . . . .	1,441·90 . . . . .	193·10
Mooltan . . . . .	1,666·66 . . . . .	210·88
Agra Presidency .	2,912·20 . . . . .	326·14

The kind of education is much better in the Agra provinces. “The Punjaub schools are of three descriptions, viz., those resorted to by Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Sikhs, respectively. At the Hindoo schools, writing and the rudiments of arithmetic are generally taught in the Hindi character; at the Mussulman schools are read the Koran in Arabic, and the didactic and poetical works of Sadi in Persian (the Gulistan and Bostan); at the Sikh school, the Grunth, in Goormukhee, or the repository of the faith taught by Nanuck and Guroo Govind. In the Persian, Arabic, and Goormukhee schools, which form the great majority, the studies, being chiefly confined to sacred books written in a classical phraseology, unintelligible to both teacher and pupil, do not tend to develop the intellectual faculties of either. It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Punjaub. The girls and the teachers (also females) belong to all of the three great tribes, viz., Hindoo, Mussulman,



and Sikh. The number is not, of course, large; but the existence of such an education, almost unknown in other parts of India, is an encouraging circumstance." The education given in these schools is often most pernicious, apart even from the erroneous doctrines of a religious nature. Morally and socially the education conducted by the Brahmins and the Mussulmans is injurious to the pupils, and dangerous to the state. The pupils of Hindoo common schools become more bigoted than the subjects of this education would have been without it; although in the high schools the faith of the pupil is generally shaken in all religions, while his nationality becomes invidious and fanatical. In the Mohammedan schools, abhorrence of infidels is an essential portion of the tuition. No youth educated in a Mohammedan school can ever be loyal to any but a Mohammedan government; yet in the reports of "the board of administration," the gentlemen already referred to congratulated themselves that the endowment for the school afforded by the government was, in many instances, also virtually an endowment for the mosque. Their words are—"The school-house is here, as elsewhere, primitive; such as a private dwelling, the village town-hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed, or the courtyard of a temple. The Mussulman schools are nearly all connected with the village mosque. In such a case, the same endowment would support both institutions. It is superfluous to observe, that wherever any land has been granted in rent-free tenure for such a purpose, either by the state and its representatives, or by the proprietary community, such foundations have been gladly maintained by the board. The remuneration of the teachers is variable and precarious. It frequently consists of presents, grain and sweetmeats, given by the scholars and their parents; but occasionally the whole community subscribe for the support of the school, each member contributing so much per plough, which is considered to represent his means: not unfrequently, also, cash payments are made, and sometimes regular salaries are allowed. Cash allowances are perhaps more usual in the Punjaub than in Hindoostan." Schools of a higher character have been instituted and fostered. City central schools, as in the Agra government, have been contemplated on an extensive scale, and in some instances instituted. At Umritsir a college of a respectable order has been founded, where the learned languages of that part of Asia—such as Sanscrit, Persian, &c.—are taught, and many of the pupils learn English. Some of the plans recommended by the commissioners

for higher schools of instruction and colleges have been carried out, and others are in embryo. The Punjaub population manifests a laudable desire for education, and at Lahore there is quite a rage for learning English; and the usual branches of English education are pursued by some of the noble and wealthy classes.

The development of the material resources of the country has been advancing to the present time. Trees have been planted for shade, ornament, and the future supply of timber and firewood. Roads have been made in numerous directions: Lieutenant-colonel Napier, the civil engineer to the board, has rendered great service in this respect. Canals have been cut, and means of irrigation increased. Civic organisation has led to the improvement of manufactures, and the extension of commerce. Practical science has been sedulously promoted. Dr. Jamieson has drawn up reports on the physical features, the products, the botany, and the ornithology of the Punjaub. Dr. Fleming and Mr. Pindar have reported upon the salt range, and upon the mineral resources of the Scinde Saugor Doab, and the upper Trans-Indus territories. The trigonometrical survey has been carried through the dominions of the late Gholab Singh, and other regions. An agri-horticultural society has been formed under the patronage of the board. Sanatoria have been established, and schools of medical instruction, and colleges of civil engineers, have been projected. Dispensaries have been formed, and are most useful. Postal arrangements, which improve upon the old daks, have been completed. Bridges, police-stations, and other public works have rapidly progressed. Yet the people feel the pressure of taxation, and while a good feeling to their conquerors is increasing, they still cherish their nationality. Their state of mind and condition in these respects have been thus described:—"In the other countries which we have conquered in India, our advent has overturned a dynasty, and a party of chiefs favourable to its power; but it has brought relief to the mass of the people. Here, however, we have overturned not a dynasty, but a nationality; and our rule is as galling to the mass of the Sikhs and Hindoos as to the chiefs."\*

It is cheering to think that the terms in which the following modest statement is made have been borne out in fact: upon the gentlemen who constituted the board rested a great responsibility, and they have, except in the matters to which the strictures made upon their policy in this chapter refer,

\* Major Lake.



rendered great service to their country. "The board have endeavoured to set forth the administration of the Punjaub, since annexation, in all its branches, with as much succinctness as might be compatible with precision and perspicuity. It has been explained how internal peace has been preserved, and the frontier guarded; how the various establishments of the state have been organised; how violent crime has been repressed, the penal law executed, and prison discipline enforced; how civil justice has been administered; how the taxation has been fixed, and the revenue collected; how commerce has been set free, agriculture fostered, and the national resources developed; how plans for future improvement have been projected; and, lastly, how the finances have been managed. The most noble the governor-general, who has seen the country, and personally inspected the executive system, will judge whether this administration has fulfilled the wishes of the government, whether the country is richer, whether the people are happier and better. A great revolution cannot happen without injuring some classes. When a state falls, its nobility and its supporters must, to some extent, suffer with it; a dominant sect and party, ever moved by political ambition and religious enthusiasm, cannot return to the ordinary level of society, and the common occupations of life, without feeling some discontent and some enmity against their powerful but humane conquerors. But it is probable that the mass of the people will advance in material prosperity and in moral elevation under the influence of British rule. The board are not unmindful that, in conducting the administration, they have had before them the Indian experience of many successive governments, and especially the excellent example displayed in the north-west provinces. They are not insensible of shortcomings; but they will yet venture to say, that this retrospect of the past does inspire them with hope for the future."

The government and finance of the Punjaub, also its commercial condition and progress, must be reserved for chapters treating of those matters in connection with India generally.

CASHMERE, and the other territory of the late Gholab Singh, form an interesting country connected with the Punjaub; for although an independent state, it is immediately under the protection of the British government, and is in various ways brought into connection with the board of administration of the Punjaub. The late Runjeet Singh asserted sovereignty over it, and the ranec, mother of Dhuleep Singh, regarded it with considerable interest

during her regency. When the Sikh dominion fell before the arms of Lord Gough, Gholab Singh was rewarded for his fidelity to the British government by the apportionment of Cashmere and the Jummoo, over which, during the remainder of his life, he reigned with great prudence and wisdom. This sovereignty bounds the Peshawur provinces, and roads and water communication have been opened up, tending to connect the provinces in the intimacies of friendly intercourse and profitable commerce. In the general description given of India Cashmere was noticed: a further brief description is here appropriate.

It is comprehended between the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and surrounded by lofty mountains. The Peshawur territory lies to the south, and Little Thibet to the north. Considerable pains have lately been taken to survey the whole country. At the last meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in London, at Burlington House, Sir Roderick Murchison, president, in the chair, it was announced that a letter had been received from Lieutenant-colonel Andrew Scott Waugh, surveyor-general of India, returning thanks for the society's gold medal, which had been awarded him on the completion of the great trigonometrical survey of India. Colonel Waugh stated that the Cashmere and Thibet surveys were progressing favourably, and would make a beautiful topographical map. Messrs. Montgomerie and Elliot Brownlow had fixed two peaks on the Karakorum, one of which is 27,928 feet high, its distance being one hundred and thirty-six miles from the last stations. This would indicate the peak to be the third highest yet measured. The Cashmere series has twice crossed the snowy range with two stations each time on it.

The valley of Cashmere is of an elliptical form, and widens gradually to Islamabad. At that place it is forty miles broad. It is continued to the town of Lampre, there being little variation in the width; thence the mountains, by a regular inclination to the westward, come to a point, and separate Cashmere from Muzifferabad. Including the surrounding mountains, Cashmere may be estimated at one hundred and ten miles in length, and at its widest part sixty miles in width. The shape is nearly oval. The province can only be entered by passes, of which there are seven in number—four from the south, two from the north, and one from the west. The pass of Bember is the best, but that of Muzifferabad most used. Various roads to Hindoostan exist.

The ancients made two divisions of this



province—eastern and western; the former they called Meraje, and the latter Kamraje. The earliest accounts represent it as, with the exception of the mountains, laid under water, and named Suttysir. Suttu is one of the names of the wife of the Hindoo deity Siva, and *sir* signifies a reservoir. When the country assumed a more hospitable character history does not inform us, but there is still evidence, in the marshy character of some portions of the valley, that at no very remote period it was covered with water. The valley is as beautiful as the character given of it, and its productiveness greater than reputation allows. The mountain scenery is sublime beyond the power of pen or pencil to depict, and the grandeur is heightened by numerous and voluminous cataracts, bounding from the huge rocks, flashing in the brilliant Eastern sunlight as floods and showers of diamonds. The water throughout the province is remarkably clear, pure, and healthful. The beauty of the scenery is as striking as its sublimity. The whole region blooms with flowers to a degree unknown in any other place upon the face of the earth. The shrubs, especially flowering shrubs, are infinitely varied, and the hues that are displayed in the clear light, and the odours wafted upon the gentle breezes that float through the valley, render exquisite pleasure.

The climate is as genial as the scenery is rich and varied with the sublime and beautiful. Although the mountain tops, and far down the declivities, are covered with eternal snow, the valley revels in perpetual summer. It is spring-like summer, for no burning noon scorches within the precincts of this Eden. What is called the winter is simply a cooler season, in which man and nature are braced and invigorated, but severe weather in any form is unknown. The rude monsoons do not reach this gentle land; and when the recurrent rains deluge India, a few soft and refreshing showers are all that fall within the mountain girdle of Cashmere. The rainy season of Persia and Thibet affects it more, but beneficially; and snow is also seen at the same season as in those other regions, but the valley is so protected by the close and lofty circle of mountains, that it is seldom stricken by the snow-fall.

Rice is much cultivated in the plain, which is irrigated by streams from innumerable mountain rivulets and cascades; but in the higher portions of the valley, upon the bases of the hills, cereal crops are grown, and yield uniformly abundant harvests. On the hill-slopes trees of every foliage flourish, almost all climates being attainable, according to the range of elevation. The fruits produced in

Western Europe there grow in perfection and abundance. The best saffron in the world is grown in the valley, and various plants useful to commerce spring up indigenous.

The bodies of water which flow into the vale and mingle, forming navigable streams within its ellipse, in their general confluence form the ancient Hydaspes, now known as the Jhelum River, which rolls on its increasing volume towards Hindoostan. Among the picturesque waters of the valley, the Dall, a considerable lake, is unrivalled for beauty. It extends from the north-east end of the city of Cashmere in an oval form, the circumference being about six miles, and lies in the verdant country as a choice gem set in emeralds. This collection of water finds its vent by the current of the Jhelum. The lake is curiously decorated, as if by a plan of ornament, by little islands near its margin all around at certain distances from each other; these are covered by natural clumps of flowering shrubs. From the head of the lake (the more distant one from the city) the ground gradually rises for twelve miles to the foot of the mighty mountains. In that particular place they assume forms regular or grotesque, presenting a strange aspect of variety, upon which one might gaze for ever without the impression of sameness. Half-way between the lake and the mountain base a spacious garden was laid out by one of the Mogul emperors. The gardens of Shalimar, as they are termed, ever watered by the munificent hand of nature, still bloom in their beauty beneath skies the serenest in the world. To gaze from the bosom of the placid lake, with its still bright water, upon the encircling verdure of the plain, and up to the everlasting mountains, hoary in age and grandeur, extending, as it were, their embrace to protect this paradise, is to enjoy at once the most soothing and elevating effects which natural scenery can shed upon the heart of man.

The people are a fine race, both in form and feature. Vigorous and brave, they cherish a romantic attachment to their homes and liberties, which no governor, however powerful, can with impunity despise.

“Their beauteous clime and glorious land  
Freedom and nationhood demand,  
For oh! the great God never plann’d  
For slumb’ring slaves a home so grand.”

Besides the valley described, there are various others within the mountain region of the province of a similar character; and each of these, but one in particular, is even more a vale of flowers than that which is alone known to fame for its beauty. The mountains are



believed by geologists and mineralogists to contain rich mineral treasures. The natives dig out iron of a superior quality, and in abundance. Among the various objects of beauty and curiosity with which the province abounds is the Ouller Lake. It is near the city, in an opposite direction to the Dall, and in its centre an island is entirely covered by a palace, built by Sultan Zein-ul-Abdeen. This lake gradually diminishes, the Jhelum ever craving its waters.

The capital of the province is the city of Cashmere, the ancient name of which was Serinaghur. It is situated in latitude  $33^{\circ} 23'$  north, and longitude  $74^{\circ} 47'$  east. The city is said to contain from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand inhabitants. These are cooped up in one of the most miserably-built towns in the East, or anywhere else. The streets are narrow, and filthy from inadequate drainage, and the bad habits of the people. Notwithstanding their dirty streets, they attend to personal cleanliness, and have beautiful ranges of covered baths along the banks of the Jhelum, which flows through the town. The houses are two and three stories high, strongly built of fine hard timber, and brick peculiarly prepared. The use of these materials is rendered necessary by the frequent shocks of earthquake felt all over the valley, and from which the capital has often severely, although not fatally, suffered. The roofs are flat. Notwithstanding that the fields, and river banks, and hill-sides, are covered with flowers, and everywhere is to be seen

“The fairy gem beneath the forest-tree,”

yet the citizens of Cashmere so delight in them, that they turn their house-tops into parterres. It is difficult for any one who has not actually experienced it to conceive the effect upon the stranger as he walks or rides through this city of narrow lanes and passages, to see the upper parts of the houses forming continuous flower-gardens, sending their rich odours down in showers, while the passages below are filled with innumerable impurities, shedding abroad their stench and noxious influences. From this last-named circumstance alone the city is unhealthy; the country around it is salubrious.

In the estimation of the Hindoos, all Cashmere is holy land, and the most holy spot is Islamabad, a large town on the north side of the Jhelum, twenty-nine miles E.S.E. from the city of Cashmere, in latitude  $33^{\circ} 15'$  north, and longitude  $75^{\circ} 13'$  east. At this spot the Jhelum bursts through the narrow and circuitous gorges of the mountains on its way to the vast plains which it adorns and

fertilises. Ausoden Bridge crosses the river between two mountains, in a spot of wild and terrific sublimity.\* The religion of the Cashmerians is a mixture of the Brahminical and Mohammedan. Their language is derived from the Sanscrit. They claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of India and its neighbouring realms, and say that their people early penetrated into India, carrying with them religion, laws, and literature. The present Cashmerians give attention to all these matters with eager interest and successful pursuit. Their love of oriental *belles-lettres* is great. The Sanscrit and Persian languages are studied, and books of light literature are much prized.

The manufacture of shawls, from the hair of the Thibetian goat, has made the valley famous in all the East, and, indeed, in all the world. Notice of this will be taken when treating upon the commerce of our Indian empire. The zoology and ornithology of Cashmere do not require particular remark. The shawl-goat is not a native of it; the material for manufacture yielded by that animal is brought from Thibet to the city of Cashmere. The horses are small, but, like the little Neapolitan horses, hardy and spirited. The insect world is very active, and constitutes the great drawback to life in Cashmere. Bugs, the persecutors of London lodging-houses, are far more formidable in the cities of Cashmere and Islamabad. Lice are a still more loathsome pest, being as prevalent as fleas in the colony of Victoria. In the open air the enjoyment of the beauties of nature is sadly interfered with by the gnats, which seem at times to fill the whole atmosphere, and are tormenters that never tire. Reptile life does not flourish in the province. The boast of Ireland, that she alone is exempt from poisonous creatures, is not well founded, for Cashmere shares with her in this undoubted privilege.

AJMEER, or RAJPOOTANA, is one of the non-regulation provinces connected with the north-west government. It is situated in the centre of Hindoostan, between the twenty-fourth and thirty-first degrees of north latitude. To the north it is bounded by the Sikh states, on the north-east by Delhi, on the south by Gujerat and Malwah, on the west by Scinde. The original length of this territory was three hundred and fifty miles, and its average breadth two hundred miles. The general appearance of this province is exceedingly cheerless; a large portion of it is desert, and the soil generally sandy. The *mirage* is common in the desert. The inhabitants are few and wretched, and would be much more

\* Forster.



so, had not Providence provided them with the water-melon, which grows in astonishing profusion amidst the sandy wastes. In some parts the great desert of Ajmeer is four hundred miles in breadth, extending much beyond the limits of this province.

The domestic animals which thrive in the less arid parts of this stern region are camels and bullocks. The wild animals which infest it are a squirrel-like rat, which is very numerous; foxes of a very small species also breed fast. Antelopes are occasionally found, and less frequently the wild ass. This last is a remarkable animal; it is of the size and appearance of a mule, and can trot faster than the fleetest horses of Hindoostan: it is called goork-hur by the people of the desert. Notwithstanding the sandy character of the soil, the ass, antelope, camel, and ox, find food; and under the influence of the stimulating climate, and in consequence of the vast floods of water which in the rainy season deluge certain portions of it, crops of grain are raised for the support of man.

The inhabitants are for the most part Jauts, a people who also have spread into the neighbouring province of the Punjaub. They are of low stature, very black, with repulsive features and figures; they are generally emaciated and dejected. In the Punjaub these Jauts reveal qualities of great importance; they are industrious and brave, and laborious agriculturists. Fewer in number than these are the Rajpoots, who are a full-sized and handsome race, bearing a marked resemblance to Jews, and having prominent aquiline noses. They are haughty, indolent, and inveterate opium-eaters. The best portion of the province is in their hands. In the Punjaub these Rajpoots are brave and active, and clever agriculturists, very unlike the Rhatore Rajpoots, in the province of Rajpootana.

The modern divisions are Judpore, Jaysulmeer, Jaipore, Odeypore, and Bicaner. The governmental peculiarities of the native states into which this great, but not very productive, province seems in all ages to have been broken up, resemble those of the feudal system in Europe. Each district, however small, was a sort of barony, and every town and village acknowledged a lord, or *thakoor*. These feudal barons rendered nominal, and sometimes real allegiance, to the sovereign, or whoever else claimed presumptive authority over them. It is supposed that the proportion of Mohammedans to Hindoos is one to eight. The number of the population cannot be accurately stated, nor within tolerable approximation to accuracy. Thirty years ago good authorities computed it at three millions; since then it has been estimated

considerably less, and somewhat more, at different times, and by different persons.

The Rajpoot cavalry, in the service of the Delhi emperors, were highly prized for their faithfulness and courage. No part of India was torn so much by internecine struggle as Rajpootana, until, in 1818, the whole of the chiefs were taken under the protection of the British, and bound to submit all their disputes to the English agents, as well as pay all their taxes into the Delhi treasury, for which the British government would account to each. This arrangement became highly acceptable to the kings and the people, but was bitterly hated by the aristocracy, whose power in their separate jajires was thus abridged, and who lost all hope of rising to the dignity and power of princes by successful raids and ambitious policy. The oppressions practised by the feudal tyrants, great and small, of this province have been described as "more systematic, unremitting, and brutal than ever before trampled on humanity."

AJMEER is the name of a city and district, from which the designation is also given to the whole province. This territory is well known in England as the dominion of Scindiah. The family of Scindiah are Brahmins, but have always manifested great respect for the Mohammedan religion.

The city of Ajmeer possesses nothing attractive but its Mohammedan remains. It possesses "a garden palace," built by Shah Jehan. The tomb of Khaja Maijen-ad-Deen is also an object of interest. He is a great reputed saint of Islam. The mighty Emperor Akbar made a pilgrimage to this tomb from Agra, two hundred and thirty miles distant, on foot. Scindiah bestowed a canopy of cloth of gold for this tomb, and also a superb pall. Although the town of Ajmeer is so small a place, there are more than a thousand persons of a sacerdotal, or otherwise sacred character, who live by charity, so-called, but which may be more properly designated plunder, as it is extorted from the visitors to the saint's tomb. It is distant two hundred and thirty miles from Delhi, more than a thousand from Calcutta, and about two-thirds of that distance from Bombay.

The country of the Bhatties is only interesting because of its inhabitants, who are supposed by many to be descended from the aborigines of Northern India, as distinguished from the Hindoo race. The women of this tribe go unveiled, and have greater liberty than is conceded by the Hindoo race or the Affghans. Bhatties inhabit also the border provinces of the Punjaub, and are said to have set the example for the superior social



influence of woman in that province. In various hill regions of India this people are found. The Bhatties are predatory, and until lately were indomitable plunderers, finding shelter in their extensive and formerly impenetrable jungles when pursued by a superior force.

BICANUR is a rajalik of little importance, occupying the centre of the Ajmeer province. The capital is alleged to appear magnificent on approaching it, in consequence of the contrast its temples, and minarets, and white buildings afford to the gloomy desert of sand by which it is surrounded.\* According to some travellers, it is a miniature Palmyra; according to others, it is almost as miserable as the wilderness that extends to its walls.

The JEYPORE district is only remarkable for its handsome capital, which is situated in latitude  $26^{\circ} 55'$  north, and longitude  $75^{\circ} 37'$  east. The city from an ancient date was respectable, and it is still a place of some importance, Rajah Jeysingh having encouraged education there, and built several observatories for the advancement of astronomical science. At present it is considered one of the best built towns in Hindoostan. The houses are of stone; the streets are spacious, and of imposing length, intersecting each other at right angles, like the city of Philadelphia, in the United States of America. The citadel is picturesque—built upon a steep rock, and surrounded for four miles by a chain of fortifications. Jeypore is one hundred and fifty miles from Delhi, nearly equidistant from Agra, a thousand from Calcutta, and three-fourths of that distance from Bombay.

The dominions of Holkar, although wild, and inhabited by a predatory people, possess some good towns. The vigilance of the British keeps these regions in awe. During the mutiny of the Bengal sepoy in 1857, Holkar and Scindiah remained faithful, under strong temptations to swerve, in their allegiance to the British. Their troops and people, especially the former, were heartily with the mutineers, and many joined their bands in the struggle which raged in the north-western provinces.

BOONDEE, ODEYPORE, and MEWAR, are in some respects interesting regions, and contain fertile territory. Odeypore especially has lands as rich as any in India.

There is little in the remaining portions of the Ajmeer province to require more particular detail.

The south-western frontier provinces contain considerable variety, and a large area of

\* Elphinstone.

surface, with a numerous population. Contiguous territories have been so far minutely described as to comprehend the general characteristics of these provinces.

PACHETE is remarkable for the good quality of its coal, and its general insalubrity.

CHUTA, or CHOTA NAGPORE (Little Nagpore), is an extensive tract, as hilly as Malwah, and covered with jungle. There is a vast quantity of decaying vegetable matter constantly emitting deleterious gases, causing jungle fever and other fatal diseases. The country produces iron ore, and, the natives allege, also diamonds. The aboriginal inhabitants cling to the jungle, and are hated and persecuted by the Brahmins whenever opportunity allows.

The north-eastern frontier provinces comprise Assam, and several very wild regions.

The chief province in this direction is ASSAM. It is situated at the north-east corner of Bengal, stretching up to the country of Thibet. The chief portion of the territory consists in the valley of the Brahmapootra. The average breadth of the valley is about seventy miles. In Upper Assam, where the mountains recede more, the valley is much broader. The province is computed to be three hundred and fifty miles in length, and about seventy in average breadth. It is divided into three districts—Camroop in the west, Assam proper in the centre, and Lodiya at the eastern extremity.

The rivers of Assam are probably more numerous, and larger than those in any other country of similar extent. In the driest season they contain sufficient water for purposes of navigation. The number of rivers, exclusive of the Brahmapootra and its two great branches, the Deing and Looichel, are sixty. The course of many is very devious, irrigating a large extent of country. A striking instance of this is seen in the Dikrung, where the direct distance by land is only twenty-five miles, while the course of the stream is over one hundred. This river is noted for the quantity of gold found in its sands, which is also of the purest quality. Many of the Assam rivers wash down particles of auriferous metal from the great mountains.

The vegetable productions are numerous, and such as might be expected in a rich alluvial country. Rice, mustard-seed, wheat, barley, millet, pulse, black pepper, ginger, turmeric, capsicums, onions, garlic, betel leaf, tobacco, opium, sugar-cane, are all cultivated, and yield remunerative crops. The fruits chiefly eaten are oranges and pomegranates; the cocoa-nut is highly prized by the inhabitants, but, from the remoteness of their country from the sea, this excellent fruit is



scarce. Cotton is produced, and silk still more extensively. On another page was noticed the indigenous teas of Assam, and the cultivation of the plants under the auspices of the Honourable East India Company.

Domestic animals are not in great variety. Buffaloes are reared in considerable numbers, and employed by the agriculturists. The wealth of the community in cattle, sheep, and goats, is small. Aquatic birds are surprisingly numerous, and of excellent flavour. The wild duck of Assam is highly prized by epicures.

The religions of the Assamese are Brahminism and Buddhism. So lately as the beginning of the seventeenth century they worshipped a god called Chung, and the superstition associated with his service was exceedingly debased. About one-fourth of the population obstinately reject the religions of Hindoostan, and cherish more obscure rites. The Mohammedans attempted the invasion of the country, under Shah Jehan, in the early part of the seventeenth century, but were driven back by disease, the difficulties of the country, and the desultory warfare of the natives. Ever since the Mohammedans of India have had a horror of the country, and speak of it as haunted by fiends and enchanters.

The Assamese remained a warlike, spirited, and united people until the conversion of the court and the higher orders to Brahminism, since which time they have sunk into one of the most pusillanimous races of Asia. The introduction of caste created internal feuds; and the enervating influence of Brahminism unmanned the people.

Assam has suffered much, even since its subjection to British authority, by robbers from Hindoostan.

The Assam province of CAMROOP contains many traces of great prosperity, and once had a numerous population; it is now in a poor condition.

The island of Majuli, formed by the Brahmapootra, is covered with temples, and inhabited only by persons of supposed sanctity.

Rungpore is a town situated on the Dikho River; it is the reputed capital, but possesses nothing to redeem it from contempt.

Since the province fell under British authority, its improvement has been rapid.

The inhabitants of the Garrow Mountains are a strange and ferocious race. An old writer\* describes them as of great strength and daring; a man, he alleges, can carry a weight over the mountains one-third heavier than a Bengalee can carry on the plains; and

\* Buchanan.

the women can carry a weight in the mountain country equal to what a Bengalee man can bear in the valley. According to the same authority, the culinary habits of this race are very extraordinary. They will feed puppies with as much rice as they can incite them to devour, and then throw them alive on a fire; when cooked to their taste, they remove them, but do not eat the animals; ripping them up, they partake of the rice which the dog had previously swallowed! Their vindictiveness is unsurpassed. If deprived of the smallest portion of property, they will commit murder; and if they cannot resent an injury promptly, they will flee to a place of retreat, plant a tree called chatakor, which bears a sour fruit, and vow that with the juice of this fruit they will one day eat the head of their enemy. If the feud is not thus settled by the original antagonists, it is handed down as an inheritance to their children. When at last success attends the efforts to fulfil the horrid vow, the victor summons his friends to the repast; the tree is then cut down, and the feud terminates. When they kill Bengalees, they decapitate them, and dance round their bleeding heads. They then bury them, and at intervals raise them, and renew the dance. Finally, they cleanse them, and hang up the skulls as trophies. These skulls are often filled with food or drink, of which they partake with their friends. Of late years the British police watch too well for these raids upon the Bengalees to be frequent, but so late as 1815 such practices were very common,\* and for many years after continued to be practised. Strange as it might seem to a native of any other nation under heaven, human skulls constituted in those days the circulating medium, as much as a thousand rupees being the equivalent of some. To avoid the possibility of his cranium becoming currency, the friends of a Garrow man burn his body completely to ashes. The women are strong, ill-looking, join in the councils and raids of the men, work hard, and possess a position of importance unknown to the women of the plains. Polytheism is the religion of the Garrow hills. The people have no temples or idols, but worship animals and vegetables, the tiger and the bamboo being the favourites.

MUMPORE, or CASSAYE, is remarkable for the soft features of its inhabitants, as compared with surrounding tribes. They are of the Brahminical religion, and in this respect are noticeable, as they are the last tribe eastward by which it is embraced, the religion of Buddha prevailing thence throughout the entire East.

\* Sisson.



TERRITORIES ON THE INDO-CHINESE  
PENINSULA.

The remaining territories included in the non-regulation provinces of Bengal are beyond the India peninsula, on the eastern peninsula of Southern Asia. A glance at one of Wylde's excellent maps will show that this peninsula is bound on the north by the Chinese empire, on the east by the Chinese Sea, on the west by the Bay of Bengal, and on the south by the Straits of Malacca and the Gulf of Siam. The Indo-Chinese peninsula is computed to be above eighteen hundred miles in length, and of breadth exceedingly various, being only sixty miles across where the peninsula of Malacca is narrowest, and more than eight hundred miles in the north. Its superficial area is supposed to be nearly six hundred thousand square miles. The interior is so little known, that description of it is impossible. "Its distinguishing aspect appears to be determined by chains of mountains running uniformly in the direction of the meridian, inclosing distinct valleys no less uniform, each valley assuming a fan-like shape at the maritime extremity, and each the bed of a grand river-system. The three principal streams—the Irrawaddy westward, the Meinam central, and the Cambodia eastward—descend from the highlands of Thibet, pour down immense volumes of water, and rank with the largest rivers of Asia. The first flows through the Birman empire to the Bay of Bengal, at the Gulf of Martaban; the second waters Siam, and enters the gulf of that name; and the third, which has the largest course, passes through the empire of Annam to the Chinese Sea. Few regions exhibit such an amount of vegetable luxuriance, vast tracts being densely clothed with underwood and timber-trees, comprising teak, the iron-tree, true ebony, the eagle-wood, the white sandal-wood, betel-palms, and a great variety of aromatic and medicinal plants. The mineral wealth of the country is also very considerable, gold, silver, copper, and iron occurring in the mountains, with many precious gems—rubies, sapphires, and amethysts. Most of the large quadrupeds of India are found among the native animals."\*

Irrespective of the British possessions, which cover a vast area, the following are its great divisions:—

States.	Population.	Capitals and Chief Towns.
Birman Empire . . . . .	8,000,000 . .	Ava, Rangoon, Pegu.
Kingdom of Siam . . . . .	2,700,000 . .	Bankok.
Empire of Annam . . . . .	10,000,000 . .	Hue, Saigon, Cambodia.
Country of the Laos . . . . .	Unknown	
Malaya . . . . .	300,000	

The Birmanse empire comprises the north-west, about one-fifth of the whole peninsula.

\* The Rev. Thomas Milner.

The kingdom of SIAM stretches round the head of the gulf which bears its name, and reaches a considerable distance inland, with the upper portion of the Malacca peninsula. The empire of ANNAM lies along the eastern coast, and is divided into several regions, the principle of which are called Tonquin, Cochin China, and Cambodia, lying in that order from north to south. The country of the LAOS is a mountainous realm in the interior. MALAYA is the southern portion of the Malacca peninsula. The British possessions are on the western shores of the peninsula, washed by the waves of the Bay of Bengal, and comprise the provinces of Arracan, Pegu, and Tenasserim, stretching along the whole west coast, from the confines of Chittagong to the isthmus of Krow.

ARRACAN is one of the non-regulation provinces of the Bengal government, situated on the western coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It stretches away from the boundaries of the Bengal regulation province of Chittagong to the limits of Pegu. The country is an undulated plain, gently sloping upwards from the sea to a range of mountains, by which it is bounded to the east along its whole extent. This plain is nowhere more than a hundred miles in breadth; and towards Pegu, the mountains gradually inclining to the sea, it is not more than ten miles in width. Arracan is, in fact, a continuation of the great Chittagong plain from the banks of the river Nauf. The whole country is well watered, and the great Arracan River forms a medium of great importance in commercial intercourse with Chittagong and Bengal. It is in that direction the chief commercial connection is maintained. Southward to Pegu there are few exports, although a considerable import of teak-timber, which is generally paid for in money. Of late years this has fallen off, the timber of their own well-clad mountains being brought into use by the Arracanese. To Chittagong and Calcutta the exports are valuable, consisting of elephants, elephants' teeth, cattle, goats, minerals, and many other commodities, to be noticed more fitly in a chapter upon the commerce of India. The province is exceedingly fertile, and was extremely rich previous to the depredations committed by the Birmanese, whose conquests were attended by the utter impoverishment of the whole region. Since its annexation by the British it has again assumed a prosperous aspect, and is now rapidly rising to its ancient condition of wealth.

There are many islands scattered along the coast, and it is a peculiarity of them that each appears shaped like some animal. The larger islands are densely inhabited, and import rice



from Bengal in large quantities. The commerce of the region, and especially of the great Arracan River, is greatly impeded by exposure to the south-west monsoon. The inhabitants are very expert in boat navigation, but are indisposed to build or use large vessels, such as the increasing commerce of their coasts requires. Their love of aquatic pursuits, and of maritime life, is extreme—much more so than is the case with their northern neighbours of Chittagong, but scarcely so much so as with their southern rivals of Pegu. They are a well-formed, hardy race, tenacious of purpose, robust in mind as well as body, and cherish an extraordinary antipathy to the Birmese, whereas to the British they are partial. Hindoos, of both the Brahminical and Mohammedan religions, have settled in great numbers along the sea-board. The Arracanese themselves are Buddhists. To Europeans the people of this region are better known by the name of Mhugs. Their fierce resentments against the Birmese, their raids into the Chittagong district, and the troubles with Birmah in which they involved us, created in the earlier part of this century an unwarrantable prejudice against them, which has not entirely worn away. Their language is purer than that of Birmah, and its roots are monosyllabic, like the spoken language of China. Schools are common, such as in the chapter on religion and literature were described as abounding in the Pegu and Tenasserim provinces. The exertions of the European missionary societies along the Arracan valley have been great and successful. It is not so difficult to gain access to females for purposes of instruction as in the Indian peninsula, and female children are allowed to go to the mission schools. Considering its geographical situation, climate, capacity for commerce of its great navigable river, natural productions, the energy of the inhabitants, and their willingness to receive instruction, it may be with reason predicted that the province will become one of the most valuable countries in our Indian empire.

The town of Arracan, called by the natives Rakkong, is situated on the banks of the river Arracan, some considerable distance from its mouth, in latitude  $29^{\circ} 40'$  north, and longitude  $93^{\circ} 5'$  east. The Birmans made a boat expedition up the river in 1783, and easily captured it, plundering private and public property. Among other booty, they bore away a great brazen image of "Gaudma" (the Gotama Buddha of the Hindoos). This image was supposed to be an exact likeness of the great founder of their religion. There were also five colossal images of demons in

brass, which surrounded that of Gaudma. Saint and demons were alike carried captive by the Birmans, and brought to their capital with wild demonstrations of joy and triumph. Previously Buddhists from every land were accustomed to repair to Arracan to do honour to those brazen images. A piece of cannon of enormous size, consisting of iron bars beaten into form, was also taken off by the Birmans.

PEGU is another non-regulation province of the Bengal government on the same coast, stretching from the boundaries of Arracan on the north, to those of Siam on the south. The aborigines call themselves Mon: by the Birmese and Chinese they are called Talleing. The name Pegu is a corruption of Bagoo, the common name given by the people to their old capital. North-east of Pegu the Birman territory ranges partly parallel, and partly at right angles, with the sea. To the east is the territory of Siam, and also to the south. The best parts of the province lie along the shores of the mouths of two great rivers—the Irrawaddy and Thaulayn.

Agriculture being in its infancy, much land is unreclaimed which is admirably adapted to the products of the climate. Dense thickets skirt the banks of the rivers, which abound with game, and beautiful peafowl especially. Tigers also prowl there, similar in species to the celebrated tiger of Bengal. Except where thickets are allowed to grow close by the marshy land of the rivers, the country is clear for a hundred miles inland from the sea, and is exceedingly prolific in rice, sugarcane, and various other products necessary to the people, or profitable for commerce. Like Arracan, it is a province in which horses are very scarce, and elephants abound. These descend in troops from the higher land, trampling down the rice and cane-fields, inflicting vast mischief, independent of what they devour. The inhabitants, however, prize the elephant exceedingly, and even regard it with superstitious veneration. The agriculture and commerce of Pegu have improved much since it fell into the possession of the English.

The people were once famous in the East, having conquered the greater portion of the peninsula from the confines of Thibet to their own proper boundaries. Unfortunately for themselves, they courted the alliance of the Portuguese, Dutch, and French by turns, exciting thereby the jealousy of the more powerful rival of those European powers—England. The consequence was, that the Birmese, encouraged and aided by the British, revolted against their Peguan masters, and subjected them in turn. The country being everywhere intersected by rivers, the English found it



subsequently a useful base of operations against the Birman empire.

The religion is Buddhist, and, like all other Buddhist communities, the people profess to be atheistical materialists, and worship Goutama, or, as they call him, Gaudma, himself. They allow to woman far more importance in the social scale than the Hindoos and Mohammedans of the neighbouring peninsula, or than their eastern co-religionists, the Chinese, but not more so than the Birmans. The editor of an Indian journal says of them—"Perhaps their most remarkable departure from oriental customs is the social position in which they have placed their women. Although generally without even the education afforded by the *kioungs*, or village schools, the mothers and wives of these countries occupy a prominent position in society, and take a share in the daily business of life rarely to be met with eastward of the Cape." The same writer does them justice when he describes their general character in these terms:—"In their manners and general habits the Peguans and Talains of the Tenasserim and neighbouring provinces are decidedly superior to the Hindoo, though perhaps less industriously disposed. In all that relates to education, in their freedom from the ban of caste and the slavery of baneful superstition, in the superiority of their social system, these people form a remarkable exception to the state of debasement in which most of the Asiatic nations are plunged."

The Peguans appear to have been civilised at an earlier period and in a higher degree than any nation of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. At all events, as compared with the Birmans, their advancement in the arts of life and in civilisation of feeling, as well as circumstance, was much earlier, and more complete. They seem, like the Mhugs of Arracan, to have been always partial to navigation. The immense river-surface of their country, as well as the extended sea-board, conduce to this. A recent historian says of them what appears to have been true ever since they were known to Europeans:—"A Birman or Peguan will never journey by land so long as he can go by water; and so addicted are they from their earliest infancy to boat travelling, that the canoe enters into almost all their arrangements. Their cattle are fed out of canocs; their children sleep in them; their vessels of domestic use are canoe-shaped; they travel by land in canoe-shaped carriages; and it may be almost said that their earliest and their latest moments are passed in canoes." The admirable teak timber, produced in such great abundance in the province, enables the people to make more progress in shipbuilding

than other nations on that or the neighbouring peninsula. The Arabs of Muscat, who were a maritime people in their prosperity and power, repaired to the coasts of Pegu to build their ships of war, some of which were of considerable size. The commerce now carried on between Bengal and Pegu in teak for ship-building is very considerable. Like the neighbouring division of Arracan, Pegu is wonderfully productive, and promises to be one of the most valuable territories under the British Indian government. While under the dominion of Birmah, no brick buildings were allowed to be reared, except for the use of the government, or for the worship of Buddha. The efforts of Christian missionaries, especially from the United States of America, for the propagation of the gospel and the education of the people, especially the rising female generation, have been crowned with success.\* The language of Pegu is called Mon; it is a very ancient language. The Birmese and Siamese deny that it has any affinity to theirs. Its roots are monosyllabic. The British have found northern Pegu a more healthy climate than any other part of that peninsula. During our conflicts with Birmah, troops that had sickened in the neighbourhood of Rangoon rapidly recovered their health when stationed at Prome, and on other portions of the Peguan coast.

Pegu is the modern capital; Prome is alleged to have been the ancient metropolis. The town of Pegu is situated in latitude  $17^{\circ} 40'$  north, and longitude  $96^{\circ} 12'$  east. It is less than a hundred miles above Rangoon, which was until lately the commercial capital of Birmah. It was at a former period a place of considerable extent. About a century ago the Birmans sacked it, razing every dwelling-house, and carrying away captive its whole population. The public buildings were all destroyed, except the temples, which the conquerors respected. They did not, however, keep them in repair, and the buildings gradually fell to ruins. The pyramid of Shoemadoo was an exception to this. The measurement of this pile is one hundred and sixty-two feet at each side of the base. "The great breadth diminishes abruptly in the shape of a speaking-trumpet. The elevation of the building is three hundred and sixty-one feet. On the top is an iron *tee*, or umbrella, fifty-six feet in circumference, which is gilt. The conqueror intended to gild the whole building, but did not execute his purpose. On the north side of the building are three large bells of good workmanship, suspended near the ground, to announce to the spirit of Gaudma the approach

\* See Chapter on Religion, Literature, &c.



of a suppliant, who places his offering, consisting of boiled rice, a plate of sweetmeats, or a cocoa-nut fried in oil, on a bench near the foot of the temple. After it is offered, the devotee seems indifferent what becomes of it, and it is often devoured before his face by crows or dogs, which he never attempts to disturb. Numberless images of Gaudma lie scattered about.\* The way in which the vast number of scattered images is accounted for by the writer from whom the foregoing account is taken is very singular, and probably unparalleled in the East or anywhere else. It is substantially as follows:—A devotee purchases an idol; he then procures its consecration by the monks, and leaves it in one of the monasteries at hand, or places it on the open ground, where he leaves it, as regardless of what may happen to it as another worshipper is of the viands which he places there. These images are sometimes valuable, composed of marble which takes a fine polish; sometimes of bone or ivory, and of silver, but never of gold. The monks affirm that the building was begun two thousand three hundred years ago; that it required many generations to complete it, and was a task handed down by successive monarchs to those who inherited their power. There is but little to interest the traveller or the politician at the city of Pegu, except its religious remains.

TENESSERIM is the last of the non-regulation provinces of the Bengal government upon this coast. It lies along the sea-shore, between the southern extremity of Pegu and the isthmus of Krow. It is, therefore, bounded by Pegu, the sea, and the country of Siam. There are not many respects in which it differs from Pegu, either in the character of its people or productions. The climate is warmer, and more moist, although the river-

surface is not so great as it is in Pegu or Arracan. The country about Martaban is so similar to that of Pegu, as to come under the descriptions applicable to it. The resources of the narrow strip of country which continues the British possessions from Pegu to the isthmus of Krow are various, and capable of great development. The people possess some of the Siamese characteristics, and the language also. Schools and ministerial instruction are provided extensively by the American board of missions; and the labours of those devout and zealous men, especially in the education of female youth, have been attended with triumphant success.\* “The animals of the Tenasserim province differ in few particulars from those of Hindoostan proper. Elephants, tigers, bears, and panthers abound, while species of the rhinoceros, the hare, the rabbit, the porcupine, are also to be met with in considerable numbers. The most interesting and valuable of all the animals of this region is a hardy and swift-footed pony, highly esteemed throughout all parts of India, especially for mountain journeys, where, from their being so sure-footed, they are invaluable. The sheep and goat are rarely met with here, but buffaloes, oxen, and several varieties of the deer are plentiful.”

The non-regulation provinces of the Bengal government have received in this chapter as full a notice as our space will allow. It would require a book of larger extent than this History to give so minute a description of these fine regions as might be desirable and useful. The detail here given is, however, sufficiently minute to unfold to the reader the great resources of the noble lands comprehended within the regulation and non-regulation provinces of Bengal and the Agra governments.

## CHAPTER VI.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DECCAN—PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS—COLLECTORATES AND CITIES.

BEFORE entering into any particular description of Madras, it is necessary to notice one of the great natural divisions of India, called the DECCAN. A portion of it only belongs to Madras; a much larger section of it to Bombay; a very small amount of its territory in the province of Orissa, as already shown, is comprised in Bengal. The largest area of the Deccan is under the control of native princes. By here noticing it as a *natural*

\* Symes.

division of India, facilities will be afforded in describing the presidencies of Madras and Bombay.

The country south of the Vindaya Mountains receives the designation of “the Deccan.”† A portion of this great division of the peninsula is called Southern India, which comprises the whole country south of the Kistna River. The late editor of the *Ceylon*

\* See Chapter on Religions, Literature, &c.

† For relative geographical situation see pp. 5, 6.



*Examiner* thus characterises the Deccan :—  
 “The distinguishing feature of the Deccan consists of the lofty ranges of mountains which skirt it on every side; they are named the Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western Ghauts. The latter skirt the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, at distances varying from one hundred to ten miles, those on the eastern coast being the most remote. Their altitude varies from eight thousand feet downwards. On the southern extremity of the Western Ghauts are the Nilgherry Mountains, stretching eastward, and famed throughout Southern India for their fine climate and fertile tracts of table-land. On this range have been established the sanitary stations of Ootacamund and Dimhutti, where Europeans enjoy the bracing temperature of alpine lands within a few days’ journey of Madras. At the northern extremity of the western range, immediately opposite Bombay, are the Mahabalipoora Mountains, rising to a height of five thousand and thirty-six feet, on which the sanatorium of Mahabeleshwar has been established for the benefit of that presidency. The Allygherry Mountains are an offshoot of the Southern Ghauts. In that portion of the Deccan known as Southern India are several independent states. The King of Travancore and the Rajah of Cochin are both allies of the Honourable East India Company, and offer every facility for the prosecution of commercial enterprise in their territories. The Deccan proper comprises all that portion of the peninsula which lies between the valley of the Nerbuddah on the north, and the deep pass known as the Gap of Coimbatore, running from east to west at about 11° north latitude.”

A considerable portion of the Deccan proper is under the control of native chiefs or rajahs, protected by the company.

The British possessions in the Deccan, united to all the presidencies, do not comprise at the utmost more than forty-five thousand square miles.

The table-land, which comprises the whole natural division of the Deccan, is fertile. The mountains are generally bare and barren, “except where their spurs form broken valleys, which are covered with extensive forests.”

The people who inhabit the whole region bearing the general name of “the Deccan” are chiefly Hindoos, especially those who inhabit the provinces formerly under the Marhatta chiefs. There is a considerable Mohammedan population, especially in the nizam’s country; but those of them who are cultivators of the soil have assumed the manners

and customs of the Hindoos, so as scarcely to be distinguished from them.

The principal modern sub-divisions of the Deccan proper are the following :—

Gundwana.	Beeder.
Orissa.	Hyderabad.
The Northern Circars.	Aurungabad.
Candeish.	Bejapore.
Berar.	

The province of GUNDWANA extends from the eighteenth to the twenty-fifth degree of north latitude. On the north it is bounded by Allahabad and Bahar; on the south, by Berar, Hyderabad, and Orissa; on the east it has Bahar and Orissa; and to the west, Allahabad, Malwah, Candeish, Berar, and Hyderabad. It is about four hundred miles in length, and less than three hundred in breadth. This is the measurement of Gundwana in its most extensive signification, but Gundwana proper is of much smaller extent. Much of the country is wild, and covered with jungle, ruled by petty chiefs, who render imperfect allegiance either to the superior princes or the East India Company, to whom many of them pay a nominal tribute. The region is ill-watered, none of the few rivers that flow through it being navigable within its limits. Its mountains contain the sources of the Nerbuddah and the Sone. Some portions of these hill regions are wilderness, and the inhabitants sunk in the lowest degrees of degradation. No one seems to have thought of them as objects of commiseration or interest in any way except the missionaries, some of whom, from the Church Missionary Society, have gone amongst them, and called the attention of government to their debased condition. Those portions of the province which are at all fertile, or where any form of civilisation has prevailed, have been the scenes for many ages of the most sanguinary conflicts, their history being made up of intrigues of chief against chief, desperate raids from one principality to another, social oppression, and filthy and abominable idolatry. Hardly a page of human history could be darker than that upon which should be recorded the story of these principalities.

The province of ORISSA extends from the eighteenth to the twenty-third degree of north latitude. To the north it is bounded by Bengal; to the south, by the river Godavery; on the east it has the Bay of Bengal; and on the west, the province of Gundwana. Its extent is about four hundred miles, from north-east to south-west, by seventy, the average breadth. About half the province is now British territory, and attached to Bengal, as shown in a previous chapter; the other portion is possessed by tributary zemindars. The



British division lies along the Bay of Bengal; it is fertile and low, but thinly peopled, and celebrated for the temple of Juggernaut, of which an account was given when treating of Bengal. The native division is a territory of hill, rock, forest, and jungle—a wild region, but yields more grain than its scanty population consumes, which is borne down to Bengal.

The NORTHERN CIRCARS extend along the Bay of Bengal from the fifteenth to the twentieth degree of north latitude. They have a coast-line of four hundred and seventy miles, from Mootapilly, their northern extremity, to Malwal, on the borders of the Chilka Lake. They are separated from Hyderabad by low detached hills, which extend to the Godavery; and, north of that stream, from Gundwana, by a range of higher hills. "From hence the chain of hills curves to the eastward, and, with the Chilka Lake, forms a barrier of fifty miles to the north, except a tongue of land between that lake and the sea. Towards the south, the small river Gundegama, which empties itself at Mootapilly, separates the Circars from Oragole and the Carnatic, below the ghauts." The climate of this region is intolerably hot. At the mouth of the Kistna River the glass rises to  $110^{\circ}$ , remaining for six or eight days at that elevation; and it is related that the heat has been at  $112^{\circ}$  two hours after sunset. Neither wood nor glass bears this heat—the one warps, and the other flies or cracks. The higher parts of the country are infested by pestilential vapours, and no European can resist them without the imminent risk of "the hill fever," which also carries off great numbers of the natives. The Circars are very productive of grain, and were formerly the granaries of the Carnatic. Bay-salt and tobacco, both of superior quality, are exported largely. The forests produce excellent teak-trees, rivalling those of Pegu. A considerable commeree is carried on with the city of Madras and with the island of Ceylon. The population are chiefly Hindoos, but there is a sprinkling of Mohammedans among them. Vizagapatam is a district of the Circars, and is classed for governmental purposes as one of the non-regulation provinces of the Madras presidency. Masulipatam, one of the regulation provinces of Madras, is included in the Circars; also Guntore.

CANDEISH is a province of the Deccan attached to the Bombay government. It is one of the original Mahratta provinces, a large portion of it having been, with the adjoining province of Malwah, divided between Holkar, Scindiah, and the Peishwa. The whole country is excessively wild, and inhabited by an insubordinate people: it is one of the least

prosperous districts of India under regular government.

BERAR is a province of the Deccan between the nineteenth and twenty-first degree of north latitude, bounded on the north by Candesh and Malwah, on the south by Aurungabad and Beeder, on the east by Gundwana, and on the west by Candesh and Aurungabad. The soil is that called the black cotton soil, and is here, as elsewhere, very prolific. Corn, peas, beans, vetches, flax, &c., are grown in abundance. The Nagpore wheat used to be considered the best in India. Under the government of "the nizam," the country was much oppressed and impoverished, and its population remained far beneath what it was calculated to support. The whole region suffered from the most appalling famines, partly from natural causes, but chiefly through misgovernment.

BEEDER is a province of the Deccan, well known as a portion of the nizam's dominions, which shared the general fate of misgovernment.

The province of HYDERABAD is situated between the tenth and the nineteenth degrees of north latitude: it measures two hundred and eighty miles by one hundred and ten. It is a productive country, well watered, and yielding fine wheat. Its rivers are not navigable, and this circumstance checks the production of many commodities suitable for export. The people of influence are chiefly Mohammedans. The capital is devoid of interest, although relatively a place of some importance.

AURUNGABAD is a province lying between the eighteenth and twenty-first degrees of north latitude, bounded on the north by Gujerat, Candesh, and Berar; on the south by Bejapore and Beeder; on the east by Berar and Hyderabad; and on the west by the Indian Ocean. This province is also known by the name of Ahmednuggur, and is one of the regulation provinces of the Bombay presidency, within which the Bombay capital is situated. It will be more particularly noticed under the head of that presidency.

BEJAPORE lies to the south of the province previously named. There is nothing to distinguish it from other provinces of the Deccan that requires a general description in this place. Sattara, now a non-regulation province of the Bombay presidency, lies within this province. The deposition of the Rajah of Sattara made much noise in England, in consequence of the eloquent advocacy of his interests by George Thompson, Esq.

The forenamed territories belong to the Deccan proper. The other portions of the country to which the general name is applied



are comprehended in the natural division which many geographers adopt—Southern India, or India south of the Kistna River. The purposes for which a general view of the Deccan was introduced being answered, it is unnecessary to give a description of the provinces lying in this portion of the peninsula, except under their proper presidential arrangement.

The presidency of Madras comprehends a large portion of Southern India. It is under the jurisdiction of the governor and council of Madras. It extends along the east coast to the confines of Bengal, and along the south-west coast to the limits of Bombay.

The following lists will show the military stations occupied by the Madras army, the collectorates into which, for purposes of government and revenue, it is divided, and the zillahs (local divisions):—

MILITARY STATIONS.

Arcot.	Nagpore, or Kamptee.
Arnee.	Noagaum.
Bellary.	Ootacamund.
Bangalore.	Palaverem.
Berhampore.	Pallamcottah.
Cannanore.	Paulgautcherry.
Cicacole.	Poonamalce.
Cuddapah.	Quilon.
Dindigul.	Russell Koonda.
Ellore.	Samulcottah.
French Rocks, or Yellore.	St. Thomas's Mount.
Hurryhurr.	Secunderabad.
Jaulnah.	Trichinopoly.
Madras, or Fort St. George.	Vizagapatam.
Moulmeyn (Birmiah).	Vizanagram.
Mangalore.	Vellore.
Masulipatam.	Wallajabad.
Muddakayray.	

COLLECTORATES.\*

Arcot,	{ North, C., S.C.	Malabar, C., S.C.
	{ South, C., S.C.	Masulipatam, C.
Bellary, C., S.C.		Nellore and { C., S.C.
Cuddapah, C., S.C.		Ongole, {
Chingleput, C.		Rajahmundry, C.
Coimbatore, C., S.C.		Salem, C., S.C.
Canara, C., 2 S.Cs.		Tanjore, C., S.C.
Gangam, C., S.C.		Tinnivelly, C., S.C.
Guntore, C.		Trichinopoly, C.
Madras, 4 Cs.		Vizagapatam, C., S.C.
Madura, C., S.C.		

ZILLAHS.

NORTH DIVISION.		WEST DIVISION.	
Cicacole, J., R.	}	Calient, 2 Js., R.	
Nellore, J., R.		Canara.	
Rajahmundry, J., R.		Mangalore, 3 Js., R.	
CENTRE DIVISION.		SOUTH DIVISION.	
Bellary, J., R.	}	Combacorum, J., R.	
Chingleput, 2 Js., R.		Madura, 2 Js., R.	
Chittore, J., R.		Salem, 3 Js., R.	
Cuddapah, 2 Js., R.			

\* C. denotes collector; D.C. deputy-collector; S.C. sub collector; J. judge; R. recorder.

The territories of Madras, regarded generally, are a rich and valuable department of the British dominions; but the provinces comprised in this division are not so prolific as those of the Gangetic valley. It is a region which severely tries European constitutions, at some periods of the year especially. A gentleman, well acquainted with all the presidencies, thus describes its climate:—"The Madras seasons and temperature differ from those of the other presidencies. January and February are the coldest months of the year: the thermometer ranges between 75° and 78°. Rain falls in slight showers continually, leaving a deposit of fractions of an inch. From March to June the range is between 76° and 87°. In July the rains commence, and the thermometer then falls to 84°. It retains that position, with very little deviation, through August, and about four inches of rain fall. In September the thermometer falls to 83°, and the rain increases. In October the clouds begin to assume a more dense appearance than heretofore; the thermometer declines to an average of 81°, and the rainy season fairly commences, just as it has terminated at the other presidencies. During November the rains fall very heavily, not less than fourteen inches being deposited. The thermometer falls to 75° in December, and the rains abate. Of course every scheme that human ingenuity can devise to mitigate the discomfort of heat is resorted to. The punkah is continually kept swinging over the head of the European; the window-blinds of the houses are closed to exclude as much light as may be consistent with convenience; matting of fragrant grass is placed at doors and windows, and continually watered; and every possible attention is paid by the prudent to clothing and to diet. From November to March woollen clothes may be worn with advantage: during the rest of the year everybody is clad in white cotton. No one ventures into the sun without parasols of a broad and shady form, or in palankeens roofed with tuskas. Nevertheless, the European constitution is exposed to the attacks of many diseases. Fevers, dysentery, affections of the liver, cholera morbus, and rheumatism, are common; and there are numerous minor disorders, the effect of climate acting upon a slight or an excessively robust system, which few can escape. These latter consist of a troublesome cutaneous eruption, called prickly heat, boils, and ulcers. Boils grow to a large size, are excessively painful and disturbing, and the lancet is often necessary to the relief of the patient. Constipation is also a common complaint, needing exercise and stimulating medicines."



A very large region of the Madras territory is called the CARNATIC, containing the districts of Nellore and Ougode, North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Dindigul and Madura, and Tinnivelly. The Carnatic was an ancient Hindoo geographical division, which comprised the high table-land of Southern India situated above the Ghauts. By degrees the name became applied to the lower country extending to the sea-coast, and ultimately became confined to the country below the Ghauts, known now as the Carnatic and Canara. In remote periods of the history of India, the greater part of the south of India was comprehended in a powerful empire bearing the name of the "Kamata." The common Canara, or Kamataca, character and language are used by the people in all that region from Coimbatore north to Balky near Beeder, and between the eastern and western Ghauts across the peninsula. The Zelinga Mahratta and Kamataca (or Camataca) are all used in the neighbourhood of Beeder.

The province of CANARA is a collectorate under the modern arrangements of the Madras government. It extends from the twelfth to the fifteenth degree of north latitude, and is bounded to the north by Goa and the district of Gunduck, in Bejapore, on the south by the Malabar, on the south-east by Mysore and Balaghaut, and on the west by the sea. This region is not known to the natives by the name we give it, nor did it at any past period in Indian history obtain that name. Geographically, it is divided into north and south. The Western Ghauts approach the sea in several places, and in others rocky prominences branch off from the ghauts seaward. This configuration of country sometimes gives an impression of wildness, and sometimes of grandeur. It causes great ruggedness of surface, impeding in many directions the transport of articles of commerce, which circumstance compels the extensive use of manual labour, the peasantry carrying very heavy burdens upon their heads. Where tolerable roads exist, they are inferior to those in Malabar. The government does not appear to be blameworthy in this matter, as the peasantry use the water-courses for purposes of trade; the government would alone be benefited by good military roads. Villages are not numerous in Canara. The people, as in Malabar, live in their own homesteads, on the ground they cultivate; their abodes are humble, often wretched, but generally shaded by trees, in consequence of the intense heat, so that the miserable character of the habitations is concealed in great measure from the eye of the traveller. The

people are, however, more comfortable in circumstances than their dwellings would indicate, being generally proprietors of the land they till, and this seems to have been the case from very remote periods. This is a very different condition of things from what generally exists in India, where the land belongs to villages or communities; in Canara, as in England, it is the property of the individual. There are, however, tenants-at-will and lessees, and sometimes suits-at-law and bitter personal feuds arise out of the processes of letting and sub-letting, similar to what so extensively prevail in Ireland. None of the raw materials necessary for manufactures are produced in any considerable quantities throughout this province. Its staple commodity is rice; the ample rains and warm sun cause immense crops; and Canara is a great mart for rice grain to Arabia, Bombay, Goa, and Malabar. North Canara produces sandal-wood, sugar-cane, teak, cinnamon, nutmegs, pepper, and terra japonica. South Canara produces cocoa-nut, the calophyllum mophyllum, from the seed of which the common lamp-oil is pressed out, terra japonica, and teak. In this section of the province oxen and buffaloes are valuable. Generally it is rocky, and covered with low woods. The people of the interior of the province belong to a caste bearing the local designation of Buntar. The sea-coast is studded with villages of Brahmins. "Between Tellecheny and Onore there are five different nations, who, although mixed together from time immemorial, still preserve their distinct languages, character, and national spirit. These are the Nairs, the Coorga, the Tulavas, the Concanies, and the Canarese."\* The proportion of the different religions has been thus estimated:—The Jains and Buddhists are few, the latter especially; the native Christians are in considerable numbers—one-fifth of the Mohammedan population, which is about one third of the Brahminical. The Brahmins of Canara are more tolerant to the Mohammedans than the latter are to them, or to any other sect; but both Brahmin and Mohammedan are intensely bigoted and superstitious—all honour, truth, and principle, seem to be expelled from the hearts of the people by their bigotry. The following is a curious exemplification of the way in which they sacrifice truth in matters of fact to their prejudices:—"A Brahmin of Canara, who had written a narrative of the capture of Seringapatam by General Harris, although he knew it happened on a Saturday, yet, because Saturday is an unlucky day, altered the date to Monday in his history."† He was un-

\* DuBois.

† Buchanan.



willing to let it appear that any prosperous event could happen on a day pronounced by Brahminical superstition to be unlucky, and, to save Brahminical credit, falsified the chronology. This circumstance shows how difficult it is to rely on the truth or accuracy of native historians, or, indeed, of native witnesses to anything.

The town of Carwar, about fifty-six miles south-east from Goa, is one of the most considerable in the province. Having early been the seat of an English factory, its trade was stimulated. The Jains were formerly possessors of the land, and under their more sensible judgment of temporal affairs the neighbourhood flourished; but they were extirpated, or nearly so, by the Brahmins, who resorted to assassination, as well as open attack, to rid the country of the hated sectaries.

The isle of Angediva (Andgadwipa) is about two miles from the coast; it is only a mile in circumference.

Marjsow is in the northern section of the province. Some writers have described it as the ancient Meesiris, "from whence they exported a variety of silk stuffs, rich perfumes, tortoiseshells, different kinds of transparent gems, especially diamonds, and large quantities of pepper."\* Pepper is still abundant in that neighbourhood; all the precious articles have disappeared from its productions and its commerce, if ever they pertained to either, which is very questionable. Dr. Robertson's statements of this kind are frequently conjectures, having little basis in probability.

The seaport of Onore is a place of some little traffic; it was once an *entrepôt* of commerce.

Along the sea coast, from Cavai to Urigara, South Canara,† a sept of Mohammedans, called Moplahs, reside, the interior being inhabited by the Nairs. The Nairs belong properly to no caste, although generally spoken of as a distinct class, and are heathens, involved in utter darkness as to all religions. The Moplahs believe it a work of great merit in the eyes of the Prophet to catch a Nair, and circumcise him by violence, if he will not become a proselyte to Mohammed by persuasion. The persecutions of the Moplahs were not confined to the timid and unresisting Nairs; Brahmins, Jains, and native Christians, endured the most brutal injuries at their hands. Their sanguinary propensities were carried out against Europeans also. This fanatical sept seems to exist under different names in different parts of India. At Malabar a sect of Mohammedans sprang up, known in Europe

as Wahabees, and such as in Bengal is professed by the Ferazees of Dacca, Baraset, and Furreedpore. These men, forming themselves into a secret society, with branches, went out singly or in bands, murdered rich and peaceable Hindoos and others *on religious grounds*; they then not unfrequently retired into some temple, and resisted the authorities until captured or slain, always selling their lives as dearly as they could, that as many as possible of the infidels might perish with them. The ordinary laws failed to put a stop to the murders thus perpetrated, and the administrators of the law were delicate of passing constitutional bounds, which would be regarded with jealousy at home; but the evil continued, and even increased, until a measure was enacted called "the law of the suspect." By this enactment all Dacoits and Moplahs under reasonable suspicion are arrested; and if they resist the law their property is confiscated, and they are otherwise dealt with, so as to act upon the superstitions of the people, and detect the crime.

In the south section of Canara the number of females born is much greater than that of males. In Southern India generally there is a similar disparity between the sexes, but it seems to obtain more in South Canara than elsewhere.

In this division, also, in spite of the most malignant persecutions on the part of both Brahmins and Mohammedans, the Jains continue to maintain a considerable footing. They are more numerous here than anywhere else in the peninsula. They have two sorts of temples in South Canara; one is covered with a roof, the other open to the heavens. In the open temples images of colossal size, representing a particular saint, are set up. At Carculla there is a very well formed image thirty-eight feet high, and ten feet in thickness, made from a block of granite; it is upwards of four hundred years old.

Mangalore is a seaport of some prosperity; it is beautifully situated. Ten miles up the river is the town of Arcola, of some celebrity, where a colony of Concan Christians settled at the invitation of the Ikeri rajahs.

Hossobetta is another seaport, but not of so much importance as Mangalore. It is remarkable as the residence of a very respectable class of persons, called Concanies—people descended from the natives of Concan. They fled to this neighbourhood from Goa, where they were persecuted by the Portuguese for their reluctance to embrace the teaching of the Jesuits, they professing an ancient type of oriental Christianity.

MALABAR, although not the most extensive collectorate of the Madras presidency, is the

\* Dr. Robertson.

† Southern Canara is also called Tulava.



most populous. It extends along the western coast from Cape Comorin to the river Chandragiri, about two hundred miles. Under the direction of the East India Company, Lieutenant Selby, of the Indian navy, surveyed the Malabar coast, 1849–51. He represents the navigation of the coast as dangerous, currents and hidden reefs exposing to constant peril, while frequent storms render this danger more formidable. Writing of the Byramgore reef, called Cheriapiri by the natives, and the Laccadive Islands, he says:—

“The Laccadive islanders frequent these reefs to fish, which they catch in great quantities, and, with the cocua-nut, is their staple and almost only article of food.

“Chitlac—the northern island of the Laccadive group, south end in latitude  $11^{\circ} 41'$  north, and longitude  $72^{\circ} 42' 30''$  east—is a low sandy island, covered with cocoa-nut trees, a mile and a half long, and nearly half a mile broad, and may be seen from a vessel's deck ten miles. On the eastern side it is very steep too, there being no soundings two hundred yards off shore, but is surrounded on the western side with a barrier reef, off which a bank of soundings extends in places to a distance of nearly half a mile, gradually increasing from the edge of the reef to fifteen and twenty fathoms on edge of bank of soundings. Between the reef and island is a lagoon, into which, through a natural channel in the reef, their boats are taken, and where they are completely sheltered. The bottom, a fine sand, with coral patches. The best anchorage is off the south end of the island, in from seven to nine fathoms—coral rock about four hundred yards off shore. The rise and fall of tide we found to be seven feet high-water, full and change, at about ten hours. Chitlac contains a population of about five hundred inhabitants of the Moplah caste. Like all the inhabitants of this group, they are a very poor but inoffensive people, living entirely upon fish and cocoa-nut, the only produce of these islands, with a little rice, which they procure from the coast. They export to the Malabar coast large quantities of raw coir and coir-yarn. This is received from them by the collectors at Cannanore and Mangalore at a fixed rate. It is of a most excellent quality, and much better than that of Malabar. The rope made by the islanders is, for strength and durability, far superior to that which is produced on the coast. From having had the weight of the gale at north, this island must have been on the western extreme of the hurricane, which passed up the Malabar coast in April, 1847. It has, therefore, suffered comparatively little, when the ravages committed at Undewo, and

others of the islands lying more to the eastward, are remembered. It lost only about six hundred trees, but this, on an island which counts about three thousand five hundred altogether, was seriously felt, and the inhabitants gratefully remember the assistance rendered them by government at a time when, from the loss of some of their boats, they were in great distress. Water and supplies may be procured here in small quantities, and at a very cheap rate; and we invariably found the natives most civil and obliging.

“Kiltan Island, south end in latitude  $11^{\circ} 27' 30''$  north, and longitude  $72^{\circ} 59' 40''$  east, bears from Chitlac south-east  $\frac{1}{2}$  east twenty miles. It is about two miles long by a quarter to half a mile broad, and, like Chitlac, has a barrier reef all round the western side, with good anchorage off both the northern and southern points of the island. Water may be procured here, and, indeed, at all the Laccadive Islands. As, however, it is merely the sea-water filtrated through the coral, it will not keep very long; it may, however, be used with safety, as we filled up both here and at Ameen, and found no ill effects resulting from its use. A few limes may also be obtained. With this exception, it produces nothing but the cocoa-nut; and it is from this island and Chitlac that the best coir is procured, and it would perhaps be worthy the attention of government that, in a late trial made between the rope manufactured at these islands and that from the coast for the naval service, the one from the islands, both in strength and texture, proved very far superior to the other. This island having been nearer by twenty miles to the centre of the hurricane of April, 1847, than Chitlac, has suffered in a much greater degree, and the northern part of the island, where its violence was most felt, has been entirely denuded of trees and vegetation, and on the eastern side, a belt of about one hundred and fifty yards broad,—by the whole length of the island of uprooted trees, and masses of coral rock, thrown up from the steep side of the island,—attests how great must have been the fury of the gale, and violence of the waves. From a measurement which I took of some of these masses, I estimated their weight to be from one to two and a half tons, and many of them are now lying one hundred and fifty yards from the beach, left there by the receding waters. Two thousand trees are said to have been uprooted, and a channel of twenty yards in width, and ten feet deep, now remains to show where, on the gale decreasing, the sea, with which the island had been partially submerged, returned



to its own level. In conclusion, I would only observe that, with respect to the characteristic features of this island, the remarks which I have offered on Chitlac, together with its inhabitants, their mode of life, &c., equally apply here.

"A succession of calms, and much bad weather, during the latter part of the season, prevented our surveying more of these islands than those I have described, but I have no doubt many other dangerous banks not known to us exist."

The Malabar shore is sandy, the plain of sand extending inland about three miles. The low hills which separate the level country from the Western Ghauts are wooded and picturesque, irregularly disposed, and forming, by their groupings, valleys which are fertile and beautiful. The hills themselves are cultivated, the summits being generally level, although the acclivities are steep; but these are productive, and are often cultivated in terraces. The downs near the sea are gracefully sloped, and rich, bearing the coconut tree in perfection. The rivulets which wind around these hills, as they escape from the ghauts, are innumerable, irrigating the whole country, and in such a way as to refresh the atmosphere and conduce to salubrity. The palm-tree flourishes in the uplands. Black pepper is cultivated in large quantities for export. The land is private property, as in Canara, but held generally on more satisfactory terms by the cultivators. The origin of landed property in this province is lost in the obscurity of a remote antiquity. The moral condition of the heathen portion of the people is of the lowest description; among the Nairs, and even amongst natives of higher position, female virtue is almost unknown, and vice is systematised with public sanction and native law.

There are more native Christians in Malabar than in any other part of India: very many of them belong to a primitive oriental church, and consider themselves to be the disciples of St. Thomas the Apostle. There are several sects who make this claim, but those professing the purest creed are fewest in number; they are supposed in the whole of Malabar to be about forty thousand persons. The Nestorian Christians are more numerous. The primitive sects of Christians in the whole province are supposed to be not less in number than a quarter of a million. The efforts of the Roman Catholic missionaries to win over or to force these native Christians into the communion of the Church of Rome were unceasing during the influence of the Portuguese, and many were detached from the simpler worship of their fathers.

The converts of the British Protestant missionaries are considerable in number, and their success, especially in the department of education, is rapidly increasing.

The Malabar villages are picturesque. The Brahmins reside chiefly in these villages: the females of this caste are considered here the most beautiful in India; they are elegant in manner and attire. The animals of this coast, of almost every species, are inferior. The province is well intersected by roads.

Coorg is an ancient Hindoo principality situated in the Western Ghauts, and chiefly attached to the province of Malabar. The Caverry has its source in Coorg. In this region the people, although very uncivilised, are much fairer than those of the lower countries: they are as fair as southern Europeans.

On the Malabar coast there are several ports which are important for their commerce, or interesting historically as identified with various European settlements. Cannanore was formerly a Dutch settlement. Tellecherry, about one hundred and twenty-six miles from Seringapatam, was for a long time the chief settlement of the English on that coast, but it declined when the company transferred its settlement to Mahé (*mahi*, a fish).

CALICUT is a sub-division of the Malabar province, and the chief residence of the Nairs. The word *calico*, a name given to cotton cloth, is derived from this place, formerly so celebrated for its manufacture. The moral condition of this district, like that of others where the Nairs predominate, is truly horrible. So perverted is the moral sense of the people, that it is deemed scandalous for a woman to have children by her own husband, with whom she never resides, always taking up her abode with her brother; her children are the offspring of various fathers. The Brahmins generally claim a numerous progeny. In the town of Calicut, which is the capital of the province, the people are chiefly Moplahs. This was a noted Portuguese settlement.

COCHIN (*coch'hi*, a morass) is a native state in charge of a British resident under the Madras government. Description here is unnecessary.

The collectorates of BELLARY and CUDDAPAH are amongst the most populous, but neither possesses features of such distinctive interest as to require separate notice. The diamond mines of Cuddapah have been worked for several hundred years; they are not very valuable, and the diamonds found are very small. They are always obtained in alluvial soil, or in connection with rocks of the most recent formation.

COIMBATORE is a much less populous col-



lectorate than either of the preceding. It is situated above the Eastern Ghauts, but is very unequal in its surface, which consists of a series of uplands and lowlands in great irregularity, generally contributing to its picturesqueness, although sometimes it is simply wild and rude. There is much waste land, which is quite valueless either to the government or the inhabitants, except that the latter annually let loose cattle upon its scanty herbage. The culture of the cultivated portions vies with that of other districts of India. Large and luxuriant rice fields, watered from immense reservoirs, may be seen in every direction where the land is not too elevated and rocky. There are several good towns in the province, as Coimbatore, Caroor, &c.

SALEM is a collectorate nearly of the same area and population as Coimbatore; its general character presents few features which entitle it to separate notice.

The town and fortress of Ryacotta (Raya Cotay) is well situated, being the key of the Carnatic. The country around is very well cultivated, and the climate mild, the glass seldom rising beyond  $80^{\circ}$ . Cherry, and other English fruit trees that will not bear in the hot climate of southern India, flourish in this particular part.

The town of Sautghur is also well situated, the rocky country around it being picturesque; some of the most splendid trees in southern India spring up from the rugged land. The tamarind and banyan-trees are of great age and size, rendering them objects of interest to botanists. The nabob of the Carnatic had, in the early part of the present century, an immense garden here, which, however, he farmed out to those who were willing to speculate in its produce.

Several large collectorates of the Madras presidency are comprehended in what used to be called the CARNATIC. The northern boundary commences at the southern limit of Guntore, and stretches thence to Cape Comorin—a distance of five hundred miles, the average breadth of the territory being about seventy-five miles. The Northern Carnatic extends from the river Pennar to the river Gundagama on the borders of Guntore. This was once a region over which powerful Indian princes reigned. The Central Carnatic extends from the river Pennar to the Colaroone, containing the collectorate of Trichinopoly, and part of the collectorate of Nellore. It also contains the French settlement of Pondicherry, the presidential capital of Madras, and the collectorate of Arcot. The South Carnatic lies south of the river Colaroone. The British collectorate of Madura, and

Tanjore, and part of Trichinopoly, are comprised in this territory. The climate of the whole area of country comprehended under the European designation, "the Carnatic," is extremely hot—the hottest in India. It is, however, tempered by the sea breezes, and by the diversity of the country.

The Carnatic is studded with heathen temples, which are of large dimensions, with very little diversity of architecture; they are generally surrounded by high walls, as if it were intended to conceal the greater portion of the superstructures. Sometimes several temples exist in these enclosures. The religion is Brahminical, but Mohammedanism exists. The number of native Christians is increasing, and is probably not less than one hundred thousand. The people are inferior in physical qualities to the natives of Upper India. The industrial pursuits of the province are chiefly carried on by Sudras, and formerly slaves were the cultivators. The Brahmins disdain to hold the plough, or engage in any work requiring toil; they are clerks or messengers, assist in collecting the revenue, or are keepers of (*choultries*) wayside pilgrims' houses, or resting-places for travellers. These choultries are generally very filthy, but not too much so for native taste; for in spite of their frequent ablutions, the population is not cleanly in its habits. The people take snuff, but, excepting some of the lower castes, who smoke cigars, tobacco smoking is deemed irreligious, and cigars would deprive the Brahmins of caste. Hindoo customs are retained with great purity, even in the vicinage of the city of Madras. Fowls, which only Mohammedans would eat in Bengal, are in the Carnatic eaten by all castes and religionists. By the lower castes asses are used; and some affirm that their milk is drank, and their flesh eaten, by one particular class, which is regarded as outcast. The white ant is a favourite article of food with them.

Madras, the seat of government of Southern India, is situated in the Carnatic, on the shore of the Bay of Bengal, in latitude  $13^{\circ} 5'$  north, longitude  $80^{\circ} 21'$  east. The shore is here low and dangerous. Its Fort St. George, a place of considerable strength, may be easily defended by a small garrison. The population of Madras and its suburbs in 1836—7 was upwards of four hundred thousand. Madras is eight hundred and seventy miles south-west of Calcutta, and six hundred and fifty south-east of Bombay. The population and extent of this city are supposed to be the greatest in India next to Calcutta, but Benares is alleged by many to have a more numerous population, as well as to cover a



greater area. Madras is certainly the next city to Calcutta in political importance, although not in commercial enterprise or extent of commercial transactions. This deficiency arises from the ineligible site upon which the city stands—probably the most disadvantageous which any sea-board city could well occupy. Travellers and writers upon India are generally lavish in their censures upon the situation, and comparisons unfavourable to the English are drawn in reference to the selection of places for their settlements. The French are more especially commended at the expense of the British in this respect; but at the juncture of the English settlement of Madras there were weighty reasons, even of a commercial nature, which decided their choice.

The landing of passengers at Madras is a matter of considerable difficulty, and attended with some danger. This will be presented more vividly to the reader by the actual observation of modern travellers. One writer, well informed on India, thus describes the mode of landing at Madras, and the inconvenience of the site:—"Landing at Madras is a service of danger. A tremendous surf rolls towards the shore, with so much force at certain seasons of the year, that if the greatest care were not taken by boatmen, their craft must inevitably be swamped. The passage between ships and the shore is effected in large barges, called *Massoolah boats*, rowed by three or four pairs of oars. They have awnings for the purpose of enclosing passengers, who sit deep in the boat. As the boat approaches the land, the boatmen watch the roll of the waves, and, pulling as near to the shore as possible, leap out of the craft, and drag it high and dry before the next breaker can assail it. There is a class of vessel called the *catamaran*, which consists merely of a log or two of wood, across which the boatman, if he may so be called, sits, paddling himself to and fro. If he is capsized, an event which seldom can happen to his primitive vessel, he immediately scrambles on to the catamaran again, and resumes his work. These men, wearing conical caps, are very useful in conveying notes and parcels to passengers when communication by larger boats is impossible."

The commercial correspondent of the *New York Herald* gives the following description of the landing, and his general impressions of the place:—"We anchored in Madras Roads, five days from Calcutta, nearly three of which were passed in getting by the Hoogly, seven hundred and seventy miles. Twenty-four hours at Madras is amply sufficient for the most enthusiastic traveller, unless he is desi-

rous of making excursions to the interior or the other coast. At any rate, the time on shore was all that I required to disgust me with the port. The explorer, the surveyor, or nautical man, or whoever selected the harbour, should have his name painted on a shingle. Is it possible that no better anchorage, no better landing-place, no better port, could be found along the coast? and if not, why was this place chosen? A hundred years and more have passed away since then, and still you have the same facilities. An open roadstead, without the least point of land, or rock, or hill to shelter; no breakwater, no wharf, no pier, no floating-frame, not even a landing-stage. Huge native surf-boats, thirty feet long, and eight feet deep, by as many broad, the timbers bound together with rope and string, without a nail, or bolt, or spike, and manned by eleven naked savages, came alongside to take us ashore—no, I must not say naked, for there is an attempt at costume. You may, perhaps, better understand the difference between the Calcutta and the Madras boatman in that respect, when I mention that the former appears with a small white pocket-handkerchief round about him; the latter contents himself with a twine string. The day was perfectly calm, yet the surf washed over our boat once or twice, and ultimately the black, beggarly natives—I hate the sight of them!—took us on their shoulders to dry land. This is the only contrivance yet introduced for landing or embarking passengers. Our sex can manage it very well, but I pity the women, who have to be carted round like so many bags of clothing. To order a supper at the Clarendon, and a carriage at the stable; to read the latest dates from England, and eat an ice-cream, occupied our time for an hour; and then we started off for a cruise, up one street, and down another; through dirty alleys and clean thoroughfares; visiting the jail, the parade-ground, the place of burning the dead, the railway-station, and the Bentineck monument; stopped a moment to witness the exercises of a Hindoo school; hurried on to the depots, the market-place, and the cathedral; drove some four miles into the country, and returned in time to meet the carriages on their way to the fort, for on Friday evenings the band holds forth. The fort was one of the first built in India. In 1622 the ground was bought of a native prince, and Mr. F. Day claims the honour of erecting the fortress, then named and now known as Fort St. George. Here the French and the English crossed swords so often—both nations alternate masters. At twelve o'clock we fired our guns, and turned our backs upon Madras, a place too barren and cheerless for



even a penal settlement, not to mention it as the residence of a voluntary exile. I would rather be a clerk in England than the head of a department in Madras. Without their semi-monthly mail, life would be insupportable. During the day of our departure we kept the coast in view, but saw nothing but the highlands and sandy plains at their base." This description, as to general appearance, is more accurate than complimentary; it is, however, instructive to mark what the impressions are which intelligent men of other countries receive when they visit our settlements abroad. Perhaps it is especially so where our American cousins are the critics, as there is in their general tone and style great frankness—no wish to flatter us; and if there be some tokens of a desire to find fault, there is at all events a keen acumen, which enables them to discriminate our strong and weak points, and to seize vigorously the peculiarities actually exhibited by our government, commerce, or social life.

The general situation of the town is commanding, occupying the sea-shore. The houses are of white and yellow stucco, with verandahs and Venetian blinds. The sea-shell mortar of Madras makes an efficient and beautiful fronting, but is too dazzling in the vivid light of such a climate. This, taken in connection with the absence of shade, gives a glare to the appearance of the place most oppressive to the eye. The neighbourhood for a considerable distance is studded with tasteful private residences, which are built low, but of a pleasing and appropriate style of architecture. They are situated in what are called *compounds*, surrounded by pleasant gardens, and altogether picturesque and agreeable. Some of these dwellings are delightful, being overshadowed with luxuriant foliage, and surrounded by gardens producing every luxury of the tropics.

The neighbourhood is well supplied with roads. One of these is very spacious and handsome; it is called the Mount Road, because leading to St. Thomas's Mount.

The most striking building is Fort St. George; although less spacious and imposing, as well as less important, than Fort William at Calcutta, it is more convenient, more easily garrisoned, and, on the whole, more efficient for its purposes.

The government house is large, handsome, and impressive, with a great banqueting house attached, in which superb entertainments are frequently given by the governor. The gardens of the nabob formerly intercepted the view of the sea, and otherwise incommoded the site, but this inconvenience has been meliorated.

The Madras club-house is commonly regarded as the best building in the city. "It is a very extensive building, designed for the accommodation of a great number of persons, under admirable regulations, and at a moderate expense. It has entirely superseded the necessity for hotels; such as are to be found here are small, and miserably furnished and attended. A statue to Sir Thomas Munro, formerly governor of Madras, and two statues in honour of the Marquis Cornwallis, attract the attention of visitors; and those who are destined to remain at Madras soon become interested in the great number of useful and charitable institutions with which the town abounds. Among these are the Madras College, the Medical College (which contains one hundred and twenty pupils), the Orphan Asylum, the Mission, Charity, and Free Schools, the Philanthropic and Temperance Associations, the Masonic Lodges, the Moneygar Choultry (a species of *serai*), the private seminaries, the institutions for the education of native females, &c. The churches are numerous at Madras; several excellent newspapers are published; and there are large establishments or shops, where everything that humanity, in its most civilised state, can require is to be had for the money. The prices at which the productions of Europe are sold are by no means high, considering the expense of carriage to India, warehousing, insurance, establishment, the interest of money, &c. Very large fortunes are made in trade in Madras; and it is remarkable that, while Calcutta has experienced a great many vicissitudes, some of which have scattered ruin and desolation throughout society, the Madras houses of business, by a steadier system, have remained unscathed."\*

The representations made in the foregoing extract as to the cheapness of the place are not generally borne out by other travellers. Calcutta is a better market both as to variety of supply and the quality and price of commodities. This may partly arise from the commercial competition which is so fiercely maintained in the great Indian metropolis, but it is partly to be attributed to superior local advantages. Fuel is much more plentiful in the capital of Bengal than in that of Southern India. Except for cooking or for steam, it is but little required in either place—less at Madras than Calcutta.

The Black Town stands to the north of the fort, from which it is separated by a spacious esplanade. It is less wretched than the native portion of Calcutta.

Rather more than five miles on the road leading from Fort St. George to St.

\* Captain Stocqueler.



Thomas's Mount, there is a cenotaph, erected to the memory of the celebrated nobleman, the Marquis Cornwallis. The drive to that place is very agreeable, the road being "smooth as a bowling green," and planted on either side with white tulip-trees and the luxuriant banyan. It is customary for the fashionable portion of Madras society to drive out to the cenotaph and around it in the cool of the evening, and much social intercourse takes place on those occasions. Mid-day is too hot for persons to appear out of doors, except as necessity may dictate, and the forenoon is much occupied in visits from house to house.

The country around Madras, although not devoid of a certain picturesque effect, is sterile and uninviting. Good rice crops are obtained when the season is blessed with abundance of rain. The cattle are of the species common in the Deccan—small, but better than those reared in the southern portions of the Bengal presidency. The buffaloes are smaller than those of the last-named province, but are strong, and draw well in carts, for which purpose they are extensively used.

An observer would be necessarily struck with the apparent encroachment of the sea on the Madras shore, but nature has provided against this by the sand-binding plants which abound, and fix the loose soil along the shore. About two years ago the military board had its attention directed to the encroachments of the tide, and gave orders to have the condition of the south beach examined between the saluting battery and St. Thomé; and the report was interesting, as showing the processes of these plants in retarding the advance of the ever-surging sea. The roots and stems of that class of shore-grown weeds shoot out in quest of nourishment to a great extent, and in doing so become interlaced, so as to form a sort of basket-work, by which the sand is held up as a barrier against the waters. "If it were not for the subterranean stems of these sea-side plants, which can vegetate amidst dry and shifting sand, the banks which man heaps up as a barrier would be blown away by the first hurricane."\* This subject has been since more investigated, and it appears that the encroachments of the ocean on some portions of the Madras beach arise from the fact of these sand-binders, especially the *ground rattan*, being burnt by the fishermen, as the weed impedes the spreading of their nets, and the spiny leaves injure their naked feet.† It is proposed to plant other specimens less objectionable to the men who fish on the

coasts, and equally capable of resisting the landward wave.

In the domestic life of the people of Madras they are well supplied with servants—the men being generally Hindoos, the women native Portuguese.

The French from Pondicherry frequently visit Madras with fancy-work, displaying the taste of the lapidary, jeweller, and artificial flower-maker. Mohammedan pedlars offer tempting bargains of moco stones, petrified tamarind wood, garnets, coral, mock amber, and trinkets, which are sometimes curious and valuable, and often meretricious.

The collectorate of NELLORE is noticeable for the manufacture of salt. The town of Nellore is only remarkable for the frequent and obstinate defences which it has made. It is related by an old writer,\* that in 1787 a peasant, while guiding his plough, was obstructed by a portion of brick, and digging down, discovered the ruins of a temple, and beneath them a pot of gold coins of the Roman emperors. Most of these were sold by him, and melted, but some were reserved, and proved to be of the purest gold; many of them were fresh and beautiful, but others were defaced and perforated, as if they had been worn as ornaments. They were mostly of the reigns of Trajan, Adrian, and Faustinas.

The collectorate of NORTH ARCOT was once famous for its Mohammedan influence, especially its Mussulman capital, bearing the same name, and the fortress of Chandgherry (Chandraghiri), built on the summit of a stupendous rock, with a fortified city beneath.

One of the most remarkable places in Arcot, the Carnatic, or, indeed, the Madras presidency, is Tripetty. The most celebrated Hindoo temple south of the Kistna River is at that place. It is erected in an elevated basin, completely surrounded by hills; and it is alleged that neither Mussulman nor Christian feet have ever profaned the inner circle of these hills. The Brahmins secured this immunity by paying to their Mohammedan, and afterwards to their European rulers, a certain portion of the revenue derived from the idolatrous worship and pilgrimages to the holy place; for although both the Mohammedan conquerors of India and British Christians are decided iconoclasts, yet both found it possible to reconcile conscience to the receipt of such a tax. In 1758 the revenue thus derived by the government amounted to £30,000 sterling. Since then it considerably declined, and in 1811 was not quite £20,000 sterling; it afterwards fluctuated, but never attained the magnitude of its earlier years. Vast

\* Hugh Cleghorn, M.D.

† *Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.*

\* Orme.



numbers of pilgrims visit the place from most parts of India, bringing offerings of every conceivable character—animals of various species, horses, cows, buffaloes, and elephants; fruits, grain, silk, calico; gold, silver, and jewels; exquisitely wrought garments, and ornaments of the precious metals, &c. Even tribute is paid to the idols from regions as far as Gujerat. The deity presiding is supposed to be propitious to commerce when duly honoured. Several thousands of sacred persons are supported in luxury, and a crowd of artificers, labourers, and servants, by the offerings presented. The impostures practised are as shameless as the ceremonies of the religious services are reported to be absurd and vile.

SOUTH ARCOT differs little in character from the collectorate just described. In it the French settlement of Pondicherry is properly comprised, but not being a portion of British India, will not be described here.

CHINGLEPUT is the smallest and least populous collectorate in the Madras presidency; it is also the most ancient possession of the company in the Carnatic. To the north it is bounded by the Nellore district; on the south, by the southern collectorate of Arcot; on the east, by the Bay of Bengal; and on the west, by Northern and Southern Arcot. The soil is generally hard and ungrateful; low prickly bushes cover a large area, and huge crags of granite project in the fields, around which cultivation is carried. The palmyra grows well upon this soil, which is too dry to produce rice or good cereal crops. The wild date flourishes in some places. The whole district was formerly known by the name of the Jaghire.

In this collectorate the city of Conjeveram (*cauchipura*, the golden city) is of some interest. It is not fifty miles from Madras. This town is built in a valley of six or seven miles in extent. The whole valley is populous. The city itself also contains a considerable population. The streets are broad, and well constructed, unlike the native cities of Central, Northern, and North-western India. Planted with cocoa-nut trees and bastard cedars, shade is afforded, which is refreshing in the bright hot climate. An air of beauty and taste is also imparted, especially as the width of the streets gives space for the trees to flourish. The streets cross one another at right angles, so that from the places of intersection the long rows of cocoa-nut trees and cedars present a beautiful aspect, such as few cities can boast. Round the whole town is a bound hedge, formed chiefly of the *Ogave Americana*. The small river Wagawatty winds round the western portion of the town, adding to its

beauty, while it conduces to the fertility of the whole vale. Formerly this town was noted for its manufactures: the weavers were reputed for their skill and taste all over Southern India. Cloths adapted to native wear, turbans, and red India handkerchiefs, were here made for many years, but British imports at Madras have nearly extinguished the native manufacturers of Conjeveram. The great pagoda is of some celebrity, resembling that of Tanjore. On the left, upon entering, there is a large edifice, like a "choultry," which is said to contain a thousand pillars. Hindoo deities are wrought upon them with artistic effect; some of the pillars are covered with this description of work. The sides of the steps leading up to it are formed by two large elephants drawing a car. The second court is held in such superior sanctity, that Europeans or native dissidents from Brahminism are not permitted to enter it. From the top of the great gateway the view is exceedingly beautiful—wood and water, hill and vale, the city and landscape, are spread out before the eye, and in the background a range of stupendous mountains bound the scene.

The town of St. Thomé is situated within three miles of Madras, in a fine plain, the sea washing up into a bay, at the head of which the place is built. The plain behind the town is covered with cocoa-nut trees, which retain their verdure throughout the year. The inhabitants are Hindoos and Roman Catholics. There are also Nestorians and Chaldean Christians, who were formerly numerous, but decreased under the persecutions of the Portuguese. The Roman Catholic portion of the population is descended from intermarriages of the natives and Portuguese settlers, and are blacker in complexion than any other class of the inhabitants. The Hindoos call the town Mailapuram, or the city of peacocks. This little town has been rendered remarkable in connection with its frequent change of masters. The English captured it in consequence of the Roman Catholic priests and people having given secret information of their movements to the French at Pondicherry.\* This occurred in 1749, since which time it has remained in possession of the English.

Mahabalipuram is a ruined town of great antiquity, thirty-five miles south of Madras, on the coast. The name means the city of the great Bali, who was very famous in Hindoo tales. The town is also called "the seven pagodas;" there are not now that number there, but probably were when it obtained that designation. The Brahmins

\* Orme.



say that the sea now covers the ancient site of Mahabalipuram, which all native tradition represents to have been a city of vast extent and grandeur. The remains at present there are most curious, affording to the beholder the idea of a petrified town. A large rock-hill is covered with Hindoo inscriptions representing the stories of the *Maha Bharat*. Near the sea there is an isolated rock of enormous dimensions, out of which a pagoda has been cut; the outside is covered with basso-relievo sculptures. On ascending the hill, there is a temple cut out of the rock, upon the walls of which are idols, also in basso-relievo. On another portion of this vast hill of rock, there is an immense figure, representing Vishnu asleep on a bed, with a large snake\* wound round in many coils as a pillow. All the figures are hewn in the rock. A mile and a half to the southward of this hill are two pagodas, cut in the solid rock, each consisting of one single stone. Near to them is the figure of an elephant as large as life, and of a lion larger than the natural size. Mr. Hamilton, quoting Lord Valentia, says that the whole appear to have been rent by some convulsion of nature before the work of the contractors was entirely finished. In the same neighbourhood, nearer to the sea by about one hundred and fifty yards, is "a pagoda, upon which is the lingam, and dedicated to Siva."

TANJORE is a collectorate in which, although the extent is not comparatively great, the population is very numerous. Malabar, Cuddapah, and Bellary, of all the Madras collectorates, only contain a population of such numbers, and these exceed it by very little; it may even be doubted whether they do exceed it in the numbers of their inhabitants. It is extremely well cultivated, and yields in abundance all the productions of Southern India. It is remarkable for the number of its heathen temples, and their rich endowments; notwithstanding which, the British government contributed largely for the support of heathenism in the district! Indeed, wherever heathenism is rich and influential, there the largest endowments have been given by the government! This province was also remarkable for the number of its Suttees.

Tanjore is the capital. It is notable as containing a pagoda, which is regarded as the finest specimen of pyramidal architecture in India. Within this pyramid is the celebrated black bull, carved from a block of marble, and admirably executed. From one of the cavaliers a splendid prospect is afforded; the town, temples, pagodas, forts, rice-fields, woods, and lofty mountains, form a rich landscape.

\* The many-headed serpent Amantis, or Eternity.

Combooconum is a town about twenty-three miles from Tanjore; it was the capital of the ancient Chola dynasty, and numerous remains attest its pristine splendour. Temples and pagodas are numerous, and the Brahmins make it one of the centres of their influence. There is a lake which, in Brahmin esteem, is composed of holy water; its virtues are always great, but every twelfth year it is supposed to overflow with healing and sanctifying efficacy, curing diseases, and washing sinners from the stains and defilements of all previous transmigrations. As may be conceived, when the periods of extraordinary efficacy occurs, multitudes of the diseased and conscience-stricken press thither in the hope of relief from its waters; and great numbers go away so free from sin in their own opinions, that they can with the less peril incur a very large amount to their future discredit, until the lake of expiation is again sought for its purification.

The town of Tranquebar is well known to Europeans, as having been a prosperous Danish settlement, until it was wrested from that power by the hand of England. It would appear that it was better governed by the Danes than it has ever since been. It is about one hundred and fifty miles from Madras.

The collectorate of TRICHINOPOLY does not need especial description. The island of Seringham, in the river Cavery, is very remarkable for its sacred buildings.\* The Seringham pagoda is composed of seven square enclosures, the walls of which are twenty-five feet high, and four thick. These enclosures are three hundred and sixty feet distant from each other, and each has four large gates, with a high tower, which are placed in the middle of each side of the enclosure, and opposite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is nearly four miles in circumference; and its gateway to the south is ornamented with pillars, several of which are single stones, thirty-three feet long, and five feet in diameter. Those which form the roof are still larger. In the innermost enclosures are the chapels. There is another pagoda of less importance in the island. The Brahmins are numerous and rich, and live in the greatest voluptuousness.

MADURA collectorate does not require a separate notice. The city of the same name, and capital of the collectorate, is mean, filthy, miserable, and unhealthy, lying low as compared with the surrounding country: it is, however, noted for its temple, called Pahlary, consecrated to the god Velleyadah. To this god the worshippers bring singular

\* Orme.



offerings, consisting of immense leather shoes, often profusely ornamented in the oriental style of slipper decoration. The explanation is, that the deity is always out hunting, and, as the jungles abounding in the neighbourhood might hurt his feet, his admiring disciples present him with these appropriate gifts. This place is about three hundred miles from Madras.

Opposite the coast between it and the Island of Ceylon is the sacred Isle of Rameseram (*Rameswaram*, the Pillar of Ram). This island is about eleven miles long and six broad.\* A very celebrated pagoda, alleged to be of remote antiquity, has its site on the island. The entrance is by a lofty gateway, one hundred feet high, covered with carved work to the summit. The door is forty feet high, consisting of perpendicular stones, with horizontal stones of a similar description, the style resembling what is termed the Cyclopean. The square of the whole is about six hundred feet, and it has been regarded as one of the finest structures of the kind in India.† A large revenue is derived from what the worshippers of the

idol call his drink. This consists of the water of the Ganges, which is brought this great distance at considerable expense, and is poured over him every morning; but the cost is sustained, and great profit acquired, by selling this water to devout persons. The sacred isle is guarded by a family named the Pandaram, the males of which are celibates, the succession of guardians being found in the descendants of its female members.

The collectorate of TINNIVELLY may be briefly described. The coast is remarkable only for its salt marshes. The interior is picturesque, and the climate peculiar, formed by the positions of the hills, and the exposure of the land, over a considerable extent, to both monsoons.

The remaining portions of the Madras presidency, with its non-regulation provinces, are so much in character with the collectorates described, as not to require any distinct notice; especially as places thus passed over have sometimes an historic interest connected with the progress of British conquest, which will bring them again upon the pages of this History.

## CHAPTER VII.

### DISTRICTS AND CITIES—THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

IN the last chapter the portion of India historically known as the Deccan received a general description: a small portion of it belonging to Bengal, a larger portion to Madras, and a still greater extent of its territory included in Bombay, it appeared expedient to define and describe that region before giving a detailed account of the Madras and Bombay presidencies, as in the historical portion of the work frequent mention must be made of the Deccan. On page 27, the collectorates and non-regulation provinces into which Bombay is divided for purposes of government are named. It is the smallest of the three presidencies, nor has it many large towns or cities. The principal seaports are Surat, Baroch, Cambay, Bhavnuggur, Gogo, Poorbunder, and Mandavie, in Cutch. From these the best seamen of India are procured, especially along the west side of the Gulf of Cambay. The small islands of Salsette and Oorum, and the little strip of land attached to Forts Victoria and Vingula, in the Concan, furnish native vessels and native sailors of superior quality. The only naval force in the possession of the East India Company is stationed at Bombay—

\* Ward.

† Lord Valentia.

partly from the facility of obtaining naval supplies there in men and material, and partly from the influence of a navy in the Arabian Sea. It is watered by the Nerbuddah, Tapti, Mahec, Mahindry, and various smaller rivers, which empty themselves into the Gulf of Cambay and the Indian Ocean. The Indus also flows through the non-regulation province of Scinde, where its mouths discharge its voluminous waters into the sea. The commerce of Bombay is very considerable with Arabia, and up the Sea of Oman and the Persian Gulf. The military stations are Ahmedabad, Ahmednuggur, Asserghur, Balmeer, Baroda, Belgaum, Baroch, Bhoog, Bombay, Dapoodie, Darwhar, Deeza, Duruganam, Hyderabad, Hursole, Kadra, Kirkee, Kurrachee, Kulladghee, Malligaum, Lackhann, Bukkur, Poonah, Ranjcote, Sattara, Surat, Seroer, Shikapore.

The capital of the presidency is the city of Bombay: it is situated on a rocky island lying on the west coast of Hindoostan, in latitude  $18^{\circ} 56'$  north, and longitude  $72^{\circ} 57'$  east. There were originally some hilly islets, but these, by the influence of the high tides, have been joined to each other, and now the island is composed principally of two unequal ranges



of whinstone rocks, extending from five to eight miles in length, and at the distance of about three miles from each other. Bombay is the most unhealthy of the presidencies. The Fort of Bombay is situated at the south-east extremity of the island, on a narrow neck of land. Cotton is the principal article of export. The population is about two hundred and fifty thousand, composed of Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, Hindoos, and Parsees. Bombay is one thousand and forty miles west by south of Calcutta, and six hundred and twenty-five from Madras. The electric telegraph is complete to Madras, Calcutta, and Lahore. As a great centre of telegraphic and railway communication, Bombay is likely to hold an important place in the future of India. In an amusing but useful work, entitled *Young America Abroad*, the following opinions are given on this subject:—"You will be surprised to learn that India, during the last two years, bids fair to keep pace with the United States in the magnetic wire. Dr. O'Shaughnessy is the Professor Morse of India. With the powerful machinery at his command as a servant of the company, he has distinguished himself by his energy and his works. I am glad to find him a fellow-passenger *en route* for home, with a view of running the wire from England to India—an undertaking which, no doubt, will shortly be accomplished, judging from what has been done. The first wire, he tells me, was extended November 1st, 1853. Twenty parties of workmen (soldiers) left Calcutta and Bombay, under English leaders, and in March, 1854, the offices were opened at the half-way station of Agra; and, by the middle of June, the first message went through to Bombay, a distance of sixteen hundred miles; since which lines have been established from Bombay to Madras, eight hundred miles; from Agra to Peshawur, on the borders of Affghanistan, connecting the populous cities of Delhi, Lahore, and Attock, on the Indus, some eight hundred miles; besides a line, two hundred miles, from Rangoon to Prome and Meaday, connecting the seaport with the frontier of Ava; and other smaller lines, making a total of some four thousand miles in two years' time. In less than five years ten thousand miles of electric wire will connect the chief points of the Indian empire, says the doctor. No. 1 galvinised wire, about half a mile to the ton, would give an aggregate of two thousand tons. The original posts were made of cheap wood, but subsequently iron-wood from Birmah, solid granite posts, brick-and-mortar doors, and iron screw posts are those used; the cost is about two hundred and fifty dollars per mile. The wires

are about sixteen feet from the ground, sufficiently high to allow a loaded elephant to pass under. About thirty miles of submarine wires, costing one thousand dollars per mile, have been laid down across the rivers. About three hundred manipulators are employed, and two hundred more servants, making a staff of five hundred men. There are seventy offices already erected, in charge of Europeans and half-castes. The great difficulty, however, has been in procuring proper workmen; and Dr. O'Shaughnessy purposes visiting the States before returning to India, in order to procure a staff of American managers. There are no double lines laid down, nor will there be. The annual cost of the establishment is one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The only paying line will be that between Bombay and Calcutta, where one-third of the despatches are sent by natives. The object of the government in establishing such an agency throughout their wide extent of empire is, of course, to increase their political and military power, for the enterprise as an investment would prove disastrous. An instance of its advantage was noticed at the recent annexation of Oude. A few hours after the despatch arrived from the home government, giving consent, the council met, troops were on the way, orders were given, and Oude was a part of the British empire—all done by the lightning's flash. In times of war it must be of vast importance, until the native enemies learn to cut the wire, as speculators did when the Cunard steamers touched at Halifax. Railways do not progress so rapidly, yet something has been done in that way; and a guarantee of five per cent. interest on the outlay for the enterprise is made by the honourable company; but who is to make up the loss between the annual expenditure and the annual receipts? for profit and loss will be charged for many years with a serious balance. R. M. Stephenson, the railway king of India, is also a fellow-passenger for England. His perseverance, his untiring industry in the accomplishment of so arduous an enterprise, has won for him a public address. In his reply he shows how sanguine he is of the progress of his pet projects, for he expects that in less than ten years England may be reached in twelve days' time, and the magnetic wire communicate with the mother-country in as many hours. I shall not be surprised at the latter result, but the former appears formidable; for Asiatic, African, and European soil does not cultivate activity as does the American. The railway from Calcutta to Raneegunge, or to the Burdwan coal-mines, is one hundred and twenty-one miles—a single rail, costing about fifty thou-



sand dollars per mile. A company has been formed to connect Madras with the opposite coast, a distance of three hundred miles, passing through Wellington's and Brand's battle-fields, *vid* Arcot and Seringapatam (branching out to Bangalore), on to Trichinopoly and Coimbatore on the Malabar coast—thus connecting the great cities of Southern India. On the other side, the Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian Railway, and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, extend their branches some distance along the shore and inland. Another line is intended to join Bombay with the Madras frontier, *vid* Belgaum, Sattara, Toona, &c.—from Kurrachee to the Indus about one hundred and twenty miles, and a section from Bombay, two hundred miles to Surat. This is the grand trunk line of the north-west, and is to extend to Lahore, a distance from Calcutta of thirteen hundred and fifty miles. Contracts already have been made as far as Agra. Railway enterprise in India commands much praise for its projectors, for many are the impediments to be overcome. As in England and America, those in the front rank will sink their money, making room for those who follow later on, to profit by other's losses. But, nevertheless, the steam-whistle must work a moral change in India." Since this was written, some of the writer's anticipations have been fulfilled.

The buildings in Bombay are not so fine as those in Calcutta and Madras. The private houses are also inferior in general aspect, but formed more in keeping with the climate, both as to style and utility. The European inhabitants are fond of residing at some distance from the business part of the town, as they are at Madras, which, in each case, compels them to repair to the fort for the transaction of business. This, however, is becoming less the case, and the commercial arrangements of Bombay are as rapidly improving as its political position. The harbour scenery is very fine: Mr. Hamilton, thirty years ago, noticed this in his description. Mrs. Postans, in her lively little volume on Western India, many years after, expressed in graceful terms her admiration of it. Many modern writers have followed in their wake, and few have exaggerated the claims of Bombay in this respect, although some have gone so far as to call it "the most lovely in the world," and to describe the island on which the city stands as the fairest of all

"The isles that gem  
Old Ocean's purple diadem."

It is certainly very lovely, the azure above, reflected in the wave below, the bright Indian

sun shedding its glory over sky and sea, constitute a magnificent prospect from the verandahs of the inhabitants whose houses command the view. The harbour is dotted with palm isles, and the contrast of their green feathery foliage with the bright blue water is strikingly picturesque. In the distance the ghauts tower to the heavens, presenting all imaginable forms, and covered with all imaginable hues; in one direction tinged with the crimson sunset, in another as if clothed in a pale purple robe, elsewhere hung with fleecy drapery; and all these ever changing as day dawns or sets, as it pours its burning noon upon the gleaming rock, or as deep shadows sink upon them with the descending night. Heber, with his soft poetic pencil, has impressed the images of these scenes upon his pages, so as no eye that has rested upon them can ever forget. The island of Elephanta and the island of Salsette are covered with beautiful trees, which extend their boughs over the rippling waters, presenting every variety of graceful form, and of tint, such as oriental foliage only can exhibit. Yachting being a favourite amusement, pretty pleasure boats may be seen gliding among "the palm-tasselled islets;" so that amidst the prospects of soft beauty, and in view of the glorious mountain distance, tokens of human life and pleasure are perpetually indicated, adding that peculiar charm which solitary scenery, however fine, cannot impart. From the harbour the appearance of the city is not attractive; it lies too low, the new town being lower than the old, most of the houses having their foundations on the sea level, and many still lower. The walls of the fort flank the water's edge, and first strikes the eye of the beholder; then the esplanade, with its clusters of tents; and, stretching away to the west the island of Colabah, covered with palm-trees, and having the lighthouse at its extreme point. The landing-places are called *bundaks* in Bombay, and their neighbourhood is generally crowded with boats of different styles—some diminutive craft, filled with cocoa nuts for the market; others stronger, used for conveying goods or passengers to and from the shipping; small barges, covered with awnings, the property of native merchants and bankers; and pleasure-boats, tastefully fitted up with cabins and venetians, to carry parties on picnics, or other pleasure expeditions.

On shore, the first thing arresting attention is the palankeens, gaudily painted, and with silk hangings, in which the passenger is conveyed to his destination. Crowds of coolies and runners infest the landing-places; these men are dirty, half naked, with savage expres-



sions of countenance; they speak a little English, and offer to perform any service, in discharging which they are dishonest and faithless. This vile crew is generally composed of Mohammedans, and they look upon Christians as fair game to be plundered, if that can be accomplished with any chance of impunity. The moment the traveller lands, he perceives that he is in a great commercial city; the signs of active business immediately surround him; bales of cotton especially attest that Bombay is the great emporium of that commodity.

The road to the city is very fine, and commands a good sea-view, which makes it a pleasant promenade, where refreshing breezes play upon the heated frame, and the soft sea views delight the eye. Every evening this road is thronged with carriages and cavaliers, gay ladies and rich natives, the sober-looking Parsee and the respectable Armenian being always conspicuous figures. Railed off from this road by a slight paling is an extensive lawn-like space, where the Parsees, Jews, and other orientals are fond of meeting to converse. This numbers of them will do while the road is covered with gay carriages, and European costumes, and even when the military bands attract the English around them. The Persians and Parsees seem generally to avoid one another as much as their respective interests will allow; nor do the Arabs, or native Mussulmen, like the Parsees, who are the most respectable orientals, except the Armenian Christians, in Bombay. In the morning and evening the Parsees are fond of assembling on the esplanade and looking to their "fiery god," as he rises from the horizon, or sinks beneath it. They bring their children on these occasions to learn the devout worship of their fathers, but the ladies do not accompany them. There is a fine statue of the Marquis of Wellesley, executed by Chantrey, placed in the centre of a causeway leading from the esplanade to the fort, which is much admired. It is customary in the hot season to erect bungalows by the esplanade, so as to obtain the cool sea breeze; these are light temporary dwellings, but cost from sixty to eighty pounds for the season. They are fitted up with exquisite taste, and are most delightful residences. When the rude monsoons beat upon Bombay, the Europeans seek the shelter of solid buildings; but house rent is expensive, obliging persons of limited means to retire several miles from the port into the country among the cocoa-nut woods—dwelling places more picturesque than healthy, where fever and insects infest the habitation, and render life miserable, or terminate it. The fort is divided from the esplanade by a moat; over this several

bridges conduct to the chief gates. Within the fort are some fine houses, and a multitude of shops, in close, narrow, dusty streets. Almost everything is dear, except China and Indian silks, and Indian cotton cloths. The Parsees are amongst the most respectable shopkeepers, but it is remarkable that these devotees of the sun keep their shops peculiarly dark. From the fort the visitor emerges to "the Bombay Green." Several of the principal public buildings are there: the Town Hall, Library, and Council Chamber occupy one pile of considerable architectural pretensions. Mrs. Postans says, "with the exception of the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque du Roi, not inferior to any of the same description." Two statues by Chantrey adorn the interior of this building—one of Sir John Malcolm, and the other of the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone.

Bombay has long been especially well off for literature, and the means of promoting its increase. Several newspapers of superior merit exist. The *Bombay Gazette* is managed by its talented proprietor, J. Conan, Esq., secretary to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, a distinguished political economist. The *Bombay Times* lately edited by Dr. Buist, who has obtained celebrity as a geologist, and also in other departments of science. "The Asiatic Society has an immense and well-chosen library and a museum; but books may also be obtained at the 'Europe shops,' where everything else is vended. The bazaars are not very handsome, but well supplied; there is a theatre, where amateurs occasionally act; enormous cotton screws, a spacious hotel, commercial houses and offices upon a grand scale, and an infinite variety of places of worship. The Roman Catholic chapels and churches are more numerous here than in any other part of India, as the descendants of the early Portuguese visitors abound. Mosques and Hindoo temples are constantly found contiguous to each other; and the Parsees—the descendants of the Ghebers, or fire-worshippers—have their *augiaree*, or fire-temple, where the sacred fire is constantly kept up by the priests, who receive, from pious Parsees, through the grating which encloses the silver stove, offerings in the form of sandal wood. There are few statues in Bombay, but the churches contain handsome monuments, and there are some busts and pictures in the Town Hall and the rooms of the societies and institutions." \*

At Malabar Point is a house which belonged to Sir John Malcolm, and which afterwards became the residence of the governor when the heat became too great at

\* J. H. Stocqueler.



Parell, the usual abode of the chief magistrate. The rocky headland of Malabar Point is a gorgeous situation. The sea-view is truly magnificent, and the inland prospect is beautiful; an undulated country, covered with the pale bamboo, the deep-tinged palm, and the amber-tinted cocoa groves, meets the gazer's eye. Night is also beautiful around this chosen spot. The stars shine out with a lustre unknown to our hazy clime, and the moonlight spreads a chaste glory over the sparkling sea and dark woods. Frequently the Parsee may be seen beneath as the sun sets, paying his homage to the retiring god of his adoration; and when the sun has gone down, the funeral pyres of the Hindoo show their red glare against the dark woods. Sir John Malcolm was a man of taste as well as genius; the selection of this spot proves the one, as his writings and his deeds have long since attested the other.

Five miles from the fort is Parell, the site of government house. It was built by the Portuguese for a monastery. The house is spacious, and the grounds well laid out; and on occasions of public receptions and festivities it appears worthy of being a viceregal seat.

The Horticultural Society's gardens are not far from the governor's chief residence.

The Pilgrim's Pool is one of the most singular places in Bombay. It is an asylum for aged and diseased animals! and well answers its purposes. Here horses, cows, dogs, &c., are fed and cared for as pensioners of the bounty of a tender-hearted native, who thus disposed of his riches.

The Elphinstone College and Native Education Society's schools are also creditable to the city, and to the founders of those institutions.

The character of the population of Bombay depends upon the religion professed. The professors of Brahminism are there what they are elsewhere, mentally and morally; the description given by the Rev. Mr. Milner is precisely expressive of the facts:—"They have considerable skill in the mechanical arts, produce cotton, silk, and woollen fabrics in high perfection, and are almost unrivalled in delicate working in ivory and metals. They have in general no standard of morality beyond convenience; and hence their character is largely a compound of selfishness, deceit, cunning, impurity, and cruelty. . . . The mass of the population are idolaters. Multiplied forms and ceremonies, fatiguing pilgrimages, rigorous fastings, and acts of uncleanness, are exacted; while observances, amounting even to the wilful sacrifice of life, illustrate the connection proclaimed in the

Scriptures between 'the dark places of the earth' and the 'habitations of cruelty.'"

The Jains are a peaceful and laborious sect. Their temples are not imposing; they resemble dwelling-houses, but are distinguishable by excellent external carvings. Only a few Buddhists are to be found upon the island.

The Mohammedans are not so numerous as in the Deccan, Central India, and Madras. They are morally and intellectually degraded. There are, however, some disciples of the Koran of respectability in the western metropolis.

The Parsees, or Ghebers, are very numerous; they have at Bombay, as at Canton, the chief share in the opium trade; they also take a respectable position as cotton merchants, bankers, and dealers in the bazaars. The richest inhabitants of Bombay Island are undoubtedly the worshippers of the sun. No inhabitants of the place—not even the most important European functionaries—can vie with them in luxurious living; at government house alone entertainments are given which exceed theirs in splendour. Within the last thirty years, one of this fraternity rose from the humblest condition in life to be one of the richest merchants and capitalists in the world. His name was Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and his reputation as a merchant and a capitalist reached England and the English court, where his benevolence and loyalty received honourable marks of distinction. His first occupation in life was that of a dealer in empty bottles; these he used to purchase, by giving a rupee for so many to the butlers of English families. He accumulated money rapidly, by selling them at a profit, opened a place of business in one of the bazaars, and became the wealthiest man in the presidency, perhaps in India.

Another gentleman of this sect, Hormarjee Boomanjee, occupied some years ago a mansion near that of the governor, which in some respects rivalled it, and which was known by the title of Lowjee Castle. A visitor described it as spacious, built with architectural taste, and furnished richly and most elegantly. The drawing-room, decorated with princely expenditure and the propriety of a correct taste, and every apartment suitably provided with such costly articles as best became it. Luxurious couches and ottomans, covered with damask silk, arranged with gilded *fauteuils* of the most commodious form; good paintings, including full-length portraits of Lord Nelson and Sir Charles Forbes, ornamented the drawing-room; and superb windows of painted glass cast the brilliantly-tinged rays of the departing sun on chandeliers of daz-



zling lustre. "When, after a lengthened visit, we rose, intending to take our leave of Lowjee Castle and its amiable inmates, a servitor brought forward a large silver salver, covered with blooming bouquets, most tastefully arranged. In presenting the choicest for my acceptance, Hormarjee gracefully expressed his hope that I would pardon the adoption of an Eastern custom, by which to denote the pleasure our society had afforded him."

Polygamy is seldom practised by the Parsees, and their general morality is greatly superior to that of Brahmins, Buddhists, Jains, or Mohammedans. Their loyalty is unquestionable. Any portion of the native press that is not pervaded by bigotry or atheism, and by a disloyalty attending either phase of native opinion and feeling, is in the hands of the Parsees. They feel deeply grateful to the British for the protection afforded to their persons, religion, property, and commerce, and regard with unaffected disgust and abhorrence the sanguinary intolerance and disloyalty which pervade the natives, especially the educated portion of them, known as "Young India."

The beauty of the Parsees exceeds that of any other of the inhabitants of Bombay. The Parsee ladies are fair, with finely-formed features, and graceful, dignified mien. Many of the English and the Jewish ladies may be seen to vie with the loveliest of "the daughters of the sun," but there is a greater proportion of fine specimens of the fair sex, perhaps of both sexes, among the Parsees, than among any other class, European or Asiatic, at Bombay.

The Parsees of Bombay are said to have come thither from Gujerat, to which place they emigrated from Ormuz, in the Gulf of Persia. Very few of them brought wives, generally single men having ventured on the enterprise. They selected maidens of Gujerat, their taste being for the fairest in complexion; hence the race now inhabiting Bombay is not purely Persian, yet much fairer than the people of Hindoostan.

In the fort there are two large fire temples, which are kept scrupulously closed against foreign inspection. They contain spacious halls, with central arches, beneath which are placed the vase of sacred fire. The priests of the Ghebers resemble the Jewish priests in appearance and attire. They wear their beards long and flowing; and these being sometimes white, by reason of the age of the wearer, the turban colourless, and the vest or robe white and ample, their appearance is very venerable. They are not respected; whether this arise from the scepticism of the worshippers, or the general character of the

sacerdotal class, it is difficult to conjecture, as the behaviour of the clergy is respectable, and that of the people devout. Some suppose that the origin of this contempt is difference of race, the people having landed without priests, and having employed a native race in Gujerat to adopt the clerical functions whose opinions were not remote from their own. Others attribute the feeling to the offices which devolve upon the clergy—chiefly that of bearing away the dead, whom they deposit in towers, where the corpse is exposed to birds of prey, which devour it. The thought of this inspires, it is alleged, even loathing in the breast of the Parsee to his spiritual leader. The chief priest, however, is not the object of such feelings, but receives reverence from the whole community.

The Parsees are variously estimated in numbers, some computing them as a fourth of the whole population of the island, and others as lower than one-tenth.

The Jews are comparatively numerous, and many of them very wealthy. The men are always on the alert as traffickers or money-changers; the women live in great seclusion.

The Armenian Christians are much and deservedly respected; their numbers are small, and their church in the fort is of mean dimensions. They are generally settlers from Bushire or Bussorah, who transact business in stuffs and gems. Some of the Armenians are horse-dealers; they are considered good judges of the animal, and fair sellers, but are not at all equestrian in their own habits. They wear the dress of Persia, and disfigure themselves with henna, dying beard, hair, and whiskers with it, any dark colour pertaining to any of these ornaments of the male head being an object of distaste. A European blessed with auburn or sandy hair, whiskers, or moustache, is supposed either to possess the secret of some exquisite dye, or to be endowed by nature with attributes of great beauty. The moral character of the Armenians is excellent; their habits orderly; their business talents eminent; their loyalty undoubted, but not active. The people have a great respect for Protestantism, but the clergy prefer the Greek or Latin churches, and are extremely jealous of their people entering a Protestant place of worship, or perusing Protestant books, especially if written on any theological subject.

The descendants of the Portuguese are ill-looking, venal, bigoted, ignorant, and superstitious—despised by every other class.

There are a few Greeks, who differ in nothing from their compatriots all over the world.



In a chapter upon the social condition of the people of India, reference will be again made to the inhabitants of this city.

Since the establishment of communication with Europe by the Red Sea route, Bombay has acquired importance, being the first point of India gained by the outward-bound vessels, and the last left on the homeward voyage. The following are the travelling distances from it to the most considerable cities and towns, according to Major Rennell:—

	Miles.		Miles.
Allahabad . . . . .	977	Juggernaut . . . . .	1052
Ahmedabad . . . . .	321	Indore . . . . .	456
Ahmednuggur . . . . .	181	Lahore . . . . .	1010
Arcot . . . . .	722	Lucknow . . . . .	923
Aurangabad . . . . .	260	Madras . . . . .	758
Baroch . . . . .	221	Masulipatam . . . . .	686
Bassein . . . . .	27	Mirzapore . . . . .	952
Bednore . . . . .	452	Moorshedabad . . . . .	1259
Bijanaghur . . . . .	398	Mooltan . . . . .	920
Calcutta . . . . .	1301	Mysore . . . . .	630
Canage . . . . .	889	Nagpore . . . . .	552
Cashmere . . . . .	1233	Oude . . . . .	1013
Cuttack . . . . .	1034	Oojein . . . . .	486
Cochin . . . . .	780	Patna . . . . .	1145
Delhi . . . . .	880	Pondicherry . . . . .	805
Dowlatabad . . . . .	258	Poonah . . . . .	98
Goa . . . . .	292	Seringapatam . . . . .	622
Golconda . . . . .	475	Sumbhulpore . . . . .	826
Gwalior . . . . .	768	Surat . . . . .	177
Hyderabad . . . . .	480	Tellecherry . . . . .	615

Should a canal be cut across the Isthmus of Suez, Bombay will become in all probability a more important position than Calcutta; it will at all events rival that city, now so much more wealthy, populous, and powerful. "The distance from the English Channel to Calcutta, by the Cape of Good Hope, following the route taken by the best sailing vessels, may be put down at 13,000 miles. By the Mediterranean, the proposed canal across the Isthmus of Suez, the Red Sea, and Indian Ocean, the distance would be about 8000 miles; as compared with the former, the latter would effect a saving of 5000 miles. By the Cape route to Bombay the distance may be computed at 11,500 miles, by the Red Sea route, 6200; and here the gain would be 5300 miles. By the aid of this maritime canal, troops would arrive at Bombay from Malta in three weeks; in Ceylon or Madras in four; and in Calcutta in five: and they would arrive fresh and vigorous, because unfatigued in body, and without experiencing that lassitude of the mind which a protracted and wearisome sea voyage generally induces. With such facilities, it may fairly be concluded that the maintenance of a smaller number of European troops in garrison would be perfectly compatible with security. Nor can it be doubted that when the natives became aware of this rapid mode of transit for man and munitions

of war, the disposition to revolt would be greatly enfeebled. The mercantile marine, both of England and America, would be benefited by the shortening of distance. It would bring New York nearer to Bombay by 7317 miles, and New Orleans by 8178. Constantinople would save 12,900, and St. Petersburg 8550 miles. The countries on the coasts of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the eastern coast of Africa, India, the kingdom of Siam, Cochin China, Japan, the vast empire of China, with its teeming millions, the Phillipine Islands, Australia, and New Zealand, with the whole Southern Archipelago, would be brought nearer to the Mediterranean Sea and the north of Europe by almost 9000 miles: the whole world would be in proximity." The British government is opposed to the formation of such a ship canal on grounds of policy. Possessing, as France does, a powerful naval arsenal in the Mediterranean, she might, by means of such a passage, seriously menace our Indian empire. It is with a full knowledge of this that M. Lesseps and other Frenchmen have so perseveringly urged this scheme. Lord Palmerston energetically and clearly placed the views of the British government before that of France on this subject, and the Emperor Napoleon admitted the reasonableness of the sensitiveness of the government of her Britannic majesty in reference to such an enterprise. The scheme has, moreover, been pronounced by the most competent English engineers as impracticable; and by eminent men, who pronounce that it is not absolutely impossible, it has been admitted that the scheme is beyond private enterprise, and could only be executed and sustained by such a harmonious concourse of governments as is scarcely within the range of hope. The project finds, however, very general favour in Europe, perhaps as much from motives inimical to England as any other. Should a ship canal, by any concurrence of circumstance and combination of powers, be formed, it will in all probability tempt the British government into hostile operations from India and from the Mediterranean, involving wide-spread and sanguinary conflict.

The neighbourhood of the city is very beautiful, the whole island being exceedingly picturesque. Excellent roads exist, and the citizens enjoy their drives to the surrounding districts very much. On Sunday these roads are most frequented, the esplanade being comparatively forsaken. "The early riser, desiring to pursue his ride into the lovely scenes which skirt the town, will find these roads clear of all offence. The porters and artizans then lie shrouded in their cundies;



the market people have a wide path, as they bring in the fresh fruits of the neighbouring country; the toddy drawers appear, crowned with an earthen vessel, overflowing with the delicious juice of the palm-tree; and Hindoo girls, seated behind baskets of bright blossoms, string fragrant wreaths to adorn the altars of their gods. Thus fresh and tranquil remain the elements of the scene, until the hurry and the toil of life fill it with that suffocating heat and deafening clamour attendant upon the interests of eager traffic."

The roads of the island are, from the undulated character of the surface, much curved, thereby affording great variety of prospect; now turning towards the sunlit bay, and anon presenting prospects of wooded knolls and palm forests. In the evening the dusty roads are trodden by bullock-drivers and the heavier description of vehicles, carrying produce for the early morning market of the city; this circumstance causes the drives through the island to be preferable at early dawn to the soft season of sunset.

In the bay boating affords pleasant recreation, and an ever-changing land and sea scenery. The little island of Colabah is a place of constant resort, and some Europeans prefer it to any other place in its neighbourhood as a residence. It is considered peculiarly healthy, and its situation is delightfully picturesque, affording from its shores views of exquisite beauty. The lighthouse and the lunatic asylum are on this islet; a good road runs through it, and it is connected with the island of Bombay by a causeway, over which formerly the sea rose at high tide, rendering the passage difficult and dangerous.

The diseases are such as are produced by the high temperature of the climate, the low site of the city, and the prevalence of paddy fields on all the low grounds of the island. The guinea-worm is a dangerous nuisance to Europeans and natives; many of the former suffer so severely from it, as to be obliged to return home. Fever and cholera often carry away Europeans who expose themselves too much to the climate, frequent the woods and paddy fields, or are in any other way brought within the influence of the malaria which infects the low grounds. Bombay has improved in health within the last ten years very rapidly, and there is every prospect that it will eventually become one of the healthiest neighbourhoods in India.

The collectorate of SURAT is situated at the south-western extremity of the ancient province of Gujerat. It is a part of that territory adjacent to the Gulf of Cambay, and is so intersected with the dominions of native princes, that it is difficult to define its limits. It is

made up of lands taken from independent princes at various times. The neighbourhood was long noted for the plunder, by gulf and river pirates, of trading-vessels; the vigilance of the police, the exertions of the Bombay marine, and the representations made by the British residents at the courts of native princes, have all conduced to put a stop to these piracies. The country is populous, and highly cultivated, producing wheat, rice, jouree, hajeree, and other Indian grains, diversified by crops of cotton, hemp, tobacco, colouring plants, seeds, &c. The cotton of Surat has become an important article of commerce.

The city of Surat is large, mean, and dirty, destitute of good public buildings, and containing few Europeans for so large a city. There was an hospital for animals at Surat, similar to that at Bombay, but remarkable for its "wards," containing rats, mice, bugs, and other noxious creatures! The site of the city is unfavourable for trade, as large ships cannot ascend the river; but the country behind is so fertile, and produces such vast variety of commodities, that the commerce of Surat is very extensive. Its moral condition is deplorable. The Mohammedans are the perpetrators of nearly all the violence committed in the place, except what is performed by imported bravoos and thieves, who are hired by the richer natives for purposes of revenge, and formerly for the object of plundering the houses of their own friends and connexions! The Parsees are so frequently made the objects of violence by the Mohammedans, that they are obliged in self-defence to inflict personal chastisement, for they are a brave and athletic race, physically and mentally superior to the followers of the false prophet. The Hindoos are sly, timid, treacherous, and furiously vindictive; many perish by poison, which they administer upon slight provocation—a mode of murder in which they are singularly expert. This offence is not so common as formerly; twenty years ago its occurrence was awfully frequent. Opium intoxication is very common, and very debasing.

Caste is not so dominant as in most other places, and some "old Indians" attribute the laxity of morals to the "want of respect for their betters" which prevails among the native mob of Surat. Religious intolerance is carried to bitter extremities by Hindoos and Mohammedans, not only against one another, but against the Parsees, who offer no provocation to the insults and outrages of which they are the victims. The Brahmins are not so hostile to the Parsees as to the Mohammedans, nor are they so ready to persecute the Parsees as the Mohammedans are.



The worshippers of the sun have grown so influential and wealthy, that they are able to protect themselves; and the British, although generally they lean to high caste men, and "hold up the aristocratic principle for the sake of order," are too generous to allow injustice to be done to the quiet and manly Ghebers.

The distance from Bombay is about one hundred and seventy miles. Before the English obtained possession of Bombay, Surat was the capital of the presidency. The population is still larger than that of the metropolis of Western India. The intervening shores are low, flat, and sandy, destitute of any interesting scenery, except the panorama of the distant hills.

The scenes in the streets of Surat are peculiar, in some respects resembling those of Bombay, as to the quality and character of the native population. Not only are the three prevailing religious sects described above to be met with, but also Jains, Jews, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and descendants of the Portuguese. The most remarkable of all are the Arabs; these at certain seasons pitch their tents upon the pleasantest spots on the banks of the Tapti, just as gipsies would in the neighbourhood of an English city. They are the most picturesque-looking of the dwellers in or frequenters of the great city; their many-coloured turbans and showy vests cannot fail to attract attention, and their countenances are often fiercely fine.

There are many traces of the former opulence of this city in the remains of gardens and mansions, which once belonged to the merchant princes of Surat, before Bombay tore the wreath from her brow; and these mansions and pleasure-grounds were easily placed on sites tastefully selected, for in the neighbourhood of the city the banks of the Tapti are very pleasant.

The ghauts, or landing-places, do not, as in so many other cities of India, already noticed, lead to temples, nor are they constructed with the lavish expenditure and richly creative taste of those flights of steps elsewhere. They are more frequently to be seen occupied with dhobies than devotees. The dhobies are washerwomen, who ply their calling very much in the manner which Sir Walter Scott described his fair countrywomen in rural districts performing similar operations.

Within six miles of the city there is a place of religious ablution, called Pulpunah. There sacred groves, altars, and temples abound. The groves are hung with wreaths of choicest flowers. The ghauts are sculptured and festooned, leading to temples, where domes and columns look down in their

cold and stern majesty upon the bright and careering river. It is a noted place for funeral pyres; the ashes of the dead are solemnly spread upon the holy current, which seems, as if a thing of life, to bear them willingly away from the sacred scene. It is astonishing what crowds of fakeers, and other religious devotees, assemble among these clustering temples. Nowhere is this vagabond class so ripe in imposture as in this holy vicinity. Their control over the laity is astonishing, and their exercise of it rapacious, violent, and disgusting. Whatever these revered robbers choose to demand the people give them, a denial involving the peril of their soul's ruin. Among the chief curiosities of the place are the herds of sacred bulls, which are kept by the Brahmins, and treated by the people with the greatest reverence.

Pulpunah is not the only interesting suburb of Surat; all its vicinity is as pleasant as the city itself is dirty, dreary, and decadent. Long shaded lanes, reminding the English visitor of the green lanes of England, surround the city, and the cultivated fields and river scenery cannot fail to arrest the attention. The wooded hills are the haunts of game. At Vaux's tomb, in the Gulf of Cambay, near the embouchure of the Tapti, the wild hog, often hunted by the Europeans of Surat, is numerous, and affords ample sport. The French town and gardens are objects of pleasant interest, and within pedestrian distance of the city.

The military cantonments are regarded as pleasant by the military; and Surat has long borne a reputable character among gentlemen of the Bombay army, as a sociable and cheerful place in which to be quartered.

BAROCH is another district of Gujerat, and is bounded on the west by the Gulf of Cambay. Few ports of the west of India are so well cultivated or populous. The capital of the district, also named Baroch, is situated on an eminence on the north bank of the Nerbuddah, twenty-five miles from the entrance to the river. The town is as dirty and dreary as Surat: it is surrounded by a most fertile country, and its market is one of the best in India. The town was once the seat of a considerable trade, especially for cotton cloths, which were beautifully white, the river Nerbuddah having the property of bleaching. The neighbourhood is picturesque, chiefly because of the superior cultivation. Many ruins of mosques and mausolea are scattered in the vicinity. About ten miles from the city there is an island in the river, where aged or sick Hindoo penitents bury themselves alive, or are buried alive by their rela-



tives as an act of piety. On this island is a banyan-tree, said to be the most extraordinary in existence; but it was formerly much larger than it is now, for the floods, rising, have washed away portions of the island, and with it the branching roots of the tree where they had extended themselves too far. The tree is still represented to be two thousand feet in circumference, measuring round the different stems; but the hanging branches, the roots of which have not yet reached the ground, measure a much wider area. The chief trunks of the tree number three hundred and fifty, each of these larger than an ordinary English elm; and the smaller stems, forming strong supporters, are more than three thousand. The natives allege that it is three thousand years old, can afford shade for seven thousand persons, and that it originally sprung from the toothpick of a certain Hindoo saint. A writer on the productions of India states that "this is the tree alluded to by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*."

The collectorate of AHMEDABAD is not remarkable for anything except the city and its vicinity. This city was once the capital of Gujerat, but it has long fallen into decay. So splendid was it in the reign of Akbar, that the ruins now cover an area the circumference of which is thirty miles. In fact, the country is covered with remains of palaces, serais, mosques, temples, tanks, aqueducts, and other works of grandeur and great public utility. Wild beasts now infest the neighbourhood. The city is noted for its jugglers and itinerant musicians, classes to which the natives of the villages of Gujerat give extensive encouragement.

The collectorate of KAIRA is a large district in the Gujerat province: it is very wild and unsettled, and has been remarkable for the practices of the Bhattas and Bharotts, a species of fanatics who, if denied a demand, will inflict upon their own persons a gash with a knife, which the natives suppose that the gods will hereafter inflict upon him who, denying the request, occasioned the misfortune. If this does not intimidate, the Bhattas will murder an old woman or some outcast, and leave the crime at the door of the person who denied their request, which alarms the Hindoo more than if he had himself perpetrated the crime, which he would seldom fail to do if moved by what he considered to be an adequate religious motive. If the Bhattas or Bharotts do not obtain their infamous end in that way, they will not hesitate to murder one of themselves, or one of their relations, still more exciting the horror and the alarm of the unfortunate victim upon whom the demand is made. Should, however, the Hindoo have

firmness to resist the demand after all these wild manifestations of cruel importunity, the Bhattas will probably murder the man who dares so persistently to refuse compliance with their wishes. Kaira, the capital of the district, is in no way noticeable.

CANDEISH is a province of the Deccan, of which ancient division of India a general description was given in the last chapter. The Mahrattas here held sway in the days of their power. A considerable portion of Candesh belonged to the Holkar family, having been, like the adjacent province of Malwah, divided between the Peishwa, Scindiah, and Holkar. The Tapti, Nerbuddah, and their tributaries water the country, which, however, is not well cultivated. The interior is curiously cut up by ravines, from thirty to forty feet deep, winding along sometimes for miles. The ridges of the Western Ghauts extend along the Tapti. Among the hills, and along the courses of the rivers, many Bheel tribes reside, who became troublesome to the government immediately previous to the military revolution of 1857, and again during the progress of that crisis. Candesh proper comprises what in the reign of the Emperor Akbar comprehended the whole of Candesh. It is the most fertile and populous region of the territories which are known under that general designation. Berhanpore was the ancient capital: it is situated on a fine plain, fairly cultivated. This city was once ten miles in circumference, but it is now shorn of its glory. It is about three hundred and forty miles from Bombay, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 19'$  north, and  $76^{\circ} 18'$  east longitude.

Husseinabad is a noted city in this province, being regarded as a good position in a military point of view, and the key of this portion of the Deccan. The town is nevertheless neither well built nor populous. The water of the Nerbuddah is here peculiarly sweet and agreeable; the valley through which it flows in the vicinity of the town is, notwithstanding the advantage of its presence, badly cultivated, and covered in most places with jungle. During the month of February the appearance of this jungle is very beautiful, in consequence of a shrub which bears flowers of the brightest scarlet. At the same season another flowering shrub fills the air with the richest perfume; these odoriferous flowers are gathered and dried, when they assume the appearance of berries, and are as sweet as raisins. The natives distil a sort of vinous spirit from them.

POONAH, now a collectorate of Bombay, was once the metropolitan province of the Mahratta empire. The city is situated latitude  $15^{\circ} 30'$  north, longitude  $74^{\circ} 2'$  east;



about thirty miles to the east of the Ghauts, and one hundred miles from Bombay. The rank of this city is superior to its area or population. The streets are all named after mythological personages, and the gods of the Hindoo Pantheon are painted on the fronts of the houses: judging from the nomenclature of the streets, and other signs, it is the most religious city in the world. At this town the Moota River joins the Moola; their union is called the Moota Moola, and is emptied into the Beema, which afterwards forms a junction with the Kistna. By this route, during the rainy season, a river-voyage may be made from within seventy-five miles of the western coast of India to the Bay of Bengal, provided the passage be undertaken in a canoe. The ancient palace of Poonah is surrounded by high thick walls: a modern one was erected more to the taste of the peishwa. The native population probably exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand.

Poonah is an important situation in reference to the large portion of the Deccan subject to the Bombay government. The military cantonments are not large, but are pleasantly situated, and very convenient. The neighbourhood is famous for hog-hunting, in which the officers of the cantonment mingle with great zest, whatever may be the corps there stationed. This is a perilous amusement; it would be so in ground more favourable to horsemanship than the Deccan, which, in these districts, is made up to a great extent of rock, hill, and ravine. The wild hog holds his retreat in rather elevated situations, and can defend himself, to the peril of his pursuers, man and horse, of which both soon become conscious.

Within a mile or two of Poonah the governor has a bungalow, which is beautifully situated; the choicest plants, native and exotic, bloom in the gardens. The collection of geraniums is very fine, the soil of the Deccan being especially favourable to them. The scarlet species abound in the gardens, and are found wild in the neighbourhood.

The Temple of Parbuttee is still an object of interest at Poonah, although shorn of its former glory. The Temple of Pawatti, the Mountain Goddess, is beautifully situated on a lofty hill, surrounded by luxuriant gardens, "rich in the empurpled clusters of the Deccan vine, and the dusky fruit of the sweet-juiced pomegranate." In the neighbourhood of Poonah there is a remarkable grove of mango-trees, planted by the peishwa in expiation of the murder of his brother. The Ketuah Bang, a country seat, also a creation of the peishwa, is very beautiful—the building is supported on handsome Saracenic arches,

the grounds are tastefully laid out in the best oriental style—cool kiosks, and numerous jets of sparkling water, causing a freshness the most salutary and agreeable. About two miles from Poonah is the cavalry cantonment of Kirkee, where Sir Arthur Wellesley wooed fortune on the battle-field.

Between the bridge of the Sungum near Poonah, and Kirkee, there is a beautiful cave-temple cut in the limestone rock. In the centre a circle of rude columns, in the simplest style of Hindoo architecture, support a huge block of rock; below this kneel the sacred bull of Siva (Nandi), uncaparisoned and rough hewn. At the other end is a number of square pillars, which support the roof. The whole structure is curious. The banks of the Sungum River in the neighbourhood of Poonah are very pretty, but the beauty is of the ordinary description of Indian rivers.

In connection with Poonah, the district of SATTARA naturally claims attention. The peishwas by whom Poonah was governed virtually ruled Sattara for more than one hundred years. The rajah, however, was treated as supreme, the peishwa pretending allegiance, and offering an ostensible obedience. The rajah was, in fact, a prisoner at his hill fort of Sattara. When the British expelled the peishwa, in 1818, the rajah was reinstated by them as sovereign over a considerable portion of his dominions, bounded to the west by the Western Ghauts, to the south by the Warner and Kistna Rivers, to the north by the Beema and Neera Rivers, and on the east by the frontier of the nizam's dominions, the whole area occupying a surface of eleven thousand square miles. When of late the deposition of the Rajah of Sattara raised such a clamour in England, it was overlooked by his advocates that the rajahs would have continued the actual, although not nominal vassals, of the peishwas, had not British power rescued them from their thralldom. The conditions then imposed were thankfully accepted. Whatever might be the opinion justly drawn as to the rajah's fulfilment of his engagements, these facts ought to be borne in mind in any discussion concerning his deposition.

The hill fort of Sattara was so called (the word meaning *seventeen*) because possessing originally seventeen walls, towers, and gates. The fortress occupies the highest pinnacle of a hill, the access to it being by a circuitous path of great difficulty. The cantonment is situated in a lovely valley, surrounded by magnificent hills, which are crowned in every direction available for defence by a fort. The scenery generally in the dominions once those



of the rajah more resembles that of England than probably any part of India. The cottages are thatched—flowers and creepers in front and around them; the cattle browsing in the fields, guarded by hedges, present quite an English home picture. There are, nevertheless, tokens sufficient to convince the visitor that, however English such features of the landscape may be, the scenery is still that of India; for the cottages are in the vicinities of grotesque temples, that tell of idolatry, and bring the long past and the present together, and the fine English-like roads are skirted by avenues of bright tamarind-trees. The following pleasing picture is from the pencil of a lady:—"The dâk traveller, leaving Sattara in the evening, dawn sees him at the foot of the stupendous ghauts, on which has been cut the road leading to the Mahabeleshwar hills. Winding along the steep brows of lesser ghauts, piled, as it were, to oppose the desecrating foot of man, the scene becomes rich in the features of sublime and fertile loveliness, each ghaut being thickly wooded, from its pale purple and sunlit brow, to where the gathering and snow-like wreaths of fleecy clouds conceals its union with the lowlands. On either side of the curving pathway rich and graceful trees, festooned with a variety of blooming creepers, charm the eye, while about the gnarled roots, as if hurled by the thunder-armed power of the great storm, lie massive fragments of time-stained rocks, crushing the verdure on which they fell, until time has again, with tenderest touch, encouraged fragile and flowery weeds to spring from their dark clefts, and sun their sweet heads in the glorious light." Continuing onwards, new heights sink into insignificance before other and towering elevations. These mountains are fantastic in form, bearing a sweet and glowing verdure, until the traveller reaches the summit of the Mahabeleshwar hills, and an atmosphere clear, cold, and invigorating. This spot is four thousand eight hundred feet above the level of the sea, and has been chosen as a sanatorium. In all the Deccan none more appropriate could have been chosen. Pretty bungalows are erected on eminences which command the most splendid combinations of scenery. These bungalows are interspersed with tents, variously formed and grouped, adding much to the picturesque aspect of the place. An obelisk to commemorate Sir Sidney Beckwick, many years commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, is expressive of the lasting fame which the brave and good receive. Plants of fern and arrowroot, exceedingly pleasing to the eye, grow luxuriantly wherever the hills have soil; and from the clefts of the ragged rocks, plants, shrubs, and

trees, shoot up in great diversity of beauty. The jungles conceal tigers, bears, wolves, elks, and other animals—some ferocious, and others beautiful and harmless. The points of view most inviting are Sydney and Elphinstone rocks. From these the rich scenery of the Concan lies stretched beneath the beholder's gaze. At a distance of about thirty miles the sea is visible, adding to the magnificence of the scene, and inspiring a sense of the vast and the sublime. From the gorges of the mountains innumerable cataracts flash in the sun's rays, leaping from crag to crag, as if in wild pursuit of each other, to the plains below. In the lower grounds streams wind their way, seeking the ocean, and in their course blessing with irrigation the grateful soil. It is in this range that the Kistna River has its sources, in the village of Mahabeleshwar ("the great and good God"). The sources are two in number, and are covered by arched and many-columned temples. In each the source of this river flows from the mouth of the sacred bull Nandi, and is received in a tank, whence it overflows, winding its way, until, the two streams uniting, and forming confluence with minor streams, the Kistna is formed. Viewed from the temples, the valley of the Kistna River is extremely lovely. A more fair and pastoral landscape could hardly be presented in the beautiful west of England, while the rich oriental woods, now dark, now bright, crown every upland, and bend over the waters of the descending current. The supplies of grain, fruit, game, beef, mutton, and all the necessities of life, are abundant at the sanatorium, the whole country beneath being one beautiful garden. It has been confidently affirmed by the admirers of Indian scenery, who have also travelled much in Europe, that neither the Alps nor the Pyrenees possess scenery so lovely, and at the same time so grand, as these ghauts present.

The fort of Portabghur, perched upon the peak of a ghaut which overlooks the Mahabeleshwar hills and the splendid scenery of the Southern Concan, affords a very magnificent prospect, and is in other respects interesting. Here there is a temple built to the goddess of destruction, in which human victims were annually offered by the Rajah of Sattara before British authority brought the horrid rites to extinction with the tyranny of the peishwa. Many deeds of terror and oppression were enacted in the blood-stained fort of Portabghur.

The collectorate of TANNAR takes its designation from a town and fortress in the island of Salsette. The length of the island is eighteen miles by thirteen wide—the average



breadth. It was formerly separated from Bombay, across to which a causeway has been made. The population is small. The island is picturesque, but badly cultivated, notwithstanding its proximity to Bombay. It is customary for the residents in that island, because of the agreeable voyage, to visit Salsette, although not a healthy place, from the prevalence of marsh and jungle. This island contains a collection of singular caverns, excavated in the rocky hills. In one of these caverns the Portuguese built a church, and in order to make the place appropriate for such a purpose, defaced the heathen inscriptions; two gigantic statues of Buddha, however, remain.

In this collectorate the island of Elephanta is situated. It is in the Bay of Bombay, about seven miles from the castle, and is a place of constant resort from the great western capital. The isle is composed of two long hills, with a narrow valley between them; it is about six miles in circumference. The caves of Elephanta have a world-wide celebrity. Notice was taken of them in the chapter on the religions of India, to which the reader is referred. Opinions are very diverse as to the claims of the caves found in both these islands to superior taste on the part of those by whose labour and ingenuity they were wrought—some travellers extolling them as wondrous efforts of art, and others depreciating them as much. The celebrated historian of India, Mill, thus wrote:—"The cave of Elephanta, not far from Bombay, is a work which, from its magnitude, has given birth to the supposition of high civilisation among the Hindoos. It is a cavity in the side of a mountain, about half-way between its base and summit, of the space of nearly one hundred and twenty feet square. Pieces of the rock, as is usual in mining, have been left at certain distances, supporting the superincumbent matter; and the sight of the whole upon the entrance is grand and striking. It had been applied at an early period to religious purposes, when the pillars were probably fashioned into the sort of regular form they now present, and the figures, with which great part of the inside is covered, were sculptured on the stone." Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq., the distinguished editor of Mill's History, affixes the following note to the above quotation:—"The cave of Elephanta is not the only subterranean temple of the Hindoos exhibiting on a large scale the effects of human labour. In the isle of Salsette, in the same vicinity, is a pagoda of a similar kind, and but little inferior to it in any remarkable circumstance. The pagodas of Ellora, about eighteen miles from Aurungabad, are not of the size of those

of Elephanta and Salsette, but they surprise by their number, and by the idea of the labour which they cost. (See a minute description of them by Anquetil Duperron, *Zendavesta*, Disc. Prélim. p. cccxxiii.) The seven pagodas, as they are called, at Mavalipuram, near Madras, on the Coromandel coast, is another work of the same description; and several others might be mentioned."

Dr. Tennant expresses views in harmony with those of Dr. Wilson when he says—"Their caves in Elephanta and Salsette are standing monuments of the original gloomy state of their superstition, and the imperfection of their arts, particularly that of architecture."\*

Forbes, so generally recognised as an authority, has these opinions:—"However these gigantic statues, and others of similar form, in the caves in Ellora and Salsette, may astonish a common observer, the man of taste looks in vain for proportion of form and expression of countenance."† "I must not omit the striking resemblance between these excavations (Elephanta, &c.) and the sculptured grottoes in Egypt," &c. "I have often been struck with the idea that there may be some affinity between the *written mountains* in Arabia and those caves."‡

The general character of the collectorate does not merit any distinctive notice.

The collectorates of DHARWAR and RUTNAGHERRY belong to the ancient province of Bejapore, and the characteristics are too much identical with other portions of the Deccan to require a separate description.

Attached to Bombay as a non-regulation district is that of COLARA. This small territory is a portion of the ancient province of the Mysore, a country in the south of India, nearly surrounded by the Madras presidency. The natives of this district are fond of planting hedges with aloes, of the leaves of which they make cordage. The language of the people is the Canarese.

The capital of the district, called by the same name, is noted as the birthplace of Hyder, father of the notorious Tippoo, whose name is so signal in Indian history. The latter erected there a handsome monument to the former, and near it a mosque, or college of moullahs, improperly called by most writers Mohammedan priests, as the Mohammedan religion has no priesthood. These moullahs, or ministers, exercised considerable influence there—even beyond what they obtained in other parts of India.

SCINDE is a non-regulation province of the Bombay presidency: its conquest, after so

\* *Indian Recreations*, vol. i. p. 6.

† Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ *Ibid.*



severe a struggle, by Sir Charles Napier, gives an especial interest to it with the present generation. It is also a valuable province, both from its area and population.\* Its vicinity to the important province of Gujcrat, and to the Punjaub, renders it of consequence: through it properly lies the way from the Punjaub and Affghanistan to the sea. By way of Scinde from the west, direct and profitable commerce with Persia must be opened up from the Bombay presidency. Scinde was in ancient days only a province of Mooltan, before that once great dominion became itself a province of the Lahore government. It occupies both banks of the Indus; Mooltan and Affghanistan bound it on the north; Cutch and the sea bound it upon the south; to the east are Ajmeer, the Sandy Desert, and Cutch; and on the west it is contiguous to Beloochistan and the sea.

Scinde lies along the plain of the Indus from the sea to Sungur. From the sea to Shikapore is called Lower Scinde; from thence to Sungur, Upper Scinde. East of the Indus the province is flat from its most northern limits to the sea, with the trifling exception of a few low hills called the Gunjah. On the western bank of the great river, the country is much diversified—mountain, vale, and undulated surface are comprised within it. The soil is various: in some places productive—in others poor; in most districts capable of high culture, and requiring care and improvement in nearly all. The climate is good, except where marshy land creates miasma. In the months of June and July the thermometer ranges from  $90^{\circ}$  to  $100^{\circ}$ ; but the air in northern Scinde is refreshed by cooling breezes from the west, so that the heat is seldom complained of by Europeans, even when the temperature ranges very high. About Hyderabad the climate is very agreeable, and in August, when other portions of India suffer much from heat, that region is most balmy and agreeable to those who can endure a high temperature. In no part of India is the air on the whole purer than in Scinde.

The productions of this province, notwithstanding the low state of cultivation, the poverty of the soil in some districts, and the necessity for artificial irrigation over a large area, are extremely various. Rice, ghee, hides, shark fins, potash, saltpetre, asafœtida, bdellium, madder, indigo, oleaginous seeds as fodder for animals, frankincense, musk, alum, and gums, are all exported in greater or smaller quantities to the neighbouring states. In the Bombay market the productions of

Scinde are of great value, and constitute an important trade.

During the reign of the Ameers, the country retrograded: that vile race plundered it, and discouraged in every way its progress. To the Brahmins these Mohammedan tyrants were tolerant, but the lower castes they loaded with oppression. The mass of the population are Hindoos, Jats, and Beloochees—the first-named of these being the oldest race of the present settlers, or, as some think, the aborigines. The men of Scinde are not very tall, and seldom are of small stature; to the other Indians they are, in this respect, like the Spaniards among Europeans. They are well formed and strong, much superior to the natives of India in the lower provinces of the three presidencies. They are very brown in complexion, with dark hair and brows. The females are both finely formed and featured; they are not secluded like the women of the south, but are in this particular nearly as free as the Sikh ladies.

The general resemblance of Scinde to Egypt must strike every one: a fertile plain bounded on the one side by mountains, and on the other by a desert; a large river dividing it, which forms a delta as it approaches the sea, and periodically inundates the country—constitute a singular resemblance. The districts or sub-districts into which Scinde is divided are Shikapore, Hyderabad, and Kurrachee.

HYDERABAD has been noticed in another page as remarkable for its peculiar situation, and its excellent climate. When treating on the climate of India generally, reasons were assigned for supposing that the locality was more favourable to health than any other in India.

SHIKAPORE is a district to the west of the Indus, lying between that river and Beloochistan; it is the southern province of Scinde. Near to the Indus the soil is fertile; it becomes sterile as it approaches towards Beloochistan. The inhabitants are Jats, with a large sprinkling of Beloochees, especially to the west of the district; there are Hindoos scattered along the river portion. Formerly their reputation was very bad, and they continued the practice of Dacoitee and other delinquencies until the conquest of the British enforced order. The town of Shikapore stands in latitude  $27^{\circ} 36'$  north, and longitude  $69^{\circ} 18'$  east. The inhabitants are generally termed in Scinde Shikaporees; they are Hindoos. The commerce of this city is considerable; and before the British occupation of the country there were many rich bankers there, and a considerable trade kept up with the Punjaub, Affghanistan, and Rajpootana.

\* See page 27.



From Shikapore to Turkistan the bankers of this city were famous.\*

Kurrachee has of late years become exceedingly important—its commerce being rapidly on the increase. The establishment of a fair there was expected to produce great consequences, but they were not realised. The commodities were various and valuable which were brought thither, but vendors rather than buyers made it their resort on these occasions. Notwithstanding the failure in this respect, its position is such as to justify great expectations concerning its future prosperity, and its utility to India and to Britain. "Kurrachee is a position of very great importance, whether regarded in a commercial, a political, or a military point of view. In a commercial point of view, it may be defined the gate of Central Asia, and is likely to become to India what Liverpool is to England. It has been officially reported that accommodation exists for the reception within the harbour, at the same time, of twenty ships of eight hundred tons (and any number of smaller craft). The climate of Kurrachee is cool in proportion to its latitude; and under British auspices, the town must speedily become a most important place."† It is situated in latitude  $24^{\circ} 51'$ , longitude  $67^{\circ} 2'$ .

Mr. W. P. Andrews, chairman of the Scinde and Punjaub Railway, thus describes the port: "The port is protected from the sea and bad weather by Munorah, a bluff rocky headland, projecting south-eastward from the mainland, and leaving a space of about two miles between the extreme point and the coast to the east. The harbour is spacious, extending about five miles northward from Munorah Point, and about the same distance from the town, on the eastern shore, to the extreme western point."

The great obstacle to commerce, and also to the use of the harbour for military purposes, is a bar at the mouth. This bar, however, admits at times of a depth of twenty-six feet of water, which allows vessels of considerable burden to come in, and also ships of war. Commodore Young, of the Indian navy, twice in the year 1854, took in the steam-frigate *Queen* in the night, and while the south-west monsoon prevailed. During the expedition to the Persian Gulf, consequent upon the Persian occupation of Herat, Commodore Rennie, of the Indian navy, was constantly in the harbour, conveying troops, and reported that the bar-water was more than was indicated by the port-register.

During the year 1855 the following ships,

\* Elphinstone.

† Thornton's *Gazetteer*.

among others, entered the harbour of Kurrachee:—

	From London.	Tons.	Draught.
Dec. 1.	Marion . . . . .	684 . . .	18 ft. 6 in.
Nov. 23.	Norwood . . . . .	850 . . .	15 ft. 0 in.
Oct. 19.	El Dorado . . . . .	841 . . .	21 ft. 0 in.
Sept. 24.	James Gibb . . . . .	813 . . .	21 ft. 6 in.
Aug. 12.	Marmion . . . . .	388 . . .	16 ft. 3 in.
" 6.	Kenilworth . . . . .	582 . . .	16 ft. 6 in.
July 30.	Granger . . . . .	878 . . .	19 ft. 6 in.
" "	Sir James . . . . .	646 . . .	
" 26.	Alexander Wise . . . . .	295 . . .	15 ft. 0 in.
" 2.	Saxon . . . . .	526 . . .	15 ft. 2 in.
" "	Tamar . . . . .	556 . . .	17 ft. 10 in.
June 30.	Semiramis . . . . .		large steamer.
" 14.	Agamemnon . . . . .	756 . . .	16 ft. 3 in.

Brigadier-general Jacob, C.B., officiating commissioner for Scinde, reported, under date the 30th of April, 1856, that during the year 1854–5 vessels to the number of 1086, of the burthen of 56,695 tons, entered the port of Scinde, thirty-nine of which, including steamers, were square-rigged, of a burthen of 13,841 tons. The number that cleared outwards was 1103 vessels, burthen 58,194 tons, including square-rigged ships and steamers.

These statements bear upon the commerce of India as well as upon the capabilities of Kurrachee, but are necessary here to show the relative capacity and position of the province to which this section refers.

The court of directors of the East India Company commissioned a skilful engineer to examine how far the harbour was capable of improvement. Lieutenant Grieve, of the Indian navy, was directed by the commissioner thus appointed to furnish detailed surveys. The result was a report favourable to the harbour:—"It is satisfactory to me to be able to state, at the outset, that I think the objects which the court of directors have in view—namely, the deepening, or even the entire removal of the bar, and the general improvement of the harbour of Kurrachee—are not of doubtful execution; but that, on the contrary, there is good reason to expect through the application of proper means, the accomplishment of both—and this at a moderate expense, when compared with what I understand to be the almost national importance of a safe harbour at Kurrachee, capable of receiving and accommodating sea-going vessels of large tonnage;" and "that Kurrachee is capable of being made an excellent harbour, and that there are no very great engineering or other physical difficulties to contend with in making it such." The court of directors have sent out an experienced harbour engineer to assist in carrying out the plans of Mr. Walker. To that able and excellent officer, Captain C. D. Campbell, of the Indian navy, belongs the credit of having been the



first to take in on his own responsibility a large armed steamer into the harbour of Kurrachee." . . . "Colonel Turner instituted a series of very careful experiments by boring, and showed most conclusively that there was not a particle of rock anywhere on the bar; that the whole was composed, to considerable depth, of soft sand. The establishment of this fact of course removed one principal ground of the fear which mariners before had—of approaching or touching on the bar."

It would appear that the harbour is practicable, and that for commerce and travel the position is one of great consequence:—"The pilgrims from the countries on our north-west border, *en route* to Mecca and other holy cities, would supply traffic to the railway and steam flotilla, and increase the intercourse already established between Kurrachee and the ports of the Persian Gulf." "From the Sutlej to the Oxus, whoever wishes to communicate with any place beyond the sea must pass through Kurrachee. It occupies a position scarcely less favourable to commerce than that of Alexandria." \*

The military importance of the port has been asserted in very strong terms by various officers of high standing, and by civilians, whose official connection with government and military affairs qualified them to form an opinion. "Of the harbour of Kurrachee I have always had the highest opinion." † "It can hardly be doubted that Kurrachee is destined to be the great arsenal of the Punjab and North-western India—perhaps the emporium, and even the real capital, of British India." ‡ Brigadier-general Parr, commanding at Kurrachee, stated that, "by the facilities afforded for rapid communication with Suez and Mooltan, he hoped at no distant date it would positively take less time to move a brigade from Southampton to the Punjab than it would at present take to move the Kurrachee brigade from this camp to Mooltan; in other words, *you might have Southampton, instead of Kurrachee, the base of your operations for any campaigns in the Punjab, or any countries beyond it.*"

The question as to how far Kurrachee may afford a suitable port of debarkation for troops destined for the north-west provinces of India, whether under the government of Bombay or Agra, and for the non-regulation provinces (attached to those governments) of Scinde and the Punjab, or in case of operations against Eastern Beloochistan and Aff-

ghanistan, is one of great concern to the British government, and has obtained additional interest from the events of the revolt of 1857. During that period the government availed itself for the first time, on a scale of any magnitude, of this medium. The following is a list of vessels which sailed for Kurrachee with troops from the 14th of July to the 15th of October, 1857:—

Sailed.	Ship.	No. of Troops.
July 14.	Sir George Seymour . . . . .	227
" 19.	Ramilies . . . . .	212
" 19.	Castle Eden . . . . .	234
" 21.	Roman Emperor. . . . .	193
" 21.	Seringapatam . . . . .	218
" 21.	Bombay . . . . .	348
" 21.	Albuera . . . . .	227
" 21.	Owen Glendower . . . . .	263
Sept. 2.	Alipore . . . . .	208
" 24.	Ireland, S.S. . . . .	301
Oct. 3.	Bahiana, S.S. . . . .	433
" 3.	Austria, S.S. . . . .	718
" 15.	Southampton, S.S. . . . .	624

TROOPS DISPATCHED BY THE OVERLAND ROUTE.

Sailed.	Ship.	Men.
Oct. 2.	Sultan, S.S. . . . .	117
" 14.	Dutchman, S.S. . . . .	122

In connection with the rapid transmission of intelligence to and from India, the future of Kurrachee seems to promise much. During the rebellion of the Bengal sepoys, the want of a rapid medium of imparting and receiving news and official communications was severely felt. Those who are sanguine of the prospects of Kurrachee dwell much on this point. Mr. Andrews, already quoted, thus argues:—"To be the nearest point to Europe of all our Indian possessions is important in many points of view, but more especially with reference to 'the Euphrates valley route,' and every remark relative to the direct communication of Kurrachee is equally, if not more applicable, to that with Bussorah, as materially reducing the sea voyage from India. The electric wire will soon connect Kurrachee with the Punjab; and when the proposed telegraph communication is established with Europe, whether it be by the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, or, as it ought to be, by both routes, the advantage will be great, of being the medium of disseminating the political and commercial intelligence of Europe to the most distant parts of our Indian possessions, and giving in exchange the most recent events in India and Central Asia. Hitherto beyond the pale of the electric chain that spans the empire, Kurrachee is destined, ere long, to become the chief seat of the telegraph in India."

Sir Henry Pottinger, so famous in the civil and military administration of India, regarded Kurrachee as the point between India and

\* Vide appendix to the reports of Colonel Jacob and of Mr. Dalzell, collector of customs, regarding the trade of the province during the year 1855-6.

† Sir Henry Pottinger.

‡ Sir Justin Sheil.



Europe the best adapted for a port of communication.

The facilities for the navigation of the Indus enter into the discussion in connection with this port. The difficulties in the way of making the Indus navigable are great. Sir Henry Pottinger pronounced it so, after giving much attention to the matter under the most favourable opportunities. The reports which he prepared for the directors of the East India Company were, unfortunately, lost. In conveying at a later period to the court his views of the advantages of Kurrachee as a port, and the facility for railway enterprise afforded in the valley of the Indus, he observed:—"I had a very complete journal of all the events and circumstances attending the first mission to Scinde in 1809, in which the dangers and difficulties of the navigation of the lower delta of the Indus were fully described, and exactly tallied with what have now been brought forward. My journal and all my notes and papers were destroyed on the breaking out of the war in 1818, when the residency at Poonah was burned by the Mahratta army. What I now state may be so far satisfactory, perhaps, to the directors, as showing the views which were early forced on me with regard to the important question now under discussion."\*

The advantage of a line of railway in the direction specified would be important in a military point of view, whatever might be its commercial value. Mr. Frere, the government commissioner, has used very conclusive arguments on the subject:—"The practical value of the railway was to increase the available power of every ship, and of every man employed in military and naval operations. In reference to the Punjaub, the capacity of moving troops to a given point was of immense importance. If they looked at the map they would see that they had a mountainous range, between which and our possessions the Indus formed a natural boundary, and the company proposed to make a line along its level plains. In a military point of view the advantage would be this, that if the Khyber Pass should be closed to our forces, they could be moved with rapidity to the Bolan Pass, and in either case the enemy would be taken in flank or in the rear. In the meantime the Euphrates Valley Railway would give them the command of the sea-board of the Persian Gulf, and not only this, but the completion of that railway would practically make Chatham nearer to any point of action in the Persian territory than any military force which could be brought to bear upon it from Central Asia."

\* Lieutenant-general the Right Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., G.C.B.

Whatever may be the effects, military or commercial, of the Scinde Railway in connection with that of the Punjaub, the improvement of the Kurrachee harbour may be made of vast use to India and to England irrespective of it. A Scinde paper, published at the close of 1857, contained the following:—

"The camel train has commenced its work: eight hundred camels are laid on the line from Kurrachee to Rohree, and it is hoped that within another fortnight the line to Mooltan will be completed. Twenty camels are stationed at each chowkee, and each camel carries a load of four maunds or three hundred and twenty pounds. A rather novel proposition has been made by Moorad Khan, contractor at this station. He engages to convey the regiments expected from England at Kurrachee, to Mooltan in twelve days. He proposes to lay a dawk of one hundred or one hundred and fifty camels, at each of twenty-five chowkies, at intervals on the road. Two soldiers with arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, with water, will form the load for one camel, to proceed to the first halting-place, where fresh camels will carry them on to the next stage, and so on. The first lot of camels will return at night, and next day a fresh batch of soldiers will proceed; thus the whole of the regiments will be in advance together, in batches of three hundred each. The men on each camel will be provided with a cajawah, made quite convenient for them to lie down on. The contractor will only require government to supply biscuits and grog, he guaranteeing a regular and good supply of mutton, eggs, poultry, milk, butter, &c., the whole of the way. This we consider a much better plan than keeping up a large establishment of camels, with the delay of moving up troops by regular marches, the attendant casualties, &c. All this will be obviated by a fair remuneration to the contractor, who stands all risks."

The Indus also, whatever the difficulties of its navigation for commercial purposes, can be made available for military objects, as the following extract, taken, at the close of 1857, from the *Scinde Kossid* will show:—"The steamers *Planet*, *Napier*, and *Assyria*, with the flats *Ethersey* and *Nitocris*, have been ordered down from the Persian Gulf, and are expected here daily. The *Indus*, undergoing repairs at Gizree, will be ready for work again at the end of next week. There will be no delay now in launching the first of the new steamers at Keamaree, as the *Wings of the Wind* has brought up from Bombay all the wood-work required in this operation, and ere long we may hope to see her afloat.



With these valuable acquisitions to the existing defective flotilla on the river, the naval authorities will be able to render invaluable service in the conveyance of troops and stores up the country. With this fleet, and the camel train, organised so efficiently by Colonel Hutt, we ought to be in a position to dispatch some thousands of soldiers for the relief of the upper provinces, in a shorter space of time than can possibly be done from the Calcutta side; and we think the public will agree with us in saying, that it is very much to be regretted that the home authorities did not order the greater portion of the reinforcements now on their way out, to disembark at Kurrachee rather than in Bengal. Had this been done, the present rebellion would have been entirely suppressed much earlier than it can possibly be by the arrangements already made in England for our succour."

Finally, in reference to these views of Indian authorities in reference to this new emporium of commerce, and position of political resource, the *Calcutta Englishman*, so well qualified to offer an opinion, may be consulted:—"Kurrachee, situated at the mouth of the Indus, is fast advancing in prosperity, and into notice as a seaport; it will probably soon be known as the first in the empire, being superior to Calcutta, Madras, or even Bombay. In a commodious harbour, and safe anchorage, it will become a depot for the commerce (export and import) of all Northern India and Scinde with Europe."

The modes of opening up communication through Scinde affect also the commerce and military arrangements of the Punjab; but serious discussions exist as to whether the railway system or the river navigation is the better mode of accomplishing the object. Two different schemes, based upon different views, on this subject at present occupy the attention of practical men, the East India Company, and the government. One party proposes a railway of more than one hundred miles from Kurrachee to Kotree, on the Indus, so as to render unnecessary the circuitous route of the river through the delta. At Kotree the goods and passengers brought by the train are to be embarked on the Indus, and borne by steamers to Mooltan: another railway is to be constructed thence to Lahore. Originally it was supposed that a canal should connect Kurrachee (or rather Gizreebunder, which is very near it) with Kotree. For this plan the East India Company guarantee five per cent. to the investors. Upon this guarantee, however, the following critique has been made in a letter to Lord Palmerston by Mr. S. H. Clarke, who has been for many

years a merchant in Scinde and the Punjab:—

"It would be impossible for any government to ensure to the persons embarking in a railway, or any other speculation, the receipt of a specific dividend, without contracting obligations to an indefinite amount. If the scheme does not pay, the loss must be sustained by some party or other, and that party is the government, until the limit of five per cent has been reached. But if the loss is more than five per cent., not only may the whole of the guaranteed interest be swallowed up, but the company may be gradually run into debt, which debt, if contracted, the shareholders must necessarily pay. I believe that the misconceptions which have existed as to the nature of the East India Company's guarantee have had this mischievous effect, that they have taken away that inducement which would otherwise have existed to investigate the intrinsic merits of any of these guaranteed projects before embarking in them—the shareholder resting on the conviction that he was sure of a five per cent. return upon his money, however worthless and disastrous the enterprise might be."

In favour of the united river and railway scheme, comprising the Punjab as well as Scinde, the following eminent authorities are pledged, irrespective of those already quoted as approving of *some* railway and river communications being speedily opened up through these provinces:—

"The railroad and the steamers may be said, with truth, to be the crying wants of the Punjab."\*

"What a glorious thing it would have been, had the Euphrates Valley Railway and the Scinde and Punjab Railway been accomplished facts at the time of the present insurrection!"†

"It is sufficient to say that the Punjab section will, in a military and political point of view, be of more consequence than perhaps any other part of the railway. Following generally the line of the present Grand Trunk Road, it will bind together the series of first-class military stations held by the very flower of the army, European and native. It will connect the whole of these with the most salient point (Peshawur) of the most important of the several frontiers, by which the British Empire in the East is bounded. It will render the whole power of the empire capable of being rapidly concentrated and brought to bear upon a spot of vital consequence to the politics of Central Asia and of the countries bordering upon Europe. Further, in a commercial point of view, the

\* Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

† *Lahore Chronicle*, August, 1857.



Punjaub section will command a portion of the commerce between India and Central Asia." \*

The survey of the country from Lahore to Peshawur has been recommended by the government of India, and authorised by the East India Company, and its execution entrusted to the engineering staff of the Scinde Railway Company.

Notwithstanding such high authority, and the guarantee given by the East India Company above referred to, it is maintained by other persons of authority that the scheme can never answer the ends proposed. The railway from Kurrachee to Kotree, or to Hyderabad, must be carried, it is maintained, through a comparatively barren track, which would itself afford no means of support; and when vessels come down from the Punjaub to the point where the rail meets the river, it would be unremunerative to unload and consign the cargo to the more expensive conveyance of the rail. By those who advocate this scheme, a company has been formed to navigate the Indus and its confluent by steamers and barges adapted to the depth and character of the streams. The authorities who maintain this view affirm that it will be long before Northern and Western India will be in a condition to support railways, and if ever it be, it must arise from the increased wealth and commercial power and requirements fostered by the more adequate navigation of the great rivers.

Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, late Commander of the Indian navy; Captain Woodley, one of the most experienced captains of river steam-vessels in the Indian service; the late chief engineers of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; Messrs. Boulton and Watt; Mr. Fairbairn of Manchester; Mr. Penn, Mr. Miller, Mr. Summers, Mr. White, shipbuilder, of Cowes; Mr. Steele, shipbuilder, of Greenock; Captain Hall, C.B., late of the *Nemesis*, one of the most distinguished officers in the English navy; Captain Hoseason, whose talents and scientific attainments are well known in professional circles; Captain Cotton, brother of the celebrated Brigadier Cotton of Peshawur, and of the equally distinguished Colonel Cotton, chief engineer of Madras; Lieutenant Wood, of the Indian navy, who surveyed the Indus, and organised the navigation of that river as it is now conducted under the government;—are authorities in favour of the Indus navigation scheme to the exclusion of the Scinde railways.

There is thus not only a wide field for action, but also for discussion, as to which plan will best suit the wants of Scinde, the

\* Report of Punjaub Government on Railways.

Punjaub, and Western India. Both projects can hardly exist long together; and as the railway system is patronised by the East India Company, it is certain to be tried. In a chapter on the commerce of India, the report of the commissioners of the Punjaub will be given, which will probably satisfy the reader as to the commercial value of the respective schemes. In this place it is only appropriate to notice it as it regards the geography and topographical relations of the countries in question, and of the port of Kurrachee in relation to Scinde, the Indus, and the countries above them.

Scinde is not so rich in ancient remains as many other parts of India. One of the most interesting is the ancient city of Brahminabad. Mr. Bellasis has investigated the ruins, and brought to light various objects of value to the antiquarian and historian. The city is situated about fifty miles east of the Indus, near the bank of what then must have been the principal channel when it debouched at Luckput, and which now forms the Eastern Nurra, with its dry channel, and its strings of lakes, or *dhunds*. About the eighth century of our era, if we are to credit the ancient histories of Scinde, Brahminabad was large and flourishing. No histories written since the ninth century refer to it as an existing city, whence it is inferred that about one thousand years ago it was destroyed by an earthquake—no uncommon catastrophe in Indian cities, and Scinde has suffered extensively from such convulsions of nature. No portion of the city was swallowed up, and its ruins can be easily traced. A wall surrounds it, which is provided with gates at certain distances. This circumvallation is about four miles in extent, and probably enclosed a population of one hundred thousand persons, which is far below the amount that the old historians assign to it. The walls and houses are composed of well-made brick, and the building was well executed. Skeletons are found scattered in the ruins, as if the disaster came suddenly, leaving the people no opportunity of escape. Glass and glazed earthenware were in use among the inhabitants, and their vessels of these materials were formed upon Greek models, and are exquisitely elegant. Carvings in cornelian and ivory, and glass enamels, elegantly executed, have been discovered. It has been observed, as a singular circumstance, that the art of dyeing the onyx was known to the dwellers in Brahminabad one thousand years ago, as it is practised in Germany at the present day, by boiling in oil, and then heating. This art was also known in India proper, but has been long lost. Exquisite productions in ivory—toys,



cups, and inlaid ornamental work—have also been found, similar in style of execution to the inlaying for which Bombay is so famous. Sets of ivory chessmen were among these delicate manufactures, similar in all respects to those now in use—confirming the opinion entertained by some Indian antiquaries,\* that the game was known in India from very remote times. There is now proof that chess was a favourite amusement among the nations of India, not only when Europe was buried in the darkness of the early portion of the middle ages, but long before Christianity shed its light upon western lands.

Scinde and portions of Beloochistan are, like Egypt, almost without rain. That this was not formerly a condition of the climate of Scinde Mr. Bellasis thinks proven by the condition of the bricks in Brahminabad, and other ruined cities in the same neighbourhood; for it is remarkable that in rainless countries clay is seldom baked, the dryness of the atmosphere rendering that process unnecessary. In the ruined cities near the Indus the bricks were invariably baked, affording presumptive evidence that the climate eleven hundred years ago was not what it is now; indeed, there must have been some considerable alterations to cause the river to abandon its course, and form for itself another fifty miles distant. Whether or not the meteorological inductions of the learned antiquary be correct, it is at least certain that he has started an interesting inquiry, and supplied data to guide it.

It is supposed that the vestiges of former generations discovered in the ruins of Brahminabad will throw light upon the interval between the Greek and Mohammedan periods of Indian history, aiding in filling up the historical gap which still exists.† One of the practical advantages at the present day of these antiquarian speculations has been the suggestion that by planting trees, and by cultivation, forced by irrigation, the climate of Scinde may be influenced so as to procure frequent rain.‡

It must not be supposed by the reader that Scinde is entirely without rain; it occasionally falls, and sometimes in furious storms, which smite the earth like a deluge. On a former page, when referring to the rainy seasons of India, notice was taken of such rain-falls in Scinde. The last signal instance of the kind occurred in 1851, during the months of July and August; there had been none other such for thirty years previously. The phenomena attending this exceptional season were re-

markable. Reports were made to the commissioner of Scinde concerning them, by whom they were communicated to the Bombay Geographical Society. One of the assistant collectors, while visiting the country between Ghorabbarree and Kotree, near Hyderabad, observed that, although a steady wind blew from the south-west, the clouds invariably came from the east and north-east, and passed over the level country with a gyratory motion to the south-east, apparently turning off towards the latter direction by the western hills. When the wind blew only from the north, there was a cessation of rain. The effect on the delta of the Indus was to destroy cultivation by the sudden and overwhelming rise of the river and the subsequent rains. The assistant commissioner had every reason to apprehend that, by the rising of the Oochta and Lewara Rivers, the low-lying town of Ghorabbarree would be entirely swept away.\* In Kurrachee such effect was produced on many houses by the torrent of the Laree. The better class of the houses in Scinde have substantial stone foundations; the frames are of the babool, or even better wood; and to support a coating of prepared mud, with which they are covered, the short wood of the country, either tamarisk or mangrove, is made use of as lathes are in houses of English construction. The roofs are flat, and are protected with mud only.† From the 10th of July to the 4th of August 9·99 inches of rain fell at Kotree (where a register was kept), whereas the usual fall of rain for the whole season at Hyderabad is about two inches.‡

In many portions of Scinde good water for drinking is scarce; the village wells often yield an inadequate supply; and where there is no cultivation or jungle, the small quantity of rain that falls is insufficient to yield a supply for any length of time. This is one cause of the limited population of large districts.

Among what may be termed the phenomena of the climate of Scinde is a peculiarity referred to frequently by the people—that rain falls, at all events in Upper Scinde, in cycles of years, so that there are series of dry years and of rainy years of from forty to fifty in each series. The natives declare that thirty years ago rain fell every year during the hot season, and they foretell that a similar series of years, having their rainy months, is about to commence. There is abundant evidence in the remains of old bunds, and the marks of cultivation along the western frontier, that the river streams at one time afforded a much larger

\* Sir William Jones.

† General Woodburn.

‡ The *Bombay Times*, March, 1856.

\* G. Elander, assistant to collector for land clearances.

† H. B. Ellis, assistant commissioner.

‡ J. Craig, assistant civil surgeon.



supply of water than they have done of late. The deputy-collector of Sewan informed Mr. Ellis, the assistant-commissioner of Scinde, at the close of 1851, that it was his impression, from his own observation, and what he had heard from the inhabitants, that such cycles of rainy seasons were characteristics of the climate of Scinde.

Reference has been made on former pages to the frequency of earthquakes in India, and in Scinde in particular. On the frontier of Upper Scinde, in 1852, a disastrous instance of such a natural convulsion occurred. On the 24th of January, Kahun, the chief town of the Murrees, was totally destroyed. The people of Cutchee state that every three or four years shocks are felt in the Murree hills. In a report made to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Falkland, a list of earthquakes for the year 1851 was officially drawn up:—

*January 17.*—A slight shock felt at many places in the Punjaub.

*February 2.*—At Pooljee, near Sewan.

*February 4.*—At Lahore and Wuzeerabad.

*April 19.*—Three shocks felt at Gwadir, in Mekran; several houses destroyed.

*April 22 and 27.*—Earthquakes felt at Oothul and at Syaree, in Sup-Beila.

*December 13.*—Beloochistan; at Shahpore, in Cutchee—at the foot of the Murree hills.

These statistics were communicated by Major John Jacob, C.B. In his letter an inclosure from Lieutenant Merewether, of the Scinde horse, an officer who greatly distinguished himself in the command of irregular cavalry, afforded more detailed information. That officer affirmed that the earthquake of the 9th of February, 1852, extended to Gundava, Dadur, Lakree, Pooljee, and Chuttur. About four o'clock in the morning, at the appearance of the false dawn, the first heavings of the earth gave indications of the approaching catastrophe. Successive shocks threw the people of the whole neighbouring hill country into consternation, and consigned numbers, besides cattle and houses, to a common burial.

In any speculations which Englishmen indulge as to the cultivation and civilisation of Scinde, Beloochistan, and the Punjaub, account must be taken of the peculiar natural laws to which these regions are subjected.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CEYLON:—GEOLOGY—PRODUCTIONS—POPULATION—RELIGION—LITERATURE—CHIEF TOWNS.

On the second page a general view of Ceylon was given, and it was then intimated that a more detailed description would appear in its appropriate place.

The island is situated between  $5^{\circ} 56'$  and  $9^{\circ} 50'$  north latitude, and  $80^{\circ}$  and  $82^{\circ}$  east longitude. From its shape and position, it has been called "a pearl on the brow of the Indian continent." The superficial area is about two thousand four hundred square miles. It is bounded on the north-east by the Gulf of Manaar, by which it is separated from the mainland; its other limit is the Indian Ocean.

The sea-shore presents more diversity of scenery in proportion than the continent. In many places it is marked by bare and bold rocks, which are for the most part picturesque; generally the shores are wooded, especially with the cocoa-nut tree, and the scenes presented are characterised by rich oriental beauty. The interior is mountainous, the elevations ranging from six to eight thousand feet. The mountains form a sort of natural circular defence, of which the natives frequently availed themselves to resist foreign aggression. Primeval forests clothe the moun-

tains, with few exceptions, to their summits. The cinnamon laurel, the coffee shrub, and other useful and agreeable trees and shrubs, flourish in or near these forests on spots where the situation favours their growth.

The geological character of the island is almost uniform, being, with little exception, constituted of primitive rock. The exceptions consist of new formations, and are to be found in a few places on the shore. The varieties of primitive rock are numerous. Dolomite, quartz, and hornblende, are often met with, but granite greatly predominates. This rock, with gneiss, is found in such varieties as to test severely the skill of the geologist in classification. Grey-coloured granite, fine-grained, is sometimes found. A clergyman well acquainted with the geology of the island says,—“I have seen very beautiful specimens from the sea-shore in the vicinity of Trincomalee, in which the quartz is of a grey or blackish coloured rock-crystal, and the felspar of a vivid fleshy hue.” In the Kandian provinces gneiss and sienite are found; the former is considered very beautiful, formed of quartz and white felspar, with black mica, and a multitude of garnets of a



pale colour. Hornblende and greenstone abound in the mountains; the first is seldom seen in massive form, nor are the dolomite and quartz. Dolomite is to be met with as frequently as granite in great variety, "generally crystalline, and of a pure white colour; and very frequently it is formed of rhombs, which a blow of a hammer separates with facility." Embedded and in veins it is found in the neighbourhood of Kandy, and in the lower hills in other districts. In the vicinity of Trincomalee there is a remarkable hill, formed of quartz. Sandstone exists all along the coast—sometimes of a dun colour, and more frequently of a dull yellow. In the north the limestone formation prevails; it contains multitudes of shells, generally of a drab or grey colour. When this rock is broken the fracture is conchoidal.

The minerals of Ceylon are chiefly iron and manganese; others are obtained in scanty proportions. Iron exists all over the island in one or other of its forms—bog iron, magnetic, red hematite, pyrites, specular iron, or blue phosphate. No large vein of iron ore has as yet been discovered. "Black oxide of manganese occurs scattered and imbedded in gigantic rocks in small quantities, but at so great a distance inland, that the carriage would be too expensive to admit of a profitable export trade. It is very remarkable that no other metals have as yet been discovered in a country where the nature of the rock would indicate their existence. However, although some authors have asserted that gold and mercury are found native in Ceylon, such we believe to be most incorrect, and we have never heard that either lead, copper, or tin, has as yet been discovered.

"Lanka-diva\* abounds in every variety of the quartz family—hyalite, chalcedony, iron flint, and rock-crystal, which latter is found crystallised and massive in great quantities, and of a variety of colours. This is made use of by the Cingalese, who form lenses for spectacles from it, and employ it for statuary and ornamental purposes. Rose quartz, phrase, amethyst, and cat's eye, are also abundant. The Ceylon cat's eye is the most valuable in existence, and is much more prized there than in Europe. Topaz and schorl are also found in Ceylon; the former is commonly of a yellowish or bluish white colour, but perfect crystals of it are very rarely to be met with. Common schorl occurs very plentifully in granitic rocks, and in some places it is mixed with felspar and quartz; tourmalin is occasionally to be met with, but of a very inferior description, and these are either of red, green, or honey colour.

\* The native name for Ceylon.

"In the granitic rock garnet, cinnamon stone, and pyrope abound, and the common garnet is found diffused in gneiss through the whole island; the crystals, however, are diminutive and ill-defined. The precious garnet occurs in hornblende rock in the neighbourhood of Trincomalee, but of an inferior description. Cinnamon stone has heretofore been exclusively found in Ceylon, where it is very abundant, although confined to particular districts, and is principally met with in Matura. It is found in very large masses of many pounds in weight, and small pieces of irregular form in the granitic alluvial. The zircon, called by the Cingalese 'Matura diamond,' which is found in the island, is considered to be the best in the world; besides zircon and hyacinth there is another species in Ceylon, which is opaque, uncrystalised, and massive. Zircon is found both of yellow, green, red, and light grey colours, which the native merchants dispose of respectively for topaz, tourmalin, rubies, and diamonds. Ceylon has for a considerable period been renowned for its rubies, of which there are four species—namely, sapphire, spinell, chrysoberyl, and corundum, which are found in granitic rock. The principal varieties of sapphires—such as red, purple, yellow, blue, white, and star stone—are met with, sometimes of large size, and in perfection, at Matura, Saffragam, and other places. The purple, or oriental amethyst, is rare, and the green still more so. Spinell is very rare, and is occasionally met with in the clay-iron ore in the Kandian provinces, where gneiss is abundant. Chrysoberyl is peculiarly rare, and is said generally to come from Saffragam. Corundum is very plentiful at a place called Battagammana, where it is found on the banks of a small river called Agiri Kandura; it is of a brownish colour, and is in the form of large six-sided prisms.

"In the family of felspar Ceylon produces tablespar, Labrador stone, adularia, glassy felspar, compact felspar, and common felspar. The Labrador stone is found at Trincomalee, and adularia is plentiful in Kandy. Common hornblende is abundant, and glassy tremolite and pitch stone occur in the neighbourhood of Trincomalee. Mica, forming a component part of granite and gneiss, is very plentiful and frequently is found enclosed in these rocks, where it occurs in very extensive flakes, which the Cingalese employ for ornamental purposes. Green earth is rather uncommon, but is found in Lower Ouva of a green and pea-green colour. At Galle and Trincomalee common chlorite is found scattered through quartz. Talc, dolomite, carbonate of magnesia, and native carbonate of magnesia, are occasionally discovered.



Sulphur and graphite also occur—the former rarely, but the latter is abundant in Saffragam. Nitrate of lime and nitre are very common, and the nitre caves appear to be formed of carbonate of lime and felspar.

“Salt lakes exist to a large extent in the district called Megampattoo, on the sea-shore, and which in all probability are supplied from the sea, as the saline contents of both prove to be of a similar nature.

“All the soils of the island appear to have originated from decomposed granite rock, gneiss, or clay-iron stone, and in the majority of cases quartz is the largest, and frequently nearly the sole ingredient. It is very remarkable that the natural soils of Lanka-diva do not contain more than between one and three per cent. of vegetable substance, which may be attributed to the rapid decomposition, occasioned by a high degree of temperature, and heavy falls of rain. The most abundant crops are produced in the dark brown loam, which is formed from decomposed granite and gneiss, or in reddish loam, which is formed from Kabook store, or clay-iron stone. The soils which have been found to produce inferior crops are those in which a large proportion of quartz is contained. The soil derived from clay-iron stone is of a reddish brown colour, and has the property of retaining water for a very long time, to which may be attributed its productive quality. To the practical and scientific agriculturist Lanka-diva affords abundant opportunity for experiment and investigation where the soil is in a state of nature, and unimproved by the admixture of any description of manure.”\*

Ceylon is very favourably situated as to its water supply, a most important condition to the prosperity of a tropical country. The streams flowing from the higher grounds are numerous and pure, and in most parts of the island excellent springs supply the people. The remains of tanks and reservoirs are frequently traced, and on a vast scale, showing that the whole island at a very remote period was brought under high cultivation. So stupendous were those formations for the purpose of irrigation, that it has been observed of them by a competent authority, “they were hardly surpassed by the kindred wonders of Egypt.” The British government has neglected to restore these great works, although it must be obvious that the soil might be made vastly more productive, that many ages past the population was many fold what it is now, and the wealth of the island proportionate. Sir Thomas Maitland, half a century since, proposed the restoration of the tanks. “Giant’s Tank,” at Cattoe Kare, was espe-

\* *Ceylon and the Cingalese.*

cially made the subject of this recommendation, but the estimated cost was £25,000, and the time required to bring it back to something like its former efficiency was three years. These estimates were probably erroneous, but they were sufficient to deter the government from the undertaking. Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of that ancient work from the fact that villages have been formed *within its limits*, whose inhabitants have made several other tanks to irrigate their fields. Sir Emerson Tennant instituted inquiries, and urged the supreme government to undertake the matter, on the ground that it was “certain to repay the revenue the whole, and more than the whole, of the expenditure.”

The productions of Ceylon may be inferred from its geological character, climate, and amount of irrigation. Its most characteristic production is lemon-grass, which is so called by the English because it exudes a powerful smell of lemon. The natives call it Lanka-diva, and the botanical name is *Andropogon schenanthus*. It is excellent pasture for buffaloes, and yields an essential oil, which would prove an exquisite perfume. This grass grows on all the Kandian hills; its smell and taste are refreshing, unless too frequently used.

The vegetables of Europe do not grow well, except in Newera Ellia, but the indigenous vegetables are luxuriant—such as sweet potatoes, yams, occus, bringals, &c.

The chief cultivation is rice. The paddy fields are the grand reliance of the Cingalese husbandman. The mode of sowing and tilling is much the same as throughout the East generally. The plough is drawn by oxen or buffaloes, which also tread out the corn. The superstition of the people causes in various ways much loss to the agriculturist, especially loss of time. Some of the ceremonies connected with the harvest are eminently absurd. “The treading out of the paddy is performed upon a hard floor, prepared for the purpose by beating the clay; before the natives begin the work, however, a mystic rite and incantation are observed by the owner of the paddy, in the expectation of preserving the produce from the evil spirits. The ceremony is performed by describing three circles, one within the other, on the centre of the floor, with the ashes of wood, which the owner scatters from a large leaf; the circles are equally quartered by a cross, the four points of which are terminated by a character resembling a written letter *M*; within the inner circle the owner lays some paddy-straw, upon which he places a few pieces of quartz and a small piece of the kohomba-tree, the whole of which he covers



over with paddy-straw; he then walks round the cabalistic figure three times, and stops at one of the ends, salaams three times with up-raised hands, and finally prostrates himself upon the earth, all the time repeating incantations. When this ceremony has been completed, the paddy is piled upon the concentric circles, and the buffaloes are immediately after urged to the task of treading the corn." Wheat and maize are also grown.

Coffee is indigenous to the island (*Coffea Arabica*). The natives have used the decoction of the berry as long as anything definite in Cingalese history can be traced. The coffee now grown in the island is, however, generally supposed to be an importation from Java, where it was obtained from Mocha. The wild coffee of Ceylon is very inferior. The appearance of the cultivation is most pleasing. The bushes in the flowering season are covered with silvery blossoms, which contrast finely with the deep green leaves. When the shrubs are in fruit, the appearance is also striking, the berries, when ripened, being of a deep red colour, harmonise with the foliage. The ordinary appearance of a coffee plantation is that of an extensive garden of evergreens, with occasional forest trees among them, which are preserved to shelter the plantations.

The sugar-cane is cultivated with some success.

Various plants and shrubs, profitable for commerce, are also cultivated. Tobacco, of a quality highly valued in the Madras presidency, has for some years received attention from cultivators.

Cotton has been neglected, but some fine specimens have been grown. The opinion of an experienced American planter was taken a few years ago as to the adaptation of the soil and climate to this article, and he made the following report:—"I am of opinion, from what I saw of the climate, temperature, and soil, that Ceylon will produce cotton *equal in quality*, and when the comparatively *small amount of capital* required is considered, I doubt not it may even produce the article *cheaper than we can in America*, where a large sum must be laid out for labour, and where the expense of food and clothing is much greater than the cost of importing labour into Ceylon, independently of the risk of a mortality among the labourers after they had been purchased."

Under the Dutch rule indigo was cultivated, and considerable quantities exported; since the British acquired the island that cultivation has fallen off. The plant is indigenous, and the soil adapted to yield a superior quality under proper management.

One of the most curious productions of Ceylon is the water-nut (*Ambuprasudana*). The natives rub the nut over the interior of their "water chatties," by which means all impure and earthy matter which the water holds in solution is precipitated, rendering it healthy. Even muddy water, and water which, although apparently clear, is known to be unhealthy, are purified by this nut.

Various fine trees, which render luxurious and wholesome fruit, and some of which, by their foliage, bark, or timber, are valuable for commerce, are natural to the soil of Ceylon.

The cocoa-nut tree holds a prominent place among these, encircling nearly the whole island. The appearance of this tree is very imposing everywhere, but viewed from the sea upon the shores of Ceylon it is especially so. Growing to a height considerably more than a hundred feet, its form, leaf, and fruit all picturesque, it is an attractive object, and groves of these trees present an aspect so tropical to Europeans, and so peculiar, as always to excite their interest, especially when first seen. Europeans, also, generally relish the arrack distilled from the juice of the flower, and the sugar, although deep-coloured and coarse-grained, which is prepared from the same source. The natives eat the pulp of the green fruit, and it yields a refreshing drink, which orientals and occidentals alike prize. With the ripe fruit, and the oil extracted from it, English people are well acquainted. The refuse, or oil cakes, is also known in England to be good food for cattle. Cordage, matting, mattress-stuffing, &c., are used in Europe when beaten from the husks of the cocoa-nut. The young branches are used as brooms; the fibre as cordage; the leaves as thatch; and when burned they produce a useful alkali. To the Cingalese, especially those living near the coast, the cocoa-nut tree is of unspeakable value in sickness as well as health, for the bark oil is an emollient in cutaneous diseases, and the root affords a decoction, the medicinal virtue of which is much relied upon. It is probable that articles of furniture made from the cocoa-nut tree will be ultimately used in England, for the wood takes a fine polish, and has a beautiful vein.

The areka, or betel-nut tree (*Areka catechu*), is also a useful growth of the island. It is a tall palm, with handsome feathery foliage, which is attached to the tree by a tough impervious bark, which is used by the natives for preserving drink or rice on their journeys. The nut is used for various native purposes; and when exported is also turned to account by foreigners.

The bread-fruit tree (*Artrocarpus incisa*)



has been too frequently described in popular works to require description here. The natives make a curry of the fruit, and the British boil it or fry it as a vegetable.

The orange-tree is especially beautiful in Ceylon, and noted for the richness of its odour.

The nutmeg, clove, and other sweet spice shrubs, are interesting in appearance, delightful in odour, and valuable as materials of commerce.

The cinnamon (*Laurus cinnamorum*) is well known as a staple of Ceylon commerce. The anti-free-trade system, so long pursued by the government, has, however, oppressed the cultivation, and thrown the trade to a great extent into the hands of the Dutch at Java. By levying and maintaining an export duty for many years, the production has been repressed, to the permanent injury of the colony. The cinnamon laurel is not so beautiful as some others of the useful shrubs and trees noticed, but it is nevertheless pleasing to the eye.

The jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) is one of the enormous species of trees indigenous to Ceylon. This tree is elegant in form, most agreeable to the eye, and it extends a grateful shade by its far-spreading branches. The fruit is of enormous size, varying from six inches to two yards in circumference, the form being oval. Both the trunk and branches of this tree bear fruit. "Their external covering is rough, and of a greenish hue, and their section of a whitish colour, containing a number of kernels, enveloped in a yellowish coating, which is of a most luscious flavour, but peculiarly disagreeable to the olfactory nerves. The kernels are the size of a pigeon's egg, and, when cooked, make good food, and excellent curry. The timber is of a yellow colour, but when polished with beeswax it approaches to a light-coloured mahogany, and all ordinary furniture is manufactured of it."

The mulberry-tree flourishes in various parts of the island, but little use is made of it. The production of silk in Ceylon ought to be considerable.

The tala, or talipot (*Carypha umbra-culifera*), is a magnificent palm, which grows to nearly a hundred feet in height. The appearance of this remarkable tree is very graceful, being about nine feet in circumference, measured near the ground, and tapering gradually away to the top. The leaves are often twenty-five feet in length, and more than half that breadth; they droop, and spread out at the top, like a Siamese umbrella. The flower is very large, and of a bright yellow hue. This is enclosed in a pod, or sheath, which, when the flower comes

to maturity, bursts with a loud explosion. The expanded blossom displays its rich colour for three months, when it disappears gradually, and a plum-like fruit ripens. The natives aver that the blossoms never arrive at full perfection until the tree is half a century old, when it begins to die, and at the age of about a hundred years withers away. The uses to which this splendid specimen of Ceylon palms is put are very various. The trunk contains a pith, which the natives dry, and make into sweet cakes of a delicious flavour. This pith is formed into a sort of meal, and also flour, which the natives employ for divers culinary purposes. The leaves are used for state fans by persons of dignity; they are also converted into a species of papyrus, and, like the cocoa-nut leaf, form a good thatch for houses.

The mee-tree is another of these huge specimens of the Ceylon forest. It bears minute white blossoms of an unpleasant odour. These are easily shaken down by the slightest breeze, and cover the vicinity like flakes of snow, so profuse are they. When driven into the tanks by a higher than ordinary wind, they float for a short time on the surface, and then decomposing, spread a peculiar pestiferous influence. The fruit is chiefly used to express from it a pungent oil, which the natives apply to a great many purposes.

The ebony (*Dyopsiras ebonum*) is a very notable tree of Ceylon. The jet black colour of the wood, together with its peculiar hardness, and the polish of which it is susceptible, make it valuable as an export. The foliage is nearly as black as the wood, but the bark of the trunk is a bright silver grey, almost white. The branches shoot out about thirty feet from the root, and droop, presenting a mournful appearance. It might appropriately displace the cypress above the graves of the dead.

The calamander (*Dyospyrus hirsuta*) is a variegated ebony, and of great value. This tree has ceased to be so common in the forests as formerly, having been extensively sought after for exportation, and for the manufacture of furniture. The prevailing colour of the wood is black, but it is mottled with a rich brown. It takes as high a polish as the ebony proper, and is as close grained. The appearance of the tree is magnificent.

The red sandal-tree, and the satin-wood tree, are also still to be met with in the forests, but are becoming scarce, the satin-wood being much used in the island for household articles of taste, and the sandal-wood being in great request for exportation.

The kabook-tree attains an immense growth.



The timber is hard, and of a reddish dun colour, not pleasing to the eye. It nearly always fastens its roots near springs, and with the condition of a supply of water will flourish in any situation whatever. It is found near the sea, in the interior, upon the level plain, and high up on the steep mountain.

The bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) is one of the most noted trees in Ceylon, because sacred to Buddha. It grows to a great elevation, is richly umbrageous, and its branches and leaves are exquisitely formed. The last-mentioned are heart-shaped, and so sacred to the superstitious people, that it is sacrilege to carve their form on any article for common use, or on any building, except on temples and palaces, and their respective furniture. The blossoms are milk-white, except a golden tinge within the centre; they are bell-shaped, and extremely beautiful, both in colour and perfection of form. These trees grow to a great age, and are jealously guarded by the people.

The stately tamarind and the glorious banyan are to be seen in insular as well as peninsular India. The citron, wild jessamine, and a host of flowering shrubs, adorn the wood scenery of this beautiful isle, while the perfumes of these sweet offsprings of the forest constantly load the delicious air.

The floral productions of the island rival those of most parts of the mainland. There are few places, except some spots in the Deccan and Cashmere, to be compared with it for flowering shrubs; and only in the valley just named, and some spots at the foot of the Himalayas, can such floral wonders be seen as charm the eye, and captivate the sense, in Ceylon.

Trees in the Ceylon forests are very generally attended by parasites. The pepper-vine, and many rich flowering creepers, cling to the trunks, and form their delicate tracery around them.

The produce of the island of a European character does not abound, and the markets for such commodities are consequently dear. Mutton generally costs two shillings a pound; fresh butter is dearer; kid, which is much used instead of mutton, bears about the same price as mutton in England. Ham, bacon, tongues, &c., are imported, and are costly. Beef is easily procured at the price usual in England, but it is seldom good. Pork is plentiful, but good bacon is seldom cured. Poultry of all kinds is sold at rates similar to those in London, but it is inferior to that of England, unless kept some time and fattened by Europeans. There is game to requite the hunter or the fowler—deer, the

wild hog, and various birds, all more or less suitable for food.

The fisherman, who for sport or profit pursues the piscatory art in the waters of Ceylon, will find his labour requited. The seir fish is the most valued; it resembles in colour and flavour the salmon, but is supposed to excel the fish so much prized in Britain. Some weigh as much as twenty pounds.

The bull's-eye pomfret is a beautiful fish, with head and body of a vermillion tint—the scales being bright yellow, as if tangled with gold. Mackerel is very plentiful, and soles, whiting, and other fish abound.

The mullet is much valued; it is taken by a sort of small harpoon at night, the fishermen waving lighted torches, which bring the creatures to the surface in surprising numbers. The river fish also abound, and are delicious eating.

The species of shell-fish along the coast are numerous, but few of them are fit for food. Only in one particular place are oysters edible, and for these divers descend and strike them with hammers from the rocks.

The fisheries of Ceylon are neglected, and there is an actual importation of dry fish for food, while the rivers and seas are rich with finny treasures. No trouble is taken to dry and preserve such sorts as are suitable for the process.

The animals mostly used by Europeans for food have been already noticed. The island abounds with wild animals, beasts, and reptiles of nearly every species known to continental India, and some that are peculiar.

The elephant of Ceylon is supposed to be a very superior creature of his species. The oldest naturalists and historians, who refer to the natural history of Lanka-diva, express themselves strongly as to the superior quality of the ivory of the elephants' tusks exported thence. Both ancient and modern writers have affirmed that the Phœnicians shipped large numbers of elephants from this island to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; and it is alleged that those used in the Punic wars were obtained thence. It is indisputable that the monarchs of continental India highly valued the Ceylon elephants for their superior strength, docility, and courage. Some modern writers affirm that the elephants of South Africa are much superior to those of Asia. The narrative of the great African hunter, Gordon Cumming, and that of the celebrated missionary to the Bechuanas, Moffatt, would certainly lead to such a conclusion. According to Cuvier, the Indian and African elephants manifest much diversity of form; he pronounces in favour of the former. Tauconier says that the African elephant



recognises by tokens of extraordinary intelligence the superiority of the former. These creatures are now only to be found in the thickest forests of the interior.

The elk, the finest of the deer tribe, bears a miniature resemblance to the fossil elk of Ireland. Mr. Sirr, in his work on Ceylon, notices the smallest of the species in the following terms:—"It is called by some naturalists the musk-deer, the Linnæan name of which is *Moschus meminna*, the Cingalese walmeenya. These diminutive creatures, perfect in their proportions, are the most exquisitely lovely of all quadrupeds; the beauty of their delicate limbs, lustrous eyes, spotted skins, and graceful forms, baffling all description. We had a full-grown male, whose height did not exceed ten inches, and length fourteen; the throat, neck, and stomach were milk-white; the remainder of the body was grey, regularly striped with black, over which were equi-distant yellow spots. The head gradually tapered to the snout, whilst from either side of the mouth protruded a small but perfectly-shaped tusk; the eyes and ears large and open, the tail short, and the weight under five pounds." The Kandians prize the albinos more than any other of the deer family.

The wild buffalo is a fierce and vindictive animal, who often turns on the hunter with obstinate and ferocious courage.

The leopard is said to be marked by this peculiarity—that he cannot draw back the claws within the paw, as other varieties of the species. They are very powerful, attaining sometimes to the length of seven feet and a half. They are not willing to attack man, except in self defence; but are destructive to cattle and dogs. This is the most formidable animal to the natives, because of the loss of property occasioned by it. The bear is, however, more dangerous to man personally, for although a small animal, his strength is great, and his courage daring: he never fails to attack man if he approach.

The wild hog is powerful and ferocious—not only ready to defend himself against the hunter, but also to attack him, and almost any animal that enters the precincts of its haunts, which are the thickly-wooded districts. The flesh is much prized by epicures.

The jackal infests the jungles, as does also the ichneumon. Monkeys, squirrels, sloths, weazels, porcupines, and flying foxes are numerous in the low woods and in the forests. The porcupine is injurious to the cocoa-nut tree, digging down to the tender roots and destroying the life of the tree.

Rats are almost a plague in the island; they are to be seen in the houses and in the

fields, and display the greatest boldness in the presence of man. "The musk-rat will occasionally measure twelve inches from the snout to the tail; the head is slender, the upper jaw projecting considerably beyond the lower, the whiskers bushy, long, and white, the colour of the coat grey, but the feet are totally devoid of hair, and the tail is thick at the root. The effluvia of this creature is most powerful; and, if it runs over any edible, the article becomes so impregnated with the peculiar smell as to be totally unfit for use."\*

Reptile nature is prolific in the hot climate of Ceylon. Crocodiles are very large, sometimes measuring twenty feet in length: they differ much in the formation of the head from the crocodiles of the Ganges. Nothing can exceed in ferocity these monsters, who will invariably attack man when opportunity occurs. They swarm in the tanks as well as in the rivers, and after the rains take up their haunts on low inundated ground. In seasons of long-continued drought they become especially dangerous, as they make their way from the dried-up tanks to the rivers.

The cobra-di-capello, or hooded snake, is regarded by the natives as sacred; and although its deadly sting is feared, they will not kill it. It can hardly be said to be worshipped, notwithstanding the reverence paid to it, but formerly it was the object of adoration. There are two species of the cobra—one, of a light colour, is called by the natives high caste, and the other, of a dark colour, they call low caste. The tic-prolonga, although not so large, is more dangerous; the attack is sudden, and the sting almost momentarily fatal. It attacks all creatures that come within range of its venomous power.

The cobra has a formidable enemy, which is also numerous in the island. "The beautiful little creature, the ichneumon, is the declared foe to this snake, and is invariably the assailant: the animal springs upon the back of the snake and seizes the nape of the neck, and never uncloses its teeth until the snake is lifeless. Those who have witnessed the battle, say that the cobra always tries to escape; and that before commencing the fight the ichneumon runs to a particular plant and eats a portion, and this serves as an antidote to the reptile's poison. We are rather incredulous upon this latter point, but are quite certain that the ichneumon will assail the snake in the open air, and as scrupulously avoid the encounter in an enclosed space."†

The monster snake of Ceylon is the

\* *Ceylon and the Cingalese.*

† *Ibid.*



amaronda (of the genus *Python*). It measures from seventeen to twenty-five feet, and attacks jackals, deer, and young buffaloes—entwining itself round them like the boa-constrictor, it crushes its prey, and then covers it with saliva before devouring. It seldom attacks man.

The insect world is very numerous, as might be expected in such a climate. The fire-flies are, as in continental India, brilliant and beautiful. Beetles exist in endless variety, and are much admired by Europeans. The white ants are as destructive as on the shores of the peninsula; and many other noxious insects torment the inhabitants and quadrupeds. The tick, which attaches itself to the leaves of trees, will, if shaken down, attack men or horses, drawing blood with painful voracity. These creatures will insinuate themselves into the soft flesh of horses and dogs, especially the latter, driving the animals mad with pain.

The land-leech is one of the most tormenting creatures in the island, every morass and jungle containing it. No clothing is impervious to its attacks: it insinuates itself through garments or between their folds, and, fastening upon the flesh, gorges itself with blood. Many Europeans suffer from inflammation and ulceration following their bite, and loss of life sometimes ensues. Animals are often destroyed by them, especially sheep. They infest the grass and wooded heights.

The birds of Ceylon rival those of the neighbouring continent. The wild peacock is a singularly beautiful creature. The Cingalese starling has a plumage varied and pleasing. The blue-rock pigeon, jungle crow, and rhinoceros-bird, are remarkable specimens of the ornithological characteristics of the island. It is contended by some authors on natural history that "Lanka-diva" is richer than any other country in birds of gay plumage and fine form. "The Paradise flycatcher, or sultana bulbul of the Hindoos (*Muscipita Paradisi*), is met with in jungles, gardens, and shrubberies, from the warmer parts of the Himalayas to the most southern extremity of Ceylon. It is a peculiarly graceful bird, the body and long sweeping tail of the male being white, with the primaries black, edged with white. The body and tail of the female are of a reddish brown, with the breast-feathers clouded grey." \*

In the high regions of the island, a bird which is common in the Himalayas is occasionally found—"the monaul, golden fowl, or Impeyan pheasant (*Lophophorus Impeyanus*). The male bird has a remarkably beautiful plumage, its crest, head, and throat

being of a rich bronzy green; the middle of the neck is purple, glossed with a coppery hue; back and wing coverts rich purple, each feather tipped with bronzy green; the legs and feet are of a greenish ash, whilst across the lower part of the back is a band of pure white. The female is buffy-brown, mixed with black and white. A more beautiful object can scarcely be imagined than this gorgeously plumaged bird taking his lofty and sweeping flight through the air, full in the light of the noon-day sun, the rays of which are reflected in surpassing brilliancy from his brightly-tipped feathers." \*

All the birds of the island are not to be admired. The carrion crow is a common tormenter. These ravenous creatures will tear food from the hands of children, ravish a morsel from the teeth of a dog, and even fly into apartments, making prizes from the table around which Europeans are seated.

"The devil bird" is remarkable for its "discordant and unearthly calls" in the evening. These are believed by the natives to be omens of evil to all who hear them.

The Brahmin kite is an ill-looking creature, the relentless enemy of the tortoise, which he bears on high, and dashes down upon some jutting rock. He is also a fierce and effective foe of the snake and serpent.

Ceylon has often been called "a land of contradictions" as to its animal haunts—beasts, birds, reptiles, and insects, being often found where persons acquainted with other tropical climates would never look for them, or expect to find them. Thus crocodiles often wander, as before shown, into the jungles. The black adder and scorpion are fond of entering human habitations, and coiling themselves up in the bed-clothes, or in garments that may happen to lie in their way. The leopard approaches the village wells to drink, although the river may not be distant, and will walk quietly into the enclosures of houses or bungalows, and carry off dogs or poultry. The wild elephant will break his way into gardens, and, crushing down fences, take up his abode for the night close to a human habitation. The red-leg partridge is sometimes shot where aquatic birds might only be supposed to come within range of the sportsman's gun; and the snipe is bagged in localities such as his species in other countries are supposed to avoid. This may possibly be accounted for by the fact that hill, dale, vale, river, and ravine—cultivated ground, morass, tank, paddy field, and seashore, are all found within a comparatively small compass. Whatever the *rationale* may be, it is unquestionably the fact that animal life of all sorts seems to find means of

\* *The Birds of Asia.*

\* *The Birds of Asia.*



preserving itself within the island in spots not usually adapted to the species which, nevertheless, resort to them. An exemplification of this occurs in the pages of a light and agreeable writer in the following instance:—

“We had frequently camped in swamps of most ominous appearance, and had closed our mosquito nets with suspicious care, when, to our surprise, not an enemy appeared; while here, on the banks of a dry stream, with not a drop of water to generate the race, we were attacked in the most cruel manner. Venus Anadyomene, rising from the sea, was the original type of the mosquito: like her, the insect springs ephemeral and beautiful from the water, leaving its shell behind; and once fairly launched into this upper world, never ceases from stinging and tormenting miserable humanity when an occasion offers.”\*

The tortoise, or land turtle, is found in great numbers in the beds as well as on the banks of rivers.

The large size of most animals natives of Ceylon is remarkable. Generally, island animals are smaller than those of their species inhaling neighbouring continents, but this is not the case in “Lanka-diva.” The elephants, as already shown, grow to a great size; so do leopards and wild hogs. The peacock is only equalled in size and beauty by that of Pegu and Tenasserim, but in Ceylon the bird is strong and fierce, attacking snakes, and even the cobra, with success, so that vast numbers of reptiles perish by them. These birds live in great flocks, and when in flight, their magnificent plumage reflecting the bright clear light in so pure an atmosphere, presents a spectacle of wondrous beauty. The adjutant bird is larger here than elsewhere, measuring generally seven feet in height, and more than fifteen from tip to tip of the spread wings. They appear as if subjected to some stern discipline, as they are ranged motionless along the rivers in long line, watching eagerly until the appearance of a fish, when they promptly seize the prey. They are equally expert in seizing and killing cats, dogs, snakes, and even large serpents; indeed, the adjutant bird, peacock, carrion crow, and Brahmin kite, by their incessant warfare upon reptiles, prevent the latter, in such a climate, and with such a superficial configuration as Ceylon, from becoming overwhelmingly numerous. It is astonishing, considering the vast number of them thus destroyed, that they remain so numerous in the island as they are. An experienced traveller writes of forest life in Ceylon,—“Hundreds of *polychromatic* birds (songsters would suit the sentence better, but

unfortunately, the birds in Ceylon don’t sing) sport in the higher branches, and clouds of butterflies, ‘the Cynthias of the hour,’ that, large as larks, and as flaunting as dahlias,

“ ‘Make the rose’s blush of beauty pale,  
And dim the rich geranium’s scarlet blaze,’

flit and hover about, and, in their ‘frank lustiness,’ as Spenser has it, gambol amongst the gorgeous tropical foliage, and chase each other from mead to flower.” The red ants, hornets, centipedes, leeches, land-lice, &c., are of extraordinary size, and the tick, although not bigger than the head of a large pin, when gorged with blood, will swell until it is nearly a quarter of an inch broad.

The trees and foliage, like the animal life, are large in comparison with those of their species on, at all events, the neighbouring coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. Flowers, also, grow to huge size, as well as beautiful perfection. The red lotus, which is extremely pretty, surprises by its magnitude, and the white lotus rivals it in magnificent appearance.

Nature seems as if in a perpetual struggle to produce the beautiful and wonderful, but at the same time constrained to yield creatures most noxious in strange variety, and with all conceivable means of inflicting torture. These latter cause great drawbacks to the enjoyment by Europeans of the lovely scenery of the island. One “who has hunted in Ceylon” has expressed the pleasure and pain of country pastime there in a light at once humorous and instructive:—“What picture can be more delicious and enticing, and who would not give up the stale enjoyments of a smoky city for an hour of such an existence? But before the enterprising and enraptured Londoner *does* give up the comforts and sports of his native land, let him first consider the reverse of the picture, and then decide. In the first place, three, probably, out of the four individuals of our party are suffering from fevers, dysenteries, agues, leeches, or land-lice! The refreshing tea is probably sucked from a beery bottle; the chicken, from too close contact with the heated body of some nigger, has become disagreeably lukewarm; the cheroot, having been sat upon several times during the ride, can be made to answer no other purpose than that of exhausting the temper and lights of the smoker; the tree is still umbrageous, but every shaking twig or leaf causes one to glance furtively upwards, to see that no snake or scorpion is crawling above you, ready to plump on your nose at any moment. You may, indeed, close your eyes—in fact, that you probably would do—to keep out the eye-

\* *The Bungalow and the Tent.*



flies that swarm around you, but as for sleeping, or ruminating on anything peaceful or agreeable, the red ants, almost as large as wasps, or the soothing hum of Brobdignagian hornets, of bat-like dimensions, entirely put that out of the question. It is my humble opinion that the annoyances, and heat, and dirt of an out-door existence in a tropical country far exceed any pleasure or benefit to be derived from it. I would rather shoot grouse on a hill-side in Scotland, or follow the fox across any *tolerable* country in England, than return a second Gordon Cumming in the matter of wild sports. Then, ambitious Briton, *crede experto*, trust one who has tried, and stay at home. Ceylon is, in truth, the paradise of insectivora. The worms attain the length of three or four feet, the beetles are the size of mice, the ants of wasps; spiders' webs are tough enough to pull one's hat off, and the bite of a hornet or a wasp is sufficient to swell you up like a human toad. All these animals, and many others are most tender and unceasing in their attentions to strangers, and 'pasture on the pleasures of each place,' whether nose, eyes, mouth, or ears, with a zest and pertinacity that is anything but soothing to the owner of the soil."

The climate of Ceylon has been exceedingly extolled, and in certain seasons and localities the praise seems merited; but there is excessive moisture in some portions, while others are dry, and subject to intense heat. On the whole, the climate is less healthy than on the neighbouring continent. The sanatorium of Sattara, in the Deccan, far surpasses in salubrity and rivals in beauty any part of the island. Europeans are much subject to cholera, especially in the evenings, after a full meal, and indulgence in the tempting and delicious fruits which follow that repast. They are also harassed with enlarged and indurated livers, and a very short residence leads to functional derangement of that organ. The peculiar yellow complexion of Europeans long resident in Ceylon strikes all new arrivals. Fever and ague are common in almost every part of the country, and in several of the towns. A residence in the capital and its vicinity is almost sure to entail such complaints upon natives of England. Those who hunt in the jungles and forests are more in danger from the jungle fever than from elephants, bears, leopards, cobras, adders, scorpions, and all the other powerful or dangerous creatures that make their haunts there. Europeans who superintend the great roads are frequently carried away by fever; and merchants and their agents who visit the interior and even such

as reside in the healthiest coast towns, pay a severe penalty in exhausted strength or fevered veins for their pursuit of wealth. A competent witness thus describes the climate, which, with the characteristics of the country already described, will account for its general insalubrity:—"I am not aware of any country that presents such opposite peculiarities of climate as Ceylon, or in which an admirer of continual moisture, or unbroken drought, could so easily suit himself. The island is swept alternately by the south-west and north-east monsoons, each of which remain in full force for six months; but the south-west monsoon, saturated with the enormous evaporation from the tropical ocean and the supposed wet land of Abyssinia, brings far more rain than the north-east monsoon; in fact, the rain in some parts of the island during the time it prevails is incessant. After discharging abundant moisture in its south-westerly course, it is at length intercepted at its rain-level by the mountains of the interior, and completely emptied of its moisture, and thence it continues its course indeed over the north-east part of the island, but with the material difference of having totally changed its nature from a cold and saturating to a dry and almost parching wind. In November the north-east monsoon commences to blow, and continues during five or six months, but, in consequence of its having traversed far cooler seas and drier lands than the south-west monsoon, it bears comparatively little moisture; and the rain does not extend beyond the mountains of the interior: so that whilst the south-west half of the island has six months' fine weather, and is saturated for the other six, the north-east portion has ten months' consecutive, unbroken, fine weather, during which not a drop of rain falls, and only two months' moisture. This peculiarity of the monsoon may account for the fact of all the tanks, the gigantic nature of which render Ceylon so interesting as telling of bygone wealth and prosperity, being situated in the north-east portion of the island. Standing on Lady Horton's Walk during the south-west monsoon, and looking towards the north-east, you can distinguish the line in the clouds distinctly marked where the rain ceases abruptly. And whilst the hills and mountains immediately around you are rank and reeking with excessive moisture, the background is filled up with mountains that for ten months scarcely see rain, displaying those hazy roseate tints that constitute so peculiar a beauty in Indian scenery, and that tell plainly of a parched soil cropping out through a stunted and scanty vegetation."\*

\* Edward Sullivan, Esq.



The scenery of Ceylon can be better appreciated by the hunter or fowler than by men engaged in other occupations. The pursuit of the elephant or wild boar will bring the sportsman into many situations of surpassing beauty, which can hardly be witnessed by persons under any other circumstances—unless perhaps soldiers during a campaign, in which hostilities might be directed against insurgent natives. To pass round the island in a steamer or pleasure yacht, entering the bays, creeks, and harbours, from which prospects would be afforded differing from the open sea-views, would also enable the lover of the picturesque to realise much of the beauty for which Ceylon is so celebrated. All, however, who visit it, and travel upon the public roads, will have opportunity sufficient for testing its claims to be the Elysium of the East. The roads are far superior to any in continental India. This arises from the system of forced labour adopted by the rulers of the island from very remote times. The native kings accomplished all their great public works, as long as history can conduct us back, by the labour of men constrained to work without requital. The British continued to enforce labour, but recompensed it: without adopting some compulsory method, labour could not be procured, so little industry is there in the natives. In continental India the governors of the presidencies have no such resources, hence the superiority of the great roads of Ceylon. If the traveller in quest of sublime and beautiful scenery passes along these roads, he will have his desire abundantly gratified, for they generally conduct through some of the finest country in the world.

Point de Galle is usually the first place with which acquaintance is formed on arrival from Europe, and the great line or lines of road lead from that place to Colombo, thence to Kandy, and thence to Trincomalee. From each of these towns good roads branch in various directions.

The road from Point de Galle to Colombo lies along shore, proceeding north on the south-west coast. A thin wood of cocoa-nut trees lies between the road and the sea. The distance is about seventy miles. The line of country is populous, both sides of the road being studded with native huts, the appearance of which an English traveller compared to those which usually adorn the illustrated editions of *Paul and Virginia*. The cocoa-nut groves are so continuous, as to give an unpleasant impression of sameness; but the perpetual views of the sea are delightful and refreshing, sea and sky shining in the purest azure. Near to Colombo the cocoa-nut groves pleasingly alternate with the cinnamon gardens

of the government. This shrub, which is so profitable to commerce, grows to the height of between four and five feet, and resembles the dwarf lilac both in the hue and form of the leaf. The vicinity of Colombo is not so picturesque as that of Point de Galle; and although there are many pleasant inland prospects along the road, it is much less agreeable than almost any other on the island, or at all events would be considered so but for its fine sea-views.

From Colombo to Kandy the route lies through magnificent landscapes. The length of the road is over seventy miles. A few miles from the first-named town there is a fine bridge of boats, over which the traveller passes, which pays an enormous toll yearly. For a third part of the journey after leaving the coast the scenery is low, paddy fields and other cultivation affording their peculiar interest. The appearance of the young rice is very agreeable, the plant being then of an exquisitely bright yet delicate green. At the distance of about eighteen miles the country changes in its aspect, the groves of cocoa-nut gradually disappear, and plantations of areka and suriya-trees are observed—the latter tall and stately as an English elm, displaying their beautiful yellow blossoms above rich foliage, like English fields covered with the crowfoot. The road ascends all the way after the first stage to Kandy, and as the lower grounds are left behind, the scenery becomes commanding in the extreme. Travellers are particularly struck by the pleasing contrast presented between the bold prominent masses of black gneiss rock and the delicate, fragile, and gently-tinted flowering creepers that climb around them.

One of the finest scenes on this road is obtained from “the rest,” or half-way house. The building is situated in a lovely and extensive vale, begirt with a magnificent amphitheatre of hills, richly wooded; trees of many kinds clothe their sides and crown their summits; the variety of colour presented by blossom and foliage, according to the season, is wonderful and beautiful. The neighbourhood is, unfortunately, unhealthy, or no doubt independent settlers would take up their abode in a spot so surpassingly lovely. The next eighteen miles of the route is remarkable for the fair scenes of cultivation presented by the plantations of coffee, sugar, and indigo. About two miles from Attoomakandy the mountain zone opens up before the traveller with a stupendous grandeur, which, except in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, continental India does not exceed. The road so winds round the Kadagawana as to vary the prospects perpetually, new wonders and glories of scenery being pre-



sented at every turn to the ravished eye. The road itself is a superior specimen of engineering skill. It required a long time to construct it, in consequence of the unwillingness of the natives to work, and the unhealthy character of the neighbourhood. Jungle fever carried off many of the officers and non-commissioned officers who superintended the labourers.

The ascent of the mountain probably opens up finer views than any which the alpine lands of Europe can yield: bold rocks, mountains coroneted with flowering trees, as if a succession of fairy bowers were constructed along their summits—the park-like declivities, interspersed with ravines, torrents, waterfalls, streaming currents, winding through the lowlands, and the undulated country stretching far into the distance, all bathed in a mellow and golden light, constitute scenery which human genius has never pencilled or described in colour or language befitting its claims.

Writing of the road, and the scenery presented from it, one who travelled it when the season most favoured his journey observes:—“As the steep sides of the mountain are climbed, ravines and fissures are wound round, and often a perpendicular mountain rears its lofty crest on one side, and descends in the same manner on the opposite. Sometimes a brawling waterfall appears over the traveller's head, as if threatening instant annihilation, by hurling him into the deep abyss below; then the road will become so narrow, that there appears to be scarcely room sufficient for the vehicle to stand on, and the strongest nerves may be shaken, as the eye glances below at the steep precipice, down which some crumbling earth is rolling, loosened by the coach-wheels. To this circumscribed path, upon turning the next angle, succeeds a wide road and view of the surrounding country, terminated by the Blue Mountains in the distance, whose towering heads blend with the azure heavens, Adam's Peak rearing his lofty crest above his fellows. The combination of sublime and beautiful scenery brought under notice during the ascent of the Kadaganawa Pass is nearly incredible; roaring torrents, dashing down frightful abysses, from whose sides spring enormous trees, and at whose base are lands teeming with grain; terrific chasms, and overhanging masses of rock, where bright coloured flowering shrubs have taken root, rapidly succeed each other: and, when the summit of the mountain is attained, and the boundless extent and beauty of the prospect fully perceptible, many beholders of this magnificent scene cannot find utterance to express their sense of the might, majesty, and glory of the Almighty's works, and the humiliating

feeling of their own littleness. The freshness of the atmosphere, and the splendour of the scenery, are admitted by all, and extolled by numberless Europeans who have ascended the Kadaganawa Pass.”\*

The remaining portion of the road is remarkable for great variety of prospect, but more especially for its rich wood scenery. A description has been already given of the trees which flourish generally throughout the island, but in the neighbourhood of Kandy, which possesses several peculiarities of climate, there is greater diversity, and some magnificent specimens unknown in the lowlands. The country around Kandy is like a vast garden—foliage, fruit, and flowers offering a variety beyond description; for it is as yet imperfectly explored by botanists or florists, although a few devotees of their beautiful sciences have expended labour, time, and fortune in the research. The attention of the stranger is more engaged by the talipot-palm than by any other of the lords of the Kandian forest: it flourishes in various directions close to the city and by the road. One road-side specimen has been much noticed by naturalists. This palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*, as named by some, or *Licula spinosa*, as others designate it) is a beautiful specimen of the high regions of Ceylon. The banyan, which flourishes everywhere in Ceylon, is a glorious exemplification of the forest wonders of the highlands. The myrtle-tree (*Myrtus*), and the bay-tree (*Laurus*), are numerous and beautiful. The tick-seed sunflower is a gorgeous flower of the woods, being covered in the season by golden-tinted blossoms. It is curious that near the yellow rock common in this region there spring up luxuriant balsams, bearing a delicate white and a brilliant red blossom, forming a combination of colour which the most exquisite designer in art could hardly conceive. In the midst of these wooded scenes animal life is curious and picturesque. Monkeys peep and chatter from overhanging branches; parrots, and birds of more delicate form and feather, appear in flocks, or crowd the clustering foliage, appearing as if themselves bright blossoms blooming there. Large carpenter bees, and beetles with wings beautiful as an Iris, hover about the flowers which spring up or the blossoms which bow down their graceful petals by the wayside. The tree-frog may be seen creeping into the distended cup of the rich blossoms, or the spotted or striped lizard glistening on the trunk. At times a huge serpent will reveal his speckled skin as he glides from the shaded jungle into the

\* *Ceylon*. By Henry Charles Sirr, A.M., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law.



warm ray. Sometimes the leopard may be seen stalking away into cover, or the elephant (more frequently tamed) lifting his huge proboscis as he proceeds on his heavy tramp.

Within three miles of Kandy is Pendenia, with its celebrated bridge and botanical gardens. The former is built of satin wood; the waters of the Mehavelleganga, ennobled by flowing through the capital, pass beneath a magnificent arch, whose span is two hundred and seven feet. The botanical gardens owed much to the celebrated botanist Dr. Gardiner; and it is alleged that under his superintendence a specimen of every tree, shrub, and plant known to be indigenous to the island was under culture there. There are some very large tamarind-trees, but the finest of this species in the island is in the Mohammedan burial-ground at Putlam, which is appropriately called the giant's tree. The foreign plants and trees in the botanical gardens of Pendenia are numerous and beautiful.

The route from Kandy to Trincomalee is much praised by European travellers and officers who are acquainted with it. About six miles on the road there is a singular suspension bridge formed of cane, thrown across the Dederoo-oya. This was made by the natives, and is ingeniously constructed; but its frail appearance, and the dashing impetuosity of the stream which bounds beneath, try the nerves of Europeans when they first attempt the passage. The following description of this bridge is given by the writer last quoted: "This structure is composed of cable-rattan, which frequently grows to the length of two hundred yards; and varies but little in thickness from one end to the other; is extremely light, flexible, and tough. The bridge is commenced by entwining canes a few feet apart round the trunks of two large trees, that grow on the opposite banks of the stream, and whose branches bend over the river; when the required number of canes are securely fastened in this manner, portions of the same material are laid across to form the path, which is the same breadth as the circumference of the stems of the trees. Rattans are then placed at a sufficient height to form hand-rails, these being attached to the bridge by thin bamboos, or sticks, which alike support and retain the rails in their proper place. From the overhanging boughs are suspended cane or coir ropes, which are attached to the bridge, thus strengthening the structure, and lessening the vibration. The means of ascent are by a ladder composed of the same materials, which rests against the trunks of the opposite trees; and it is perfectly astonishing to see the fearlessness with which women, children, or men carrying

heavy burdens, will cross one of these aerial structures."

About half way is Dambool, the neighbourhood of which is remarkable for ruined tanks, choked up with brushwood and rank vegetation, which at certain seasons send forth the noxious influences usually emitted from decomposing vegetable matter. In this vicinity, also, are the far-famed rock-temples of Buddha, similar in their character to those in continental India. The late deputy queen's advocate for the southern circuit of Ceylon says of these rock-temples, that they are "complete specimens of the ingenuity, skill, and perseverance of man, and may almost be classed among the wonders of the world." The late editor of the *Ceylon Examiner* uses language equally strong of the rock-temples of India, continental and insular:—"The prodigious extent of most of these rock-cut temples astonishes the spectator not less than the elaborate finish of their complicated details delights him. The ingenuity and skill, equally with the labour of the architects, must have been called into active demonstration in the excavation of these extraordinary places." Other writers have laboured to depreciate them. Dr. Bryant insists that they were chiefly formed by nature; and, with extraordinary indifference to the force of evidence, also alleges that the pyramids of Egypt owe their existence chiefly to nature!

Knox says that the Cingalese had a passion for such structures, "as if they had been born solely to hew rocks and great stones, and lay them up in heaps;" and he denounces the folly of inferring from these excavations the civilization of the people. However judged, the cave-temples of Dambool are extremely interesting to the traveller, although they may not afford the evidence of early and superior civilization ascribed by some to the people who formed them; and there can be no doubt that what the great Oxford professor of Sanscrit says of the early Hindoos, is true of the early Cingalese, that they possessed but three arts—architecture, weaving, and jewellery.

From Dambool to Trincomalee the way lies through forests, where the scenery is rich and beautiful, the foliage appearing at the same time in every stage of progress; the fresh green tint of the young leaf, the dark green of the more matured, the mellow tinge such as is given by an English autumn, the bright bronze when the leaf has passed its prime, and the deep rich orange of its decay, are all present together, affording a beauty of sylvan scenery unknown to the occidental world. In these forests the ruins of ancient works are numerous, and on a scale to prove



that the buildings they represent were magnificent temples and tanks, mingled with the vestiges of villages once extensive and populous. Captain Aitcheson, who superintended the construction of the road, gives this account of these remains:—"The ruins of *vihares* (temples), remains of deserted villages, tanks, and other remnants of antiquity, prove that the vast wilderness of beautiful and valuable forest trees through which the new line of road passes, heretofore supposed a trackless desert, obnoxious to the existence of man, and destitute of water and inhabitants, once contained a considerable population, by whose labours an extensive tract of irrigated land was regularly cultivated."

Within seven miles of Trineomalee there is a range of wooded hills, from which spring the hot wells of Kanya. There are seven of these, of unequal temperature, ranging from 100° to 112°. Each well has a low embankment, and the whole are encircled by a wall of kabook. The waters are used for laving the person, and are supposed to possess restorative powers in various diseases, such as cutaneous eruptions and rheumatic pains. English medical men have admitted their value in these complaints. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the fine climate, rheumatic affections are not uncommon either in insular or continental India. Rheumatism is incurred chiefly during the rage of the monsoon. The Ceylonese regard these wells as holy, and under the protection of the Hindoo god of wisdom, Ganeesa. A temple is erected to this deity, containing a colossal stone statue to represent him. Approaching Trineomalee, the scenery assumes a still nobler appearance as the ocean is desisted; the varied coast-line, bold shores, blue sea, palmyra groves, and uplands covered with variegated forests, present rare combinations of the beautiful.

The roads described in the foregoing pages are those over which persons travelling on pleasure, business, or duty generally proceed; but there are several others which afford scenes worthy of being sought. One of these is the route to Newera Ellia, the sanatorium: it branches off from the Pendenia Bridge already described, and runs through a mountainous region, celebrated in Cingalese and Hindoo history as the theatre of exploit connected with Rama, Ravana, and the beautiful Seeta. The road winds round deep precipices, to which the English soldiery have given the names of "the Devil's Punchbowls." The character of the scenery is much like that already noticed as belonging to the road approaching Kandy from Colombo and from Trineomalee. About twelve miles *en route*

there is a rest-house at a place called Gampala, where invalids and travellers often remain some time to enjoy the extraordinary prospects presented to the beholder at that place. It is also common to tarry there, in order to witness a mountain conflagration which, during the hot season, often occurs. The ambulance which overhangs Gampala is the most frequent theatre of such a display. The mountain is covered with large patches of lemon-grass, which is liable to spontaneous ignition. As the grass is often eight feet high, dry, and inflammable, when it takes fire the flames burst forth with fury, and rapidly pour their burning tide along the mountain slopes, even against the wind, as the breeze causes the long blades to bend towards the flames. Generally the fire rolls on irresistibly until some deep ravine checks its career; and sometimes it leaps the gulf, or sparks borne aloft fall on the prairies beyond, when the roaring cataract of flame rushes down the mountain sides, and rolls in surging, struggling waves upwards to the summit. This process seems to benefit the vegetation, for in a single week after the hill sides are charred and blackened, the young blades sprout up, and the grassy slopes appear reinvigorated.

In 1829 Sir Edward Barnes, then governor of Ceylon, established the sanatorium in these mountains, in what the natives call "the City of the Plain"—probably because it is in the neighbourhood of still greater elevations. When the traveller, in approaching this beautiful retreat, leaves Gampala, his attention is arrested by the cataracts of Rambodde, and the valley of Kattamale. The former rushes with noisy vehemence from a great altitude, pouring a large body of foaming water from rock to rock; the latter is remarkable for a quiet and salutary stream, which flows peacefully through its verdant circle, and which is celebrated for its curative efficacy; it is unfortunately the occasion of many puerile superstitions. From Rambodde a glimpse is caught of Newera Ellia. The remainder of the journey is only remarkable for the rapid alteration in the character of the foliage, and plants, and flowers. The trees and shrubs of the tropics disappear as if by magic, and those of temperate regions, familiar to European eyes, are at first mingled with intermediate species; and then predominate. The rhododendron, the white guelder, white and blush rose, peach, apple, pear, plum, cherry, and other European trees and shrubs abound; the violet, sweet pea, cowslip, primrose, and daisy also cover the slopes. When in the vicinity of Newera Ellia, gardens are formed: all European vegetables are produced in luxuriance. "The plain" is situated six thou-



sand three hundred feet above the level of the sea; the atmosphere is bracing, and in the mornings and evenings cold enough for domestic fires. The houses of the settlement have consequently chimneys, reminding the new comer pleasantly of home. At all hours the occupants of the sanatorium may roam about, and fowl or hunt, or enjoy equestrian or pedestrian exercise; so that a marvellous efficacy is exercised by the situation in restoring invalids to health. Ice, half an inch in thickness, is sometimes found in the morning, and the thermometer frequently falls below 28°: it is seldom higher than 65°. The scenery from the immediate site of the settlement is exquisitely lovely, and to the European eye perhaps not less so, because of the familiar objects which cover the face of nature—the wild fields blooming with home flowers, and the hills graced with English foliage. The mountains rise on every side to a vast height; the highest peak in view is two thousand feet above the sanatorium. Cascades are numerous, and add much to the beauty of the bold landscape; while the pure water rushing into the plain occupied by the settlement, affords a wholesome supply for man and beast.

Although reserving descriptions of the towns of the island until its general features are depicted, it is appropriate here to notice the sanatorium, as it can hardly be called a town, and possesses no distinctive native peculiarities. The governor, commander-in-chief of the forces, bishop, colonial secretary, and other government functionaries, have pleasant residences, and gardens containing the choicest English fruits and flowers, with such of the productions of the East as will grow at that elevation. A church and schools have been built near the governor's house. A canteen, hospital, and excellent barracks for troops have been erected, and European soldiers exhausted by the climate of the lowlands, speedily recover their strength, and even complexion. Immigration of English farmers and farm-labourers has been contemplated, and in some degree has already been tried. Certainly no more beautiful and healthful situation could be chosen, and with every prospect of prosperity, so far as site, soil, and climate may conduce to success. As emigration is so important a question in this country, it may afford satisfaction to the reader to have competent opinion as to the desirableness of preferring this region to Australia, the Cape, or America. Mr. Baker, an enterprising traveller, says that the natives produce five crops of potatoes annually from the same land, so prolific is the soil. The following is a summary of his statements as to the prospects

of an English farmer settled there:—Cows and buffaloes may be purchased from 25s. to 40s. per head; sheep from 3s. to 7s.; pigs from 3s. to 7s.; fowls from 7s. per dozen; ducks from 12s. ditto. Mr. Baker proceeds to show that, notwithstanding the very low price of stock, fine meat is unknown in Ceylon, the beasts being unfattened, and slaughtered without discretion. Although in many parts of the island the calf is permitted to take the whole supply from the mother, yet not a cheese has ever been manufactured in Ceylon, and butter sells for 2s. 6d. per pound. Notwithstanding the abundance and cheapness of pigs, hams and bacon have never been cured; and yet all these articles are consumed in large quantities, and imported from England at an enormous price—cheese, hams, and bacon being generally sold at two shillings per pound. All these articles may be prepared at Newera Ellia, with the same facility, and at one-fourth of the cost, of those produced in England; and would therefore sell at a large profit both for home consumption and for exportation. The island is chiefly supplied by Bombay with potatoes, but those of a superior quality now produced at Newera Ellia sell at twenty-eight shillings per cwt. In three months from the planting of the sets they are fit to dig, and one set has frequently been known to yield fifty potatoes. Wheat has been experimented upon, and the quality produced proved infinitely superior to the seed imported; and yet Ceylon is entirely dependant upon America for the supply of flour. Oats and beans thrive well, but have been neglected; consequently the horses in the island are fed expensively upon paddy and gram, the principal portion of which is imported from India: thus a most extensive market is open to supply the home market, as well as that of the Mauritius. Mr. Baker offers to the enterprising farmer of small capital, a comfortable and most profitable farm, free from those heavy taxes which burden his industry at home, where he may not only amass a considerable fortune, but may live a happy, luxurious life, with the advantages of residing in a comparatively civilised society, with a school for the education of his children, and the house of God within his reach.

The grand difficulty in the way of success with the farmer and planter anywhere in Ceylon is want of labour. The Cingalese will not work if they can procure as much food as will enable them and their families to subsist. This is easily procured, and is an almost insuperable impediment to obtaining continuous labour. Mr. Sullivan, describing



the road *en route* from Point de Galle to Colombo along the coast, says that he saw the men lying in the sun chewing betel root, the women performing the little work of which there was any sign, children and dogs pursuing the coach or diligence, alike unheeded by the lazy beings who claimed a property in them. Coolies arrive periodically from the Malabar coast, as Irish reapers attend the harvest fields of England; but as these visitors are satisfied if they can procure as much money as will lay in a stock of rice until the next season, which is easily accomplished, they, on acquiring that amount, or something near what they presume will enable them to maintain themselves and families at home in their own way, will desert their work, violate their engagements without scruple, make their way to the sea-coast with surprising rapidity, and swarm like slaves in the middle passage on board any ship which will convey them to the continent. Many planters have been ruined in this way, and fine estates have gone out of cultivation. At Newera Ellia the same consequences would ensue from the same causes, unless settlers could bring with them a supply of labourers.

A few miles from the sanitorium there are also fine plateaux, which are called "the Horton Plains," constituting the highest table-land in the island. This vicinity is noted for "the pitcher plant" (*Nepenthes distillatoria*). The name is derived from the blossom, which is pitcher-shaped, and nearly a foot in length. This is not the only plant peculiar to the region which is an object of interest. The *nellee*, or honey-plant, emits from its flowers an odour resembling that of honey, in which the natives take great delight: it flowers but once in eight years, and as the blossoms decay, bees swarm in multitudes around it, the odour being at that season strongest, which seems to attract them. This plant is further remarkable as being generally attended by a beautiful although leafless parasite, which bears a bell-shaped flower, exquisite in tint, having an amber heart, the edges scarlet: these flowers, blending with "the pitcher blossoms," afford an appearance of most strange but captivating beauty.

No race are prouder of their lineage than the Cingalese. According to them, thousands of years before our era the island was peopled by a civilised community, endowed with superior intellectual powers, and famous in arms. From these worthy occupants of their fair realm the present Cingalese declare that they are descended. They represent their island as inhabited from the remotest antiquity,

Adam's Peak, the top of the highest mountain, having been the primeval abode of the human family—

"Ere man had fall'n, or sin had drawn  
'Twixt man and heaven her curtain yet."

They even profess to trace the footprints of the first man on his departure from the paradise of the peak, to the shores of the island from which he was expelled.

Ancient historians do not assign to the aborigines of Ceylon a date as old as the creation, nor a descent direct from the first family. "The Chinese, from a remote period, were the masters of oriental commerce; and some of their vessels were driven upon the coast of Ceylon, near the district which they subsequently termed Chilau. The mariners and passengers saved themselves upon the rocks; and, finding the island fertile, soon established themselves upon it. Shortly afterwards, the Malabars, having discovered it, sent hither their exiles, whom they denominated Galas. The exiles were not long in mixing with the Chinese; and from the two names was formed Chingalees, and afterwards Chingalais."\*

Some of the ancient Hindoo historians represent the island as originally the locality of demons and other evil beings, of an extrahuman origin. Such a tradition rather tends to establish the antiquity of its population. Others state that one Singha, a prince of the neighbouring coasts of the continent, conquered the island, and his people, mingling with a wild aboriginal race, were designated Cingalese, and are the progenitors of the present population of Ceylon.

The people bear no resemblance to the Chinese in complexion, countenance, or character; but they do exhibit a very strong resemblance to the inhabitants of the neighbouring shores of continental India. There is a race inhabiting the interior called Veddahs; these are literally wild men, living in caves and forest-huts; they are predatory and migratory, subsisting chiefly on game, which they kill with bows and arrows; refusing all intercourse with the other natives, their language is unintelligible to the other people of the island. These are with reason supposed to be the oldest race in Ceylon.

Marco Polo visited the island in 1244, and from his account the tradition of a remote antiquity, and of the island having been the home of our first parents, existed then as it does now. His words are:—"Both men and women go nearly in a state of nudity, only wrapping a cloth round their loins. They have no grain besides rice and sesame, of

\* Ribeiro's *Historia de Ilha de Zeilau*.



which latter they make oil. Their food is milk, rice, and flesh, and they drink wine drawn from trees. The island produces more valuable and beautiful rubies than those found in any other part of the world; and likewise sapphires, topazes, amethysts, garnets, and many other precious and costly stones. In this highland there is a very high mountain, so rocky and precipitous, that the ascent to the top is impracticable, as it is said, except by the assistance of iron chains employed for that purpose; by means of these some persons attain the summit, where the tomb of Adam, our first parent, is reported to be found."

Subsequent writers and travellers affirm, that the Malabars and Moormen of the opposite shores made frequent incursions, and fixed settlements, mingling with the inhabitants. The result was that the latter classes influenced in a great degree the character of the population of the Kandian districts of the island, who have a peculiar character. The Cingalese in the lower regions seem to be a mixture of races from China and India. Since the Portuguese and Dutch conquests, the population has become still more mixed, both of these nations having mingled more freely with the people than the English, and left their traces in the population to some extent. The population of the lowlands is more diverse than that of the hills, the Kandians having retained their independence long after the people along the shore were subjugated, and their race influenced by successive conquerors.

The Kandians were thus described by Knox, who spent many years in captivity in the hill capital:—"In understanding, quick and apprehensive; in design, subtle and crafty; in discourse, courteous, but full of flatteries; naturally inclined to temperance, both in meat and drink, but not chastity; near and provident in their families—commending good husbandry; in their dispositions, not passionate—neither hard to be reconciled when angry; in their promises very unfaithful—approving lying in themselves, but disliking it in others; delighting in sloth—deferring labour till urgent necessity compel them; neat in apparel; nice in eating, and not much given to sleep."\*

On the whole, the following comparative estimate of the races, and judgment upon their probable origin, as given by the late queen's advocate, bears the impress of accuracy:—"Although it is affirmed by writers that the Kandians and Cingalese are both descended from the same parent stock, we disagree with them materially, as the Kan-

dians have all the distinctive marks of a nobler race and purer blood—being, in our opinion, the offspring of Malabars, who had intermarried with the Veddahs, or aborigines of Ceylon, whose blood has remained pure, owing to non-admixture with foreign conquerors; as Kandy remained a free, warlike, and independent state long after the lowlands had experienced the yoke of numerous conquerors, of various nations: whilst the Cingalese are the descendants of the followers of the Indian king, Wijeya, who conquered Ceylon long anterior to the Christian era. But the latter race has deteriorated, both physically and mentally, by constant admixture with the various tribes and nations who have conquered, colonized, or visited the lowlands and maritime districts."

The average height of the Cingalese is not more than five feet six inches, but they are well formed. The Kandians are rather more muscular, and, although living in an elevated region, their complexion is darker. The women of both races are often attractive in appearance, but their habit of chewing betel gives to the mouth a filthy colour: they chew much more than the men. The *modus operandi* is to select a betel leaf, then to take a small piece of areka-nut, and another of chunam, or prepared lime, and roll them in the leaf, forming a small ball the size of a boy's marble; this is placed in the mouth, and the flavour is much enjoyed. Much saliva is secreted, and tinged by the betel as red as blood, staining the teeth and lips most forbiddingly. This practice, and the exhausting energy of the climate, deprive the ladies of all personal comeliness by the time they are thirty years of age. The Cingalese idea of beauty may be gleaned from the following extract from a native work:—

"A woman's tresses should be abundant, as voluminous as the tail of a peacock, and as long as a palm leaf of ten moon's growth; her eyebrows should be arched like the rainbow; her eyes long as the almond, and the colour dark as midnight when there is no moon. Her nose should be slender as the bill of the hawk; her lips full, and the colour of red coral; her teeth small, even, closely placed together, and the colour of the pearl when it is newly taken from the oyster, and cleansed. Her throat should be thick and round, like the stem of a plantain tree in full growth. Her chest should be wide; her bosom full, and the form of a young cocoanut; and her waist small, round, and taper—so slender, that it could be clasped within the two outstretched hands. Her hips should be large and round, her limbs slender, and the soles of her feet without any arch or

\* Knox's *History of Ceylon*.



hollow; and the surface of her person should be soft, delicate, smooth, and round, neither bones, sinews, or angles being visible. Not a blemish should be found on her skin, the tint of which should be bright and brown."

The half-castes, or, as they are commonly called, burghers, dress like Europeans, more particularly the men. They are generally of European descent, especially from Dutch or Portuguese, by Cingalese women. They are, like the Indo-Portuguese, darker in complexion than any of the native races, and singularly unprepossessing in countenance. They are less intellectual than either Kandians, Cingalese, Moormen, or Malabars, and are utterly grovelling and sensual. Their attire gives the men of this class a less effeminate appearance than the Cingalese proper, but in manner and spirit they are more so. The effeminacy of the Cingalese men is rendered much more striking than it otherwise would be by their extraordinary costume. They are clad in petticoats, carry parasols, and turn up their long black hair as women do in England, fastening it on the crown of the head by a very high comb. The petticoats constrain their gait, and still more conduce to a mistake of their sex. The women are frequently more masculine in features, wear shorter jackets, seldom carry parasols, and do not turn up the hair under tall combs. It is a curious sight to see the men sitting in groups, combing their long hair, and anointing it with oil.

The religious condition of the inhabitants of Ceylon is such as might be expected from the influence of the Buddhist doctrines, which they profess, the genius and character of which have been already shown in a previous chapter devoted to the religions of India. Buddhism, however, has its sects, and in every country where it is professed it assumes diversities, theoretical and practical. In Ceylon the professors of this creed, more particularly than elsewhere, look forward to a further manifestation of their spiritual chief, "the Maitree Buddha." They aver that the surface of the earth had been destroyed by fire at a remote period, and was since revived by water. This doctrine seems more or less to pervade the philosophical theologies of most oriental nations, and is doubtless a traditional influence of the Deluge. "The beneficial effects of water in the history of this world, and in the history of their gods, seems to be a very general impression in the East, and the 'Spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters' is fully realised in all heathen mythologies. From the earliest days there appears to have been some very general system of worship of aquatic plants. The

most ancient coins represent the tamara as sacred. The Japanese believe that Bromna, the eldest son of their chief god, was created on the tamara. The Egyptians represent Iris on the lotus. Krishna, the god of love amongst the Hindoos, is represented as floating down the Ganges on one of the *nymphææ*, occupied in the infantine amusement of sucking his toe!"

The reverence of the Ceylonese for Buddha is carried to a great excess; and nowhere are the disciples of that creed so bigoted as in Ceylon—not even in Birmah—and in no part are they so bigoted as in Kandy. That city is the Mecca of Buddhism. There are the chief temple, the great idol, and the most holy relics. Among the latter is the alleged tooth of Buddha himself, for which the priesthood of Siam offered an enormous sum without success. It is not, however, the real tooth of the great sectary, for Constantine de Berganza destroyed that, or what was then supposed to be such, in the year 1560. Six hundred of the followers of Francis Xavier having been put to death by the Buddhists, Berganza laid waste cities and temples, and took the most especial precautions to secure possession of *the tooth*. This, however, is denied by the Cingalese and Kandians, as the following account of the capture of "the Dalada relic" (as it is called) by the English, during the Kandian rebellion of 1818, will show. Dr. Davy thus writes:—"Through the kindness of the governor, I had an opportunity of seeing this celebrated relic, when it was recovered, towards the conclusion of the rebellion, and brought back to be replaced in the Dalada Malegawa, or temple, from whence it had been clandestinely taken. . . . Here it may be remarked, that when the relic was taken, the effect of its capture was astonishing, and almost beyond the comprehension of the enlightened, for now, they said, the English are indeed masters of the country, for they who possess the relic have a right to govern four kingdoms; this, for two thousand years, is the first time the relic was ever taken from us. The Portuguese declare that in the sixteenth century they obtained possession of the relic, which the Cingalese deny, saying, that when Cotta was taken, the relic was secretly removed to Saffragam. They also affirm that when Kandy was conquered by us, in 1815, the relic was never surrendered by them to us, and they considered it to be in their possession until we took it from them by force of arms. The first adikar also observed, that whatever the English might think of having taken Pilimi Talawe, and other rebel leaders, in his opinion, and in the opinion of the people in



general, the taking of the relic was of infinitely more moment."

From 1818 until 1847 this true or false relic was preserved by the English government, and exhibited to the priests and followers of Buddha for the purpose of being worshipped! On the 28th of May, 1828, "the Dalada" was publicly exhibited by the government, who caused the ceremony to be attended with great splendour. On the 27th of March, 1846, some Siamese priests arrived to see the relic, and there was another public display. In 1847 the home government sent orders to restore the tooth to the custody of the priests—a most impolitic act, as all the acts of our government have been, which were time-serving, and quāsi-conciliatory to either Buddhist or Brahmin priests. Had the tooth been carried away, and deposited in the British Museum as a curiosity, or had it been destroyed, the superstition of the people would have received a great check: in the one case they would have supposed that the power its possession conferred would have remained with the English; in the other, that Ceylon was no longer under the especial obligation of worshipping Buddha, which it now feels. In either case the invidious nationality by which the Cingalese, especially the Kandian section of them, is characterised would have been depressed, and motives of disloyalty, which were cherished, and led to conspiracy and insurrection, in 1848, would have been removed. In that year, on the 14th of August, the governor, Lord Torrington, sent the following despatch to the home government:—"As the possession of the Buddhist relic, or tooth, has always been regarded by the Kandians as a mark of sovereignty over their country, and it was stolen and carried about in 1818, being used as a signal for rebellion, which only terminated with the recovery of it, it was judged right, by the commandant, to demand the keys of the temple, as well as of the shrine of the relic, which had been delivered by me into the charge of two priests and a chief, about a year ago. He then assured himself that this object of veneration had not been removed from its accustomed position, and converted into a signal of rebellion. But not trusting any longer to the integrity of the priests or chiefs, by whom the insurrection has been organised, the keys have, for the present at all events, been retained in the possession of the commandant."

Great as is the folly of the Cingalese in respect to this holy tooth, the folly of the English government infinitely surpassed it. There was mistaken piety in the one case—an impious indifference to the claims of con-

science and religious duty in the other. It is time that the English nation should understand that the class of men from whom colonial governors and great officers are selected care nothing what blasphemy or idolatry they support, if motives of policy or revenue are promoted. They will endow cathedrals, mosques, temples; publicly exhibit holy teeth or hairs for one idolatry to-day, and clothe in costly trappings the idol of some rival idolatry to-morrow: like the present commissioners of the Punjaub, commending mosques and heathen temples as works of public utility, deserving support from the government, in one public document, and wooing the influence of Christian missionaries in another. The question with the majority of governors has been, not what was right in the abstract, nor what was proper in respect to the rights and liberties of the people over whom they ruled, but how far the support of superstitions might facilitate the collection of revenue, or the temporary administration of government. The blame of such things has often been thrown exclusively on the East India Company, but it has rested in a greater measure upon the titled servants of the crown. Our cabinets have generally been composed of men to whom such proceedings have been acceptable. The plea has been frequently set up for them that religious toleration was their motive, the spirit of Englishmen being abhorrent to persecution; but so far from this excuse having foundation in fact, the men who thus shamelessly betrayed the Christian religion in favour of idolatry, were often noted persecutors of their fellow Christians at home and abroad, unless such had power through their representatives in the House of Commons to make their voice heard in the cabinet. All remonstrances and petitions in reference to such matters coming from Christian churches in England, however numerous, were treated with disdain, except action was taken in reference to the parliamentary elections. As soon as the question of the public patronage of idolatry, Suttee, or any other atrocity found convenient by our public officers abroad, was made a matter of comment on the hustings, hurried orders were sent out to feign compliance with those popular demands; and, in proportion as constituencies were seen to be in earnest, cabinets became active, and the consciences of the representatives of British power abroad became enlightened in a manner edifying to behold. The religious feelings and principles of the masses of English citizens are obviously not participated by large sections of the higher classes, who, while punctual church-goers, and ostensible friends of the clergy and our home religious institu-



tions (at least, such as are not unfashionable), are notoriously the zealous patrons of all exotic ereeds that may happen to have numerous devotees, and the jealous enemies of Christian missionaries, of whatever evangelical church. Happily, there are many bearing high honours in the state who feel it incumbent upon them to recognise the religious liberty of the rudest idolaters, but who will have no participation in their superstitious observances, and would not, even to serve any object, commit the greatest of all known sins—partake of or patronise idolatry.

The Dalada Malegawa, or depository and temple of the sacred tooth, is a building erected in a style of architecture approaching to that of the Chinese. The building is of two stories, the *sanctum sanctorum* being on the second. It has folding doors, with panels of brass; there are no windows, and the sunlight can never enter it by any means. The walls and ceilings are hung with gold brocade and white shawls, with coloured borders. A table, covered with gold brocade, bears two images of Buddha, one of gold and the other of crystal. The richest fruits, and the most sweet-smelling flowers, are presented as offerings to these idols. Four baskets, each twelve inches high, are also placed on the table; these contain sacred relics. In the centre is the *karandua*, or casket, which contains the holy tooth. The casket is five feet high, bell-shaped, and formed of silver, richly gilt. The chasing is simple, but most elegant; a few gems surround it, and on the apex is set a cat's eye. Numerous costly offerings surround this bell-like covering of the relic. One of these is a bird, which is attached to a massive gold chain, elegantly chased. "The body is formed of gold, and the plumage is represented by a profusion of precious gems, which consist of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, and cats' eyes. Description is inadequate to convey a correct idea of the extreme and extraordinary effulgence and exquisite beauty of these elaborate decorations, which the limner's art alone could faithfully delineate." The relic is wrapped in an extremely thin sheet of virgin gold, which is deposited in a gold box, just sufficiently capacious to receive the tooth, which Europeans declare to be as large as that of an alligator, and to have been manufactured from the tusk of an elephant. The golden box is studded with precious stones, which are exquisitely arranged. It is placed in a golden vase, decorated with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, and wrapped in rich brocade. This is laid within a second vase, also of gold, which is enfolded by pure white muslin. This vase is placed in another

similar to itself, and that in a fourth, more costly, for it is larger, and profusely, yet tastefully ornamented with chasing and gems. A gentleman long resident in Ceylon, and who, having official opportunities, was enabled to investigate this extraordinary *sanctum*, writes:—

"When we saw the relic it was placed in the centre of an exquisitely beautiful pink lotus, the flowers of the bo-tree being strewed around, and tastefully arranged on the shrine; but it was most pitiable to behold the benighted Buddhists, many of them learned men and good scholars, prostrating themselves before a piece of discoloured bone. There is also a smaller and most exquisitely beautiful casket, or *karandua*, studded with precious stones, in which the relic is placed when it is borne in the religious processions, or when the chief priests, in troublous times of commotion, or war, should think it necessary to insure the safety of the Dalada by removing it from the temple.

"Above the shrine, and attached to the wall, are plates of gold, on which are inscribed sacred emblems and characters: on either side of the principal shrine there are smaller shrines, which are covered with gold and silver cloths, on which are placed gilt lamps, and offerings of flowers and fruit; and the effluvia arising from the cocoa-nut oil, with which the lamps are supplied, combined with the perfume of the votive flowers, renders the atmosphere of this unventilated apartment most oppressive.

"A contiguous staircase leads to a similar apartment, which is decorated in the same manner as the one we have described, where is to be seen the recumbent figure of the god Gotama Buddha, the size of life; the features are well delineated, and the figure is gilt, with the exception of the face and hands. Near him are placed figures of other gods and the goddess Patiné, the shrine being decorated with golden ornaments, many of which are studded with precious stones.

"The god Buddha is represented by the Cingalese in three attitudes—namely, standing erect, with one hand raised, as if preparing to step forward; seated on a cushion, with the legs crossed; and reclining on his side, his hand placed under his head, which rests upon a pillow. We had two figures of Gotama Buddha presented to us: one, in the act of advancing, is of ivory, about five inches in height, the hair, eyes, lips, and palms of the hands being coloured, to represent life, whilst the drapery is relieved by stripes of vermillion; the other figure is of bronze, about three inches and a half in height, and represents the god seated cross-legged. The



ornament, or sacred emblem, which is placed on the crown of the head of each of these idols is used solely to designate Buddha, as the emblem of the other gods is of a totally different character.

"In the Malegawa a most valuable seated figure of Buddha was to be seen in 1847 (and we presume it is there now), which had been presented by the Siamese priests; it is nearly eleven inches in height, and was carved out of a cat's eye. Having had the good fortune to have been conducted over the Dalada Malegawa by a Kandian chief, we were shown all that was considered either curious or magnificent."

The sacred relics of Buddha, generally a hair, or some shred of apparel, are deposited in monumental buildings, which are always identical in construction—"a bell-shaped tomb surmounted by a spire." These are called *dagobahs*. Mr. Layard, father of the explorer of Nineveh, opened one of these at Colombo in 1820, of which he gives the following description:—"In the centre of the dagobah a small square compartment was discovered, lined with brick, and paved with coral, containing a cylindrical mass of grey granite, rudely shaped into a vase, or *karan-dua*, which had a closely-fitting cover or cap of the same. This vase contained an extremely small fragment of bone, pieces of thin gold—in which, in all probability, the bone had originally been wrapped—pieces of the blue sapphire, and ruby, three small pearls, a few gold rings, beads of cornelian and crystal, and pieces of glass, which resembled icicles in shape. In the compartment with the vase were also placed a brazen and an earthen lamp, a small truncated pyramid made of cement, and clay images of the cobra and other sacred objects of Buddhist superstition."

The following exemplification of the superstition of the Ceylonese is recorded by Mr. Sullivan:—"The Cingalese faith in metempsychosis is entire and unhesitating, and their confidence in its truth admits of no doubt whatever. A man, when oppressed by his superiors, or condemned by the judge, expresses his intention of returning in a future state, as a cobra, to bite his children; or as an elephant, to ravage his crops. They even go so far as to form an opinion, from the nature and habits of any particular animal or insect, as to its character in a former state. A Pariah dog, for instance, whose presence is an abomination, and whose portion is misery, is supposed to have been some luxurious Dives, who is now in want and ill-treatment, expiating his indifference of the *lazari* of his human acquaintance; and there

is a little insect very common in the jungle, which, from its remarkable habit of surrounding itself with a covering of small sticks, in the centre of which it moves, and from which it is almost impossible to distinguish it, is believed by the natives to represent individuals who, during their earthly career, displayed rather a marked partiality for their neighbours' firewood, and who are thus working out an appropriate atonement."

The Buddhists of Ceylon affect to despise the superstitions of the Hindoos, and even of their own brethren of Siam, where caste is recognised in the priesthood, contrary to the doctrines of Buddha, and the genius of his philosophy; but the observances of caste, and other superstitious practices, are usual among the Cingalese themselves, and are just as puerile as those they condemn in others. These are particularly obvious at their religious festivals. At the feast of the Pirahara, which seems to be the grand Kandian sacred festival, extending over a period of seven days, the most grotesque and absurd ceremonies are practised. A procession of seven elephants, decked out in a manner excessively provocative of mirth, each animal carrying an empty "howdah," followed by crowds of men bearing empty palankeens, and a long retinue of chiefs and headmen, gaily attired; the most horrid din of tom-toms and pipes, filling the air with discord, is the chief feature of "the solemnity." On one of these occasions, an English gentleman saw a fakeer in the procession, with a wire run through both his cheeks, and a lighted candle at each end, about six inches from the face. This man was regarded as performing a work of great merit, and as having attained to a saintly degree. These processions are conducted at night, so that the "voluntary humility" of the fakeer was in that instance not without its convenience to others.

Evil spirits are especially worshipped, simply for the power which they are supposed to possess, and so willing to exercise, for mischievous purposes. When a demon is offended, dancing is supposed to be the most efficacious mode of appeasing his wrath. If a member of a family come by any misfortune, or fall sick, a priest of some particular devil is called in, offerings are presented, and the dance commences. If a village, or district, is visited by pestilence, or any national evil, pulpits are erected by the devil's priest, and decorated with flowers, wreaths, money, incense, &c.; while various matters propitiatory are offered by this sacerdotal official: after "a devil dance," the grand incantation is read, and the ill-disposed demon is entreated to depart.



The proceedings of the devil-dancers by no means resemble those who enjoy the pastime of

“The light fantastic toe;”

the whole ceremony is appalling to those who witness it, as it is degrading to those who practise it, and cannot be excelled in folly by any of the Brahminical superstitions of continental India. A spectator of the orgies thus describes them:—“The *kapua*, or devil-dancers, are usually well-grown, active men, and wear on their arms and ankles several hollow brass rings: they keep time to the tom-tom beaters by shaking their head, whilst the clanking of the bracelets and anklets makes a species of accompaniment. The evolutions of the dancer are rapid; his gestures lascivious and indecent; as he becomes excited with the music and the dance, his flesh will quiver, his eyeballs become fixed and staring, as if he could, or would, discern the form of the offended demon; whilst in this state, he will predict the cause of the aroused wrath of the demon, the fate or fortune of individuals. These dances are held at night, by torchlight; and no scene can be imagined more painfully impressive than to witness the frantic gestures of the devil-dancer, with his long, dishevelled hair streaming over his shoulders, the blue flame from the torches flickering and casting an unearthly light on all around, whilst the dusky spectators remain motionless, gazing, with staring eyes, on the dancer; the huge tropical trees waving over the heads of all, as if calmly deriding, although compelled to witness, the unhallowed rites and vicious orgies which invariably wind up a devil-dance.”

The moral condition of the people, as in all nations, may be inferred from their religion. The Kandians and Cingalese are without principle: their highest rule of duty is convenience. Knox represented the women as, in his time, the most regardless of their infant female offspring of any in the world, and consequently the crime of infanticide was awfully common: the authority and vigilance of government have not been as yet sufficient to repress it. The object of this crime is to put females out of the way, lest they should grow up a burden. When learned Buddhists at Kandy have been reproached with this national cruelty, they have replied, “But it is not so bad as in England, where a wife or child is poisoned for the sake of a few rupees: our female infants are not murdered, they are deprived of life upon a principle which has received public, social, and religious sanction.” The character of the women of Ceylon is horribly impure; according to Knox, a Kandian woman will not often submit herself to a

man of a lower caste than her own, but in all other respects their behaviour is utterly and shockingly immoral, and apparently without the least sense of shame. Caste is not ostensibly recognised, but really revered. The practice of brother-husbands is extremely debasing. If in a family there are several brothers, and any one of the number marries, the bride becomes equally the wife of the other brothers, who may themselves be only half-brothers—the children of one mother by several fathers. The object of this extraordinary and demoralising community, is to preserve landed property in the same family, so that it should not be divided and subdivided until it of necessity passed away from the lineage of those to whom it originally belonged. Thus an entail is socially enforced without any legal recognition. Sometimes the wife of several brother-husbands will take another husband out of the family, provided he joins his property to theirs. This, if it be considerable, is generally an arrangement desired by the previous husband. It must not be supposed, from this domestic communism, that men are not jealous in Ceylon; they are certainly less so where there are several husbands than where one only exists; they are, however, very jealous, and perpetually receive just cause, if, indeed, in such a depraved social condition, the like would be recognised at all. When this feeling is aroused, they are exceedingly resentful; and as they generally carry a knife or dagger about the person, concealed in a sheath or pocket, on such occasions they will draw it, and inflict death upon the offender. This is done even upon suspicion, and as cause for that is perpetually given, wounds and death frequently occur in brawls about women. Meanness, cowardice, and contemptible treachery, characterise the men of both the upper and lower country, but more especially the latter; and they resort to every conceivable artifice to accomplish petty fraud.

In their feelings towards other religions than their own, they are strangely tolerant and persecuting at the same time. The slightest disrespect towards one of their relics will cause a paroxysm of rage and animosity; and it is astonishing how small a cause will move them to this bigoted resentment. A gentleman connected with the government, on one occasion was favoured with a sight of “the tooth,” in the presence of a Kandian chief of note, and of the high priest of the temple. A small image of Buddha attracted his attention, and he took it up by the shoulder with one hand, contrary to the ritual of Buddhism, which ordains that an image of Buddha should be raised by the



feet, and with both the hands of the person who touches it. The gentleman's inadvertency threw his guides into a state of despair and furious horror, they regarding him as a monster of iniquity, upon whom the judgment of heaven might be speedily expected to descend. Only after many apologies and assurances of regret that his ignorance should have exposed him to an unintentional act of irreverence, could he succeed in appeasing these men. With all this intense sensitiveness of the respect demanded for their religion, they are not generally unwilling to tolerate the creed which may be preferred by strangers. They will enter a Roman Catholic chapel, and bow to any images or pictures which may be there, and offer the most reverential respect to the officiating priest; and will proceed forthwith to one of their own temples, and pay the same respect to the images of Buddha, the deities, and the devils. They will enter a Protestant assembly, listen to the instructions conveyed, and insist that the ultimate doctrines to which these refer are identical with Buddhism, assuring their interrogators that "it is all the same religion;" only of course regarding their own as the highest and most perfect development. The servants in an English family will readily join in evangelical worship, but if they hear the tom-tom, and the cries of the devil-dancers, will jump up from their knees, and hasten to participate in the ceremonial. They will freely give their assent to the most beautiful and truthful descriptions of a separate state, of the resurrection of the body and life everlasting; and afterwards, if asked to define their own hopes, show that they look forward to a transmigration the most degrading and absurd. A boy at the mission-school at Kandy, who was supposed to be peculiarly well instructed, when asked, out of the routine of his usual catechetical examinations, what he hoped for in the next world, promptly replied that he hoped he would become a snake, which seems to be the grand desideratum of Kandians, for whom a heaven of cobras is a prospect of bliss. Under these circumstances, the labours of missionaries are very discouraging; yet they are not entirely without success. The Roman Catholics have many converts, and missionaries of various evangelical denominations from the British Isles have laboured long and zealously, and with some requital for their pleasing and sacred toil.

As early as 1820, schools were instituted in the province of Kandy by missionaries, and still earlier on the coast. In 1845, Ceylon was constituted, by letters patent under the great seal of England, an episcopal see,

under the title of Colombo; previous to that the island was included in the episcopate of Madras. In 1846, Dr. Chapman arrived as the first Bishop of Colombo, and zealously entered upon his charge, showing the utmost concern for the spiritual and moral welfare of Europeans and natives.

The various voluntary missionary societies maintain missionaries, and the Bible and Tract Societies of England have given to Ceylon a large share of attention; copies of the Holy Scriptures, and portions of them, and also religious tracts and books, are supplied to whatever extent there is hope of their proving useful.

However indifferent the Buddhists may be to the presence of other religions, they are hostile to proselytism, and regard the abandonment of their ancient customs as a crime. This is one reason why all Roman Catholic and Protestant converts so strenuously keep up their old Buddha practices, especially at weddings, and the naming of children. In this respect Romanists and Protestants among the natives are scarcely distinguishable from Buddhists, although the Moormen or Mohammedans are somewhat strict in preserving themselves from contact with what they deem to be idolatrous. After the marriage and baptismal ceremonies of Protestants and Roman Catholics, even amongst the highest castes of natives, and who serve the government officially, the persons interested adjourn to their assigned rendezvous, and enact all the ceremonial of a purely Buddhist celebration. The prospect of these rites becoming less popular, through the influence of the increased energy of Protestant missionaries, has inflamed the bigotry of the Buddhist priests, if the ministers of the temples of Buddha can be properly so designated. In the Kandian rebellion of 1848, these functionaries performed the most prominent part, and their animosity to the government had, in a great measure, its source in their jealousy of the influence of their old rites and observances, which they feared would pass away, and with it their own prestige, under the moral influence of a powerful Christian government.

The Cingalese language has the reputation of being euphonious: some oriental scholars aver that it is fundamentally allied to the Siamese; others declare that it is of Sanscrit origin. As in continental India, there is a sacred language, which is the medium of literature—this is called in Ceylon, *Elu*: it is only understood by educated persons.\* Some suppose that it was the vernacular language of the island before it was conquered by the

\* Clough's *Ceylonese Dictionary*.



continental followers of Wijeya. Independent of the language of literature, there is a high and low Cingalese—the former spoken in Kandy, the latter in the lower provinces: the Kandians, however, generally understand both, while the Cingalese of the lower parts of the island cannot speak the high dialect. There are two written characters: the most ancient, the prevailing form of which is square, has become obsolete; it is found in ancient inscriptions, but cannot be entirely deciphered, as the knowledge of it has died away: it is called Nagāra. In consequence of this, a great store of the ancient history of Ceylon is lost, and probably interesting facts concerning other peoples are thus buried in the gloom of the past. Mr. Prinsep,\* in 1837, published an account of certain inscriptions found on stones and rocks in continental India: some resemblance is recognised between these and the old Cingalese letters. The present Cingalese characters are round in their general form. The higher castes write elegantly with an iron style upon the palmyra leaf: a composition, prepared chiefly of charred gum, being rubbed over the composition, brings out the letters in dark colour.

The books of the natives are in MS., and written upon the leaves of the talipot-tree. These leaves do not perish, and the preparation rubbed over them preserves them from insects; so that the books or MSS., whichever they may be styled, of the Cingalese are preserved from a remote antiquity. It is alleged that the accredited historical records of the island, by such means, go back two thousand three hundred years.† There are many such works in the Pali and Sanscrit, and treatises on grammar, medicine, astrology, music, natural philosophy, jurisprudence, and theology. Their idea of fine writing is, however, puerile, and their poetical compositions fantastical. Graceful thought and pleasant conceits abound; but high conception is seldom or never to be met with. The poets of Cingalese antiquity seem to have been a vain and frivolous order, who studied to be artificial, and to display their learning. Their misfortunes at least equalled their vanity, and are much more remarkable than their genius; for some of the most tragical stories of Cingalese history are connected with either the love or loyalty of her poets.

It will be appropriate in this place to notice the music of the people, as it is so intimately connected with their literature, for they sing or drone their favourite compositions to the accompaniment of their “dulcets”

\* *Asiatic Journal of Calcutta.*

† Sirr.

and tom-toms, on which occasions the noise raised is dissonant beyond the endurance of Europeans. A law was enacted, prohibiting these recitations and singings, when accompanied by drums, &c., between the hours of eight in the evening and eight in the morning, as no European could enjoy repose in their vicinity. The horanawa, a shrill and discordant kind of pipe, affords the people inexpressible pleasure. An instrument much more unmusical to European ears is the chanque shell, which may be called the trumpet of the Cingalese. A sort of violin is made of a half a cocoa-nut shell, with a sounding-board of the skin of the guana, a bow of horsehair, and two strings, one of the same material, another of flax; two little bells are attached to it, and this toy is regarded as an instrument almost divine by high-caste natives. The singing or reciting of a native poem, with the din of accompaniments from a concert of these instruments, is as torturing a process to an English tympanum as can well be conceived.

Physicians are regarded as depositaries of human learning, but the chief accomplishment for which they are valued is *astrology*. If by astrological power the *medicus* determines that the disease is inflicted as a punishment by the gods, he leaves the patient to be dealt with by them, but if the disease has come in a natural way, he endeavours “to ripen” and then cure it.

There are various books or manuscripts extant on medical science, in which nearly six hundred diseases are treated of, showing that Ceylon can claim her full proportion of the ills to which flesh is heir. The general administration of medicine prescribed resembles that of the old physicians in England. An amazing number of ingredients are cast in together, in order to balance one another, and in the hope that *all* will not fail to produce some favourable effect. Mr. Sirr, from his own personal knowledge, bears the following testimony to the skill of the native oculists:—“Many of their practitioners are excellent oculists, and are thoroughly conversant with numerous medicinal drugs (unknown to Europeans) which produce a speedy effect in relieving ophthalmia. In Ceylon ophthalmia is alike prevalent amongst human beings and animals; but there is one form of this distressing complaint which is solely confined to quadrupeds. A minute worm is either engendered or received into the watery humours of the eye, which causes the eyeball to enlarge; as soon as the swelling subsides, the colouring matter of the pupil assumes a bluish tint, and total loss of vision speedily ensues. The vegetable remedies used by the



natives appear to cause the animal acute pain, but, when they are judiciously applied by a skilful practitioner, invariably restore the vision, and effect a complete cure."

The same authority may be quoted as to the professional attainments of the native surgeons, who are, he avers, skilled in phlebotomy and cauterising. Amputation of a limb is performed by a red-hot knife, and successfully, so far as the preservation of the patient's life is concerned. He quotes the words of an informant, who witnessed the treatment of a dislocation by a native surgeon, and which is recorded in the following terms:—"During our journey one of the coolies fell down, and dislocated his ankle joint. On reaching the next village the surgeon was sent for, who, after a careful examination of the injured limb, ordered the patient to be assisted to a plantation of cocoanut trees, and some coir or rope to be brought to him. He then placed the patient against a tree, to which he securely fastened him by the shoulders, whilst the foot of the injured limb was tightly attached by a noosed rope to another tree. Through the noose the surgeon passed a short, but strong stick, which he repeatedly twisted until the rope was completely tightened, and the limb stretched out to its fullest extent; he then suddenly withdrew the stick, and allowed the cord to untwist itself. The patient, who had bellowed and squealed like a mad wild dog during the operation, was then released, and upon examination the dislocation was reduced."

There is but one disease which the native doctors, and the native medical treatises, do not regard as curable, which seems to be a form of dropsy, and which never attacks Europeans; neither does it extend to the natives of continental India, although dropsy, and other diseases of a dropsical character, are not uncommon there. It has received the nosological designation from some Europeans of *hydrops asthmaticus*. "This terrible disease commences with general debility and oppressed breathing, the extremities become distended with watery effusion, paralysis ensues, whilst other symptoms of dropsy display themselves, often running their course with great rapidity. There is frequently anxiety, also, with palpitation of the heart, and occasionally vomiting and spasms are present."\*

Having given a description at large of the island, its scenery, people, religion, and literature, there remains for this chapter some account of its cities.

The native capital, as before mentioned, is Kandy. The situation of this city among

\* Dr. C. Rogers.

the bold elevations of the Kandian highlands has also been named. The site upon which it stands, and its immediate neighbourhood, are extremely picturesque, the former being at the broad end of a pear-shaped lake, which nearly fills a beautiful valley, formed by hills of varied and striking outline. The native name is *Maha Neura*, or Great City. The *Mehavelleganga*, or River of Sand, flows past three sides of the town. Its reaches are sometimes grand, and it is bright and rapid, but is, nevertheless, a source of insalubrity to Kandy. It is remarkable that tanks are generally healthy, while rivers conduce to disease throughout the island. Old English residents, who will not hesitate to place their residences beside large tanks or lakes, will avoid the river courses. The former are covered with peculiar plants, which purify the water; the latter bear down and distribute on their banks large quantities of vegetable matter, which, quickly decomposing beneath a hot sun, spread sickness and death. In the centre of the lake is a low massive building of considerable extent, used as the magazine. This was formerly the royal harem, and tales of terror, similar to those for which the Bosphorus is notorious, are told of the history of that place. The lake itself is artificial; considering the body of water flowing around so large a portion of the town, it might be supposed that any addition, even for the purpose of heightening the picturesque, was scarcely desirable. A road encircles the lake, and the whole valley is so well sheltered by the great elevation of the surrounding hills, that Europeans can enjoy exercise in the open air almost as freely as in a more temperate zone.

The town consists of two main streets, crossing each other at right angles, the whole line marked by open shops, where business is transacted in a most indolent manner. The dealers are seldom honest; and they often meet their equals in sharp practice among their customers. There is another street (a sort of suburb) stretching in a south-easterly direction from the temple and the palace. The court-house was formerly the hall of audience of the Kandian monarchs; and in that room public worship used to be conducted by the British chaplain, previous to the erection of the present appropriate church. The barracks of the Ceylon Rifles are spacious, and there is also a good artillery barracks. "The Queen's House," built for the occasional residence of the governor, is elegant and commodious, and, from being encrusted with a peculiar preparation resembling chunam, it has the appearance of being built with marble. It commands a view of the



whole town, and of a large extent of the neighbouring country. The house occupies the centre of a large lawn, ornamented with the finest palms and magnolias, the whole being surrounded by a spacious and well-kept park, planted with every variety of tree, native and exotic, and blooming with the flowering shrubs of Ceylon and Madras. It would be scarcely possible for any official residence to be more beautifully situated, the park affording mountain views of great extent, variety, and elevation, and overlooking from its higher grounds neighbouring valleys of the softest beauty. The citadel, if such it may be called, is situated on "One Tree Hill," and between it and Atgallee, seven miles distant on the Trincomalee road, a system of signals has been established.

Around the town are many good houses, occupied by officials and European settlers. The situations of these residences are delightful, combining the advantages of productive gardens, fields, and orchards, with some of the loveliest scenery in the world. Pure water fit for drinking, is scarce. Although the town is fifteen hundred feet above the sea level, rarely, in any situation about Kandy, does the climate agree with Englishmen. This is the more remarkable, for in continental India an equal height is universally healthy; and at Kandy the jungle is cleared, cultivation maintained, and the advantages of civilisation generally possessed.

The town is approached on every side by mountain passes, which add much to the picturesque character of the neighbourhood. A tunnel was formed by the British through one of the mountains which begirt the district. This tunnel was five hundred and thirty-seven feet in length, and, in a military point of view, was of great value. The following interesting particulars concerning it, from *Ceylon and the Cingalese*, show how civilisation impresses barbaric peoples with the idea of power:—"The tunnel was constructed by order of Sir Edward Barnes, to consolidate, so to speak, the British power after Kandy came into our possession; for a legend has been extant, from time immemorial, *that no foreign power could retain the Kandian dominions until a path was bored through the mountain!* And a chief told us, that when his countrymen beheld this task commenced, their hearts failed them; but when they saw it completed, and men walking through the bowels of the earth, they then knew it was their destiny to be ruled by a nation who could pierce rocks and undermine mountains. The tunnel was completed on the 8th of December, 1823, but we regret to

say this has now collapsed, and the road is impassable. This tunnel, the principal carriage roads, and bridges, never could have been constructed, had not the system of compulsory labour been adopted by our government, as it had been carried on under the native dynasty. By order of the king in council, in 1832, all compulsory services, and forced labour of every description, was declared illegal, and abolished. Whilst making the excavations for the tunnel some rare and valuable gems were discovered, and the only ruby we have ever seen without flaw or defect in colour was found at that period."

One of the most interesting features of the neighbourhood to the British is the abundance of game, for they retain in Ceylon, as in every other colony or settlement, their inveterate love of hunting and shooting. So various is the country in its aspects, formation, and vegetation, that this propensity can be abundantly gratified. The elephant, the leopard, and the wild hog, may be pursued by the bolder sportsman; the deer and the fox by those less adventurous; and nearly all the species of birds known to the tropics may be bagged by the fowler.

On another page a description was given of the temple of the sacred tooth in this vicinity. The other buildings held in veneration by the people are the palace, and, more especially, the tombs. The palace is fast falling away. It must have been at one period a superb building; its frontage is eight hundred feet. The walls are decorated with stone carvings of much pretension. Elephants, suns, moons, stars, and other emblems of royalty, are the figures upon which the taste of the native workmen was expended. The stone framework of the doors is carved in a higher style of art.

Colombo is the modern, or English capital, the seat of supreme government, as Kandy is the local capital of the upper country, and the ancient metropolis. It is situated in latitude  $6^{\circ} 57'$  north, and longitude  $79^{\circ} 50'$  east. The harbour is a semicircle, but it has a bar, and a reef, called "the Drunken Sailor;" and these are not the only impediments to the safety of shipping. It is therefore a bad seaport, and has little commerce, considering that it is the capital, although there is a considerable importation of rice, and a large concourse of coolies passing to and from the continent. Goods are frequently sent to Point de Galle by the road; and as Colombo is the seat of government, there is a brisk intercourse between it and the interior. In the coffee export season it has an air of great bustle. The heat is said by some to be greater there than anywhere else in the island, and yet



those who so affirm represent it as the healthiest situation Ceylon possesses, except the sanatorium, and the places already noticed as occupying a nearly equal elevation.

According to native books, it was a town of some importance in the sixth century of our era. In 1518 the Portuguese occupied and began to fortify it. After the Dutch expelled them, the fortifications which they formed were strengthened. The English, in their turn, improved the defences. The fort occupies a small promontory, and is large enough to hold a garrison of eight thousand men. It mounts a hundred and thirty-one guns and mortars. Slave Island, outside the fort, contains barracks, where the Gun Lascars and Ceylon Rifles, frequently recruited at the Cape of Good Hope, are quartered.

The principal street in the fort is Queen Street, in which the government house is erected. The building is as little worthy of its purpose as St. James's Palace, Buckingham Palace, Kensington Palace, Dublin Castle, the Viceregal Lodge in that city, Holyrood House, or any other palace of her majesty's in the British Isles except Windsor. It is, as a native chief remarked to an English official, "plenty small." The gardens are, however, very cheering, and large in proportion to the dwelling to which they are attached; they are said, like the botanical gardens near Kandy, to contain a specimen of every tree, shrub, plant, and flower which is indigenous to the island. The lighthouse, which is to the rear of the queen's house, is nearly a hundred feet high, and is very efficient for its object. The military and civil offices are all situated near the government house. The post office is a building of some importance. There are a good normal school, a public library, and several banks, in the same neighbourhood. The Scotch church, and one of the English churches, have sites also in this street.

From the principal thoroughfare other streets branch off, which are again intersected by minor ones. The medical museum and library, a military hospital and an English church, occupy less eligible situations than the other buildings named; and there are large and good shops in some of the smaller and less imposing streets. As in Madras and Bombay, the business of the great commercial houses is carried on within the fort, but the merchants generally reside beyond the town, in the neighbourhood of a large artificial piece of water, rendered wholesome by the presence of aquatic plants, which are in this respect so useful both in continental and insular India.

The Pettah is a long range of street with-

out the fort, entirely occupied by shops, where a great deal of business is done. The dealers are chiefly Moormen, a class supposed to be descended from those who, in the early ages, carried the cinnamon, spices, and precious stones of Ceylon to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and even to the coasts of the Mediterranean. These men are Mohammedans; they seldom accept service with Europeans, deeming it an indignity: they are proud, brave, enterprising, and industrious, and hold the other natives, especially the Cingalese, in utter contempt. This race employ themselves as carriers, sailors, chapmen, pedlars, and agriculturists, and frequently with spirit; they thrive, and several have realised considerable fortunes. They sell goods of equal value to those Europeans vend in the fort, and do not demand near the price. Branching from the Pettah there are many small lane-like streets, chiefly occupied by the burghers, or half-caste men, whose genius for carving ebony and other woods is very remarkable. Their execution is exquisite. It is surprising that a market is not found in England for the delicate carvings of fruit and flowers, executed in the beautiful woods of Ceylon. Near the Pettah there are numerous churches: the Roman Catholic for the half-caste descendants of the Portuguese; Dutch churches for those who claim a half-caste connexion with the original colonists of that nation; and two churches of the English establishment. The modern missionary societies, particularly those of the Baptists and the Wesleyans, have also their places of worship. The Mohammedans have a mosque, and the Brahmins a temple, which is covered with carvings of elephants, lions, and tigers. The religionists least provided for in Colombo are the Buddhists, although more numerous in the town and neighbourhood than all the rest put together. The Church of England has extra provision made for its professors. The European garrison generally attend either the English Episcopal churches in the fort, the Scotch church there, or the Roman Catholic chapel in the Pettah. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Church Missionary Society, have institutions near the Pettah, in the neighbourhood of the English churches. There are also local charitable establishments in that vicinity—such as the Leper Hospital, Poor-house and Hospital, Dispensary, and Colombo Friend-in-Need Society. The government schools are properly located among the native population. All the law courts, offices, and dwellings connected with them, are situated beyond the fort—such as the Supreme Court-house, Dis-



trict Court, Court of Requests, Police Office, Cutcherry, and Fiscal's Office.

There are two classes of persons very much to be pitied at Colombo. One of these, until very lately, has been ill-treated everywhere—the British Soldier. The author of these pages has no disposition to seek occasions for animadversion upon the constitution or command of the British army, but, in his *History of the War against Russia*, it was his duty to bring out many features of neglect and harshness in our military system towards the soldiery, and his doing so met with the approbation of so numerous a body of officers, many of the highest rank, as to prove that a desire for reform pervades those classes. In Colombo, so late as 1854, the English sentinels within the fort, under the intense heat of the climate, and in situations where that heat was made even more oppressive, were clothed precisely as they would be if on duty at the Tower or Kensington Palace—the heavy cap, the close-breasted coat, stock, &c., without any mitigation whatever! The ill-health and suffering of the soldier consequent upon this folly and inhumanity on the part of those in authority may readily be conceived, even by those who have never felt the burning heat and enervating climate of Colombo.

The other ill-used functionaries are the police. Their apparel is just the same as if they were stationed at Hyde Park Corner or St. Paul's Churchyard, except that, as the natives (who constitute the police) wear long hair, coiled up behind, and fastened with high combs, hats are impossibilities. Peaked caps are substituted; but having no place on which to put them, the headgear of a Cingalese defying the adjustment of a cap on his head, he hangs it on the roll of hair and the comb, in a manner quite as useful to him as if he carried it on a pole, like a cap of liberty! Notwithstanding the ludicrous aspect of the police, all this absurdity was persisted in, at all events up to a recent period. The men, encased in the tight clothes, were nearly useless. Having been always accustomed to the easy habiliments of the East, such a uniform is intolerable to them; and they also, like the European soldiery, suffer much pain and discomfort, and frequently incur ill-health.

The Galle Face is favourably situated to catch the cooling sea-breezes, and is therefore the fashionable resort for riding and driving in the evening; it is the Hyde Park of Colombo, and is described by most writers as very beautiful. It is, however, surprising what diversity of statement difference of taste produces on this subject. One traveller thus writes:—"The view from, and of the Galle Face, is absolutely entrancing to the

lover of nature, for cast the eyes where you will, the gaze is involuntarily arrested by the extreme beauty of the surrounding scenery. There lies the boundless ocean, with a ship in full sail gliding over its undulating surface, the canoes of the natives lightly floating on, and skimming over its waters, whilst the waves, curvetting and rolling, dash in a shower of white foam on to the shore. Bordering the beach is the carriage-drive, which encompasses greensward, whereon high-bred Arab horses are bounding and prancing, in the full enjoyment of exuberant health and existence. On the opposite side is the racecourse, over whose variegated turf the steeds are caricoling in high glee, whilst the carriage-drive that divides the racecourse from the greensward is thronged with carriages of every description, principally, if not entirely, occupied by Europeans, whilst the fantastically-clad Eastern attendants run at the horse's head or at the side of the vehicle. At the back of the racecourse flows the Lake of Colombo, the banks being studded with drooping palms, whose branches overshadow the clear waters, on which float the pink lotus and white lily, whilst a bungalow, the verandah of which is overgrown with graceful creepers, the grounds belonging to it being filled with gorgeous-coloured flowering shrubs, complete the vista of loveliness on that side. Looking from the bungalow, with nought to impede the view save the stand on the racecourse, you can distinctly see the grey time-mossed ramparts of the Fort of Colombo. In due time sunset arrives; then how gloriously the planet sinks into the bosom of the sea, in majestic tranquillity, as his parting beams illumine the green waters, on which they glitter in thousands of sparkling rays, whilst over the azure vault of heaven float violet, crimson, and golden-tinted clouds, which, as you gaze, fade away in ever varying hues."

Another traveller, as observant, if less careful in his statements, says,—“Colombo is about as hot and unpicturesque a place as it has ever been my luck to visit; to the stranger there is neither object of interest or amusement, and, but for the extreme kindness and easy hospitality of its merchants, it would puzzle the most contented mind to pass a week there without excessive *ennui*. There are, so to speak, three towns, one small and compact, situated within the Dutch fort, composed chiefly of government and merchants' offices, barracks, and shops, and two long straggling suburbs without the walls, stretching and stinking in opposite directions. A large fresh-water lagoon, of a most green, slimy, tropical, appearance, producing in abundance a lotus of almost *Victoria Regia*



magnificence, stretches away to the back of the fort, and around it are situated the bungalows of many of the Colombo merchants. The propinquity of this lake would in any other tropical country (in the West Indies certainly) be considered as ensuring a considerable amount of fever to the neighbourhood; in fact, I doubt whether any advantage would be sufficient to induce a West Indian to locate in such a position. However, Ceylon, in the matter of climate, stands *per se*, and offers a total antithesis as regards the healthiness of certain districts to most other tropical countries."

The testimony of this writer (who obviously states his honest impression), as to the *ennui* of Colombian society, is not without supporters; yet there are excellent witnesses to the contrary, according to whom the open-air enjoyments of the Europeans, while the sun is very low in the horizon, and after sunset, are enlivening and delightful. Carriage airing and equestrian exercise are highly enjoyed, and the cool breezes enable the horseman or pedestrian to exert himself almost at will. The natives are as anxious to shun these cool airs as the Europeans are to enjoy them, and shrink shivering from the breeze by which the English are invigorated for the heat of another day. "The night side" of the Ceylon metropolis has been depicted in the following language, which only an eye-witness could employ:—"As the shades of evening advance, gradually the Galle Face becomes deserted, and, long before nightfall, the neighing of the horses and the rumbling of wheels are no more heard, the only sounds greeting the ear being the sighing of the night-breeze, and the breaking of the waves on the shingly beach. When night has 'thrown her sable mantle o'er the earth,' the aspect of the scene changes, for over the lake hover myriads of fire-flies, clouds of them flitting about in the air, then alighting on the waving leaves of the palms, causing the foliage to appear illuminated. Some few will settle on the floating leaves of the lotus, two or three will creep into the flower, sparkling like brilliants; then more of these luminous insects will alight on other aquatic plants, and the waters will glisten with a million minute specks of light. Then, innumerable numbers will wing their flight upwards, until the air appears replete with a shower of the moon's beams. Many will then settle, possibly on a tall banana; the outline of the gigantic graceful leaves being distinctly defined by the dazzling specks of fire upon them. Nought can be imagined more exquisitely lovely than this varied natural panorama; and although in the mountainous parts of the island, the face of

nature may assume a sublimer aspect, never does she wear a more pleasing, characteristic, and truly oriental one, than in the vicinity of the Galle Face of Colombo."

It is in the neighbourhood of this city that the principal cinnamon gardens of the island are. A plantation resembles a copse of laurel, from the way in which the bushes are formed. The shrub, if left to grow, will reach the elevation of a tree, frequently to thirty or forty feet, the trunk being a foot and a half to two feet in circumference. The cinnamon is the inner bark. From the fruit, by boiling, a substance is obtained like wax, of which candles are made, which, in burning, emit a grateful odour.

Trincomalee is a town and harbour on the east coast of the island, the road to which from Kandy has been already described. It is the provincial capital of that part of the island, and is situated in  $8^{\circ} 33'$  north latitude, and  $81^{\circ} 13'$  east longitude. The harbours are among the most splendid in the world; the inner one being land-locked, and of great depth, ships of all size can obtain shelter within it. In war time, this has been the principal resort of the Indian navy, as there are an excellent arsenal and dockyard. The fort is extensive, covering an area of several miles, and commands the entrance to the inner bay. Three miles to the west of Trincomalee is the citadel—called Fort Osnaburgh, which defends the harbour, and is impregnable until the lower fort is conquered.

The promontory on which the fort is erected is dedicated to Siva, and is held in great veneration by the Brahminical portion of the population of the neighbourhood. "The rock" is especially an object of devout regard, because there it is supposed the first temple erected in the island to that deity stood. Not any vestiges of it now remain. Before sunset a priest clammers up the steepest part of the rock, his brow bound with a string of large beads of many colours, and a yellow girdle about his loins. In a fissure, where it is supposed the deity resides, betel leaves and rice are placed; and as the sun touches the wave, the contents of a censer burst into flame, spreading around a rich perfume, until the disc of the luminary disappears. After various salaams and offerings the priest returns, followed by sacerdotal and lay attendants. This is the most picturesque ceremony of idol-worship performed by the Brahminical priests in Ceylon.

The quartz rocks at Trincomalee, viewed from the sea, produce a very agreeable impression; and the hill or low rocky range skirting the port, by its variety of surface and grotesque forms, constitutes an interesting object. From



hill or shore, harbour or open sea, the views of Trincomalee and its neighbourhood are extremely fine.

According to certain antiquaries the town itself dates from the second century of our era. At present, it extends in a north-east direction along the outer bay, and is immediately surrounded by hills, which stretch inland, covered with rich forests. A wide esplanade separates the town from the fort, as is the case at the chief seaboard cities of the continent. The European population is scanty, being confined almost exclusively to the civil and military officers. A detachment of the Ceylon Rifles generally garrisons the fort. There are few public buildings. The Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, and Mohammedans have the best religious edifices. The climate is considered as insalubrious as the scenery is attractive. The natives, consisting chiefly of Malabars and Moormen, are generally traders. Vast tracts of magnificent country lie beyond the town, wretchedly cultivated, or altogether neglected. Cholera, so fatal everywhere in Ceylon except in the higher regions, is more prevalent at Trincomalee than anywhere else, except at Jaffnapatam. The European soldiers on duty in the fort complain bitterly of being obliged to wear the choking stock and breasted coat: many of them die of cholera.

Point de Galle is at the south-western extremity of the island, in  $6^{\circ}$  north latitude, and  $80^{\circ} 17'$  east longitude. The harbour is shaped like a horse-shoe, and is fringed by masses of yellow rock, worn into curious forms by the sea. The aspect of the land is probably richer in vegetation than that of any other spot upon the globe. Travellers describe its richness in this respect as inconceivable, even by those who have had the most extensive acquaintance with the tropics. The forest is prolific in all the productions of Southern India and Ceylon: the papaw-tree (*Carica papaya*) is very conspicuous among them. This tree has a slender tapering stem; at the top the leaves spread out in parachute-like form, enclosing the fruit, which is shaped like a melon, and of a bright yellow hue.

The scenery in the bay is picturesque, especially on the arrival of the mail, as Point de Galle is the place at which the island mails arrive and depart. The natives flock out in canoes to meet the Indian or European ships,

and generally startle and disgust Europeans, especially ladies. Except a dirty rag about the loins, the Cingalese wear no clothing; the Moormen wear a Cambay or cotton robe folded around them, and a thickly padded cap, to keep off the sun's rays. The half-castes, or burghers, are better clothed, but, to strangers, all are repulsive in their appearance.

The landing-place or pier juts out from the shore about two hundred feet; the other end of it is occupied by the custom-house, a very mean building. From the moment the traveller enters that place, until he leaves Point de Galle, he must be on the defensive, to avert extortion and overcharge in every shape, and by every description of person.

The fort comprises nearly the whole town—all certainly that is important in it, except such places of worship as are erected beyond its limits. The defences were nearly all erected by the Dutch, and are now somewhat old-fashioned. The garrison consists of the Ceylon Rifles and some European infantry. The governor has a house here; it is only remarkable for its beautiful verandah, shaded by fine exotic trees, brought by the Dutch from Java. The other houses are very inferior. Beyond the fort there is a Portuguese Roman Catholic chapel, and an English Wesleyan Mission chapel. Within the fort the Dutch church not only accommodates the half-castes of that nation, but affords a place of worship for English Episcopalians. A Mohammedan mosque is the only other well-built place of worship that is situated beyond the fort. As at Colombo, there is a bazaar or market street called the Pettah, which is chiefly inhabited by Moormen, who traffic in all kinds of commodities; they are also usurious money-lenders. Provisions are cheaper than at Colombo or Kandy. The neighbourhood is very beautiful, and, but for the heat, which is extreme, would be a delightful residence.

The country, climate, scenery, people, religion, literature, and chief towns of Ceylon have been fully reviewed in the foregoing pages; it will be necessary to refer to it again in chapters under general heads—such as commerce, &c., as well as in the historical portion of the work, when treating of India at large.



## CHAPTER IX.

## INDEPENDENT STATES.

It would be difficult in the present condition of India to name any state as independent, so completely has the ascendancy of the East India Company been recognised over the whole peninsula. *Different degrees* of independence are recognised; and when the independence of states bordering upon the territory of one more powerful becomes a matter of degree, it is little more than courtesy to recognise it at all. Some of these states pay a tribute; others are "in charge of a resident;" the political agent of the company in one place "takes care of" an independent sovereignty in the neighbourhood. Politically, they are all subject to the British government, or in necessary or constrained alliance with it.

The Deccan is less under British influence than any other part of India. There exists there a network, so to speak, of independent territories, mixing one with another and with British territory in a most intricate and complicated manner—it being a matter of uncertainty whether many states are subject to the English, to native rajahs, or are actually independent. The reader, by consulting the very large maps of Wylde, will see the independent native states more distinctly marked out from one another, and from the English dominions, than in any other maps. They are there classified as subsidiary, protected, and independent. Under these classifications will be found Travancore, the Mysore, the Nizam's dominions, Gwalior, portions of Rajpootana and Gujerat, Cutch, &c. These countries are too closely assimilated to the British dominions around or near them to require separate descriptions within the space which can be afforded to this department of the work. In the historic portion of it most of these countries and their rulers will be noticed, as the storm of war passed over them, or they became *foci* of intrigue. The following list comprises those of any importance among native rajahs, states, or tribes, in all the degrees of independence or rather dependence above specified:—

## BRITISH ALLIES AND INDEPENDENT STATES.

The Mysore Rajah.	Travancore.
The Nizam.	Cochar.
The Nagpore Rajah (acquired 1856).	States under the Rajahs of Jedpore, Jeypore, Odeypore, Bicanur, Jessulmair, and other Rajpoot chiefs.
The Guicowar.	Holkar.
Bhopal.	Goands, Bheels, Coolies, and Catties.
Kotah.	
Bondee.	
The Sattara Rajah (acquired 1842).	

The chief cities, which are the capitals of the independent or quasi-independent states, have in some cases historical interest, and are of some importance from their site or the products of the country around them. "Hyderabad, on the table-land of the Deccan, the capital of the nizam's dominions, is a large Moslem city of two hundred thousand inhabitants, reputed to be the Sodom of India, in allusion to its beautiful neighbourhood and the depravity of the people. The kingdom contains Aurungabad, named after the Mogul emperor Aurungzebe, and Assaye, a village, famed for the decisive victory of the British under Wellesley in 1803. Nagpore, capital of the kingdom so called, on a branch of the Godavery, in the north of the Deccan, contains a population of upwards of eighty thousand. Baroda, the residence of the principal native chief of Gujerat, the Guicowar of Baroda, near the head of the Gulf of Cambay, has a population of one hundred thousand, and Ahmedabad, in the same state, is equally populous, but with vast ruins. Jeypore, near the Toony River, in Rajpootana, formerly one of the principal seats of Hindoo learning, is remarkably magnificent and regularly built. Gwalior, capital of Scindiah, near the central point of India, is celebrated for its strong fortress, on an almost inaccessible rock. Katmandoo, the capital of Nepaul, has little importance. Tassisudon, at a great elevation on the Himalayas, is the summer capital of Bhotan, being deserted in winter on account of the cold."\*

GURVAL, or, as it is otherwise called, SERINAGHUR, is of little importance as a native state, except for its position as one of the frontier countries to the north of British India. Of late years much of its land has been absorbed as British territory. It is situated chiefly between the thirtieth and thirty-first degrees of north latitude. On the south it has the great plain of the Ganges, and northward it is separated by the Himalayas from Thibet. Its proper limits are defined by a good river boundary to the east and west, the Dauli, Ahacananda, and Ramgunga flowing past it on the one side, and the Jumna on the other. The political boundaries of this country have been changed as often as the expediency of the British government dictated.

This is one of the most peculiarly formed countries on the Indian continent. It is a succession of hills and valleys, and so short

\* Rev. Thomas Milner.



are the distances between the different ranges of highland, that it has been affirmed by a military officer of experience that there is not room for a brigade of infantry to manœuvre anywhere in the valleys.

The climate is very mild, and at certain seasons cold. The forest trees of Enrope are indigenous — oak, fir, and horse-chestnut abound; the holly and other European evergreens are to be met with in every direction, and the fruits familiar to England, especially the strawberry, are those which most luxuriantly thrive. Pheasants, and other English game, are plentiful. Still there are characteristics of oriental scenery and animal life, which prove that the climate is not identical with that of western Enrope: the elephant roams in the thickets, and the insects and reptiles are similar to those in the lower latitudes of India. The country is not populous; but if occupied by an enemy, would afford positions of strength against an army from India. The produce of the country is of considerable value, consisting of hemp, wool, gums, lead, copper, and sometimes gems are found. The capital, Serinaghur, is small, but well situated for commerce, between the north and north-east and the lower country of Hindoostan.

When, in 1814, General Gillespie conducted military occupations against the Goorkhas, he met with a determined resistance from that gallant little people, who then held possession of the country. His troops experienced some severe repulses, and he was himself numbered with the slain.

In the Gurwal and Kumaon country are the sources of the Ganges, and at Gangoutri, a celebrated place of Hindoo pilgrimage, the river bursts forth from beneath an immense snow-pile. Here there is a wooden temple, in which are the footsteps of the goddess (the Ganges) visibly imprinted on a black stone; here also pilgrims bathe in the pools of the Ganges. Few trees are seen in this neighbourhood except the birch, and the scenery is wildly picturesque. There is an image of the Ganges in red stone, also of Siva, Parvati, Bhagirathi, Annapurna, Devi, Vishnu, Brahma, and Gancesa, and a small female figure of silver. The face of the country is composed of the third ridge of mountains from the plain; the fourth or highest range is that which separates Hindoostan from Thibet, or Southern Tartary. The exact spot in which spring the sources of the Ganges is concealed by immense snow-heaps. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the intensity of the cold, sheep are pastured here; and when the highest range is scaled, or turned by the passes, the opposite side is of easy descent, being like

table-land. Rock-crystal is found around the great snow mounds, especially near the sources of the river. Great numbers of Brahminical devotees from Hindoostan incur heavy toil, exposure to cold, which they are badly able to endure, and considerable expense, in ascending these heights, not only to enter the temple of Gunga, worship the images, and bathe in the sacred pools, but also in quest of Vyas, the great legislator of their annals, who, with a host of saints and sages, are buried alive in a cavern! The hope of entering such company, or of inducing them again to enlighten the world by their wisdom, is sufficient to inspire thousands of pilgrims to undertake long and laborious journeys; but if they fail in realising so pleasing a dream, nevertheless their labour is not in vain, for the mere fact of performing the pilgrimage expiates a multitude of sins, removes impending evils, and ensures a happy passage through all the stages of transmigration through which the devotee is destined to pass. The people believe that the specific gravity of the water of the Ganges, taken at its source, exceeds that of all other rivers, and that it is too pure to undergo corruption.

Among these hills is the temple of Kedarnath (Kedera Natha), in latitude  $60^{\circ} 53'$  north, and longitude  $79^{\circ} 18'$  east, and about sixty-one miles from the Gurwal capital. The height of the temple above the level of Calcutta is, according to the report of certain British officers, nearly twelve thousand feet.\* The peculiar object of worship in this spot is a large misshapen mass of black rock, in the shape, according to Hindoo fancy, of the hind quarters of a buffalo. The priests here propagate the most absurd fables, and practise the most shameless delusions upon the people. On one occasion a party of British officers found three female devotees, whom the Brahmins instructed to advance from a certain point until they reached a precipice of vast depth, over which they were to leap, securing thereby the expiation of their sins. They could not find the rock from which the pious plunge was to be taken. One died from the cold, another lost one hand and both feet from being frost-bitten, and the third had her extremities mortifying, and every probability appeared of her speedy death.† The Aghora pantees, mendicant devotees of Aghora, one of the names of Siva, are represented as practising cannibalism as a religious rite.‡

The little town of Bhadrinath is built on the west bank of the Alacanda River, latitude  $30^{\circ} 43'$  north, and longitude  $79^{\circ} 39'$  east, about eighty miles north from Almora, in Kumaon. This place is remarkable alone for its pic-

\* Captain Webb. † Ibid. ‡ Raper.



turesque position and its idolatrous associations. The temple is built in the form of a cave, surmounted by a cupola, with a square shelving roof of copper, over which is a gilt spire and ball: the height is about fifty feet. An earthquake nearly destroyed it at the beginning of the present century; but the liberality and piety of some Indian princes were laid under requisition for its repairs. There are various stories of the antiquity of this temple, some of them ascribing to it a foundation as remote as one thousand years before Christ. The chief idol is about three feet high, cut out of black marble, and dressed in a suit of gold and silver brocade. This is a very wealthy idol: at one time it possessed seven hundred villages.\* The number of pilgrims who annually prostrate themselves before it are computed at fifty thousand. A large retinue of servants attends upon it to dress it, feed it, and pay it proper respect! The severity of the climate may be conceived from the fact that in June the snow has been computed to be seventy feet thick.† There is a cavern here which the Brahmins allege is the abode of multitudes of holy Hindoos, who departed this life some thousands of years ago. The people in the lower provinces, who read about it, suppose that these holy personages reside on the mountain, and are disappointed to learn when they arrive after a painful pilgrimage that it is *in* the mountain they have made their sanctuary, and that all access is barred by impenetrable snows.‡

The province of KUMAON, which is properly a part of the Gurwal territory, has been under the British government since the latter expelled the Goorkhas, who exercised a stern but generous sovereignty. This province is remarkable for its saul forests, and its forests of fir. The former are superior to any known in the low countries; the latter are magnificent. The firs grow in places almost inaccessible; the timber is very superior, and particularly well adapted for spars, masts, and other shipping purposes. They are greatly superior to the fir-trees of Europe, being nearly as hard and much stronger than teak. The Kumaon hills are not only productive in timber, but also in hemp, resin, turpentine, oil, copper, lead, and iron; small quantities of gold are deposited in the sands of the Pavar River in its descent. Much intercourse is carried on with the Chinese inland province of Hung.

The people are supposed to be in the main aboriginal; they tyrannise over woman, compelling her to work in the field, while the men undertake the superintendence of household affairs. Polygamy is practised on an

\* Buchanan. † Raper. ‡ Buchanan.

extensive scale, even by the poorest, and with a view to the pecuniary advantage of an additional number of field labourers, acquired by an increase of wives. The Brahmins are extremely numerous, and have subjected the people to their interests: they possess the lands, and have degraded the people almost to the condition of slaves, by practising upon their ignorance and superstitious feelings.

Throughout these mountains the most exaggerated idea of the power of the Chinese empire used to prevail. When Mr. Gott was deputed by Sir Henry Wellesley to investigate the forests of Kumaon, he found the people in a state of alarm lest the Chinese emperor should hear of his arrival, as he had threatened to depose the Rajah of Nepaul if any European strangers were permitted to enter his territories.

In some tracts ceded to the British by the Nepaulese, the products of the mountains are very abundant. Magnificent cedar, horse-chestnut, yew, sycamore, walnut, and other trees, crown even lofty heights. Some of these far surpass the finest trees which on a former page were mentioned as offsprings of the prolific soil and stimulating climate of Ceylon. Cedars, one hundred and eighty feet high, and twenty-seven feet in circumference, measured at the height of a few feet from the ground, are common. The hemp is such as cannot be matched in the world.

The country of NEPAUL, on the north-east frontier of India proper, is worthy of being distinguished from all the independent states, or those partially dependent on the company. During the sepoy revolt of 1857-58, the ruler of Nepaul gave most efficient aid to the British, and, but for the unaccountable refusal of his offers of auxiliary forces on the part of the government of India, it is probable that both Delhi and Oude would have been subjugated much sooner, and with much less cost of human life and destruction of property.

Nepaul was once a powerful empire, its rajah ruling over the vast range of territory bordering Hindoostan on the north and north-east. It has, by its conflicts with the British, been greatly reduced in dimensions and restrained in power, yet it is still a noble state. It is separated from Thibet on the north by the Himalaya Mountains; and bounded on the south by the provinces of British India, known as Delhi, Oude, Bahar, and Bengal. The river Mitchee, on the east, flows between the British and Nepaulese territories; on the west the branch of the Goggra called Cali, separates the British portion of Gurwal—the Kumaon district—from Nepaul. In its greatest extent the country



ranges between the twenty-seventh and thirty-first degrees of north latitude. In length it is under five hundred miles, and in breadth not much above one hundred. The country exhibits the form of a parallelogram, three sides of which are bounded by the British dominions, and Sikkim, under British protection, and the fourth is contiguous to the Himalayas and the Chinese empire. The mountains are covered with fine timber, pines of a quality similar to those of British Kumaon are to be met with in lofty forests; the *mimosa*, from which the catechu is made, is also abundant. The birds of these wooded heights are extremely numerous, parrots and paroquets especially. These are purchased by bird-fanciers, who retail them in the lower provinces, from which they are dispersed to other lands. The country from its southern boundaries slopes up to a range of low hills; thence, after a very slight depression, the mountains rise in their lofty grandeur. The appearance of these vast elevated lands, covered in some cases with eternal snow, is sublime. Between the clustering, broken, and unequally abrupt acclivities, are cultivated valleys, but seldom to any great extent; these valleys are situated at elevations above the plains of Bengal varying from three thousand to six thousand feet. From this circumstance Nepaul produces almost all the fruits of the tropics, and also those of the temperate zone. Some of the valleys teem luxuriantly with the pine-apple and the sugar-cane; others bear the cereal crops of England. The rattan and the bamboo are to be seen on the declivities which skirt one warm valley, while the oak or pine encounter the sterner climate of another. Peaches are abundant, but are spoiled by the periodical rains; and the orange grows to great perfection. Ginger and cardamom are produced in large quantities.

Flocks of sheep pasture on all the hills: little attention is given to them; in obedience to their own instincts they seek the warmer valleys in winter, and in summer clamber the steep hills, and browse upon the young grass that covers them. Horses are brought from Thibet, also the shawl-goat, choury or bos-grunniens. From the lowlands buffaloes are brought, fattened in the mountains, and slaughtered for food; hogs also are brought from the low regions, although the country seems well suited for breeding both species of animals. The pig seems to thrive in all climates, but the Nepaulese, although they import it, and therefore must set a value upon it, seldom rear it.

Two splendid species of birds frequent these cold regions—the memal (*Meleagris satyra*),

and the damphiya (*Phasianus impeyanus*). There is also a bird to be met with in the loftier ranges, called the fire-eater, or chakoor (*Perdix rufa*), which pecks at sparks of fire.

The mineral resources are considerable, consisting of lead, copper, zinc, and iron; gold to a small extent is found in the channels of the rivers. The copper and iron lie near the surface. Corundum and sulphur are also found in the mountains.

“The valley of Nepaul” is well adapted for cultivation, and is the largest alluvial space within the Nepaul dominions. The hills which begirt it are clothed with common spruce, Weymouth pine, hornbeam, oak, and chestnut; the lower vegetation is luxuriant, hardy shrubs, resembling those of Europe, cover a large area. The flora of these hills, and the valley they surround, comprises the flowers of Hindoostan and of Europe—the former springing up in the rich vale, the latter on the mountain slopes.

The scenery is rendered strikingly picturesque by the mountain courses of the rivers. These, generally rising in Thibet, wind their way through passes, which they thus render impracticable, and, as they dash from rock to rock, from one vast precipice to another, afford scenes of solemn grandeur.

The valleys are inhabited by many tribes of distinct appearance, language, and habits. Those which are supposed to be aboriginal have a strongly marked Tartar physiognomy, or a resemblance to the Chinese. There are Hindoos in these regions, and have been from a remote antiquity, but they are regarded by the other races as intruders. The Hindoos of the mountain are called Parbutties. The Rajpoots are tolerably numerous, and are decided Brahminical devotees.

The Goorkhas are the ascendant race; they are men of very low stature, seldom exceeding five feet. They are brave, no danger or difficulty deterring them; and with their short sword, or hatchet, which it more resembles, they will close upon the most gigantic enemies, and generally vanquish them with great slaughter. In their conflicts with the British they were less successful, but the 50th regiment suffered severely from the hatchet, or heavy knife, cutting through the musket; and the dexterity of the Goorkhas in close quarters, united to their dauntless bravery, enabled them to inflict a heavy penalty upon that gallant and well disciplined corps. Brigaded with the same regiment afterwards in the Sikh campaigns, these men of the mountain fought side by side with our soldiers, dealing defeat and death upon the common enemy. In the



rebellion of 1857–8 these same warriors again appeared upon the theatre of battle as our allies, and drove the tall mutineers of the Bengal army before them, as their mountain torrents sweep the loose soil from the rock.

Perhaps there is not a country in the world where religious dispute prevails more than in Nepaul. The Goorkhas generally administer the old Mohammedan argument of the sword, as the best way to cut short a controversy, although these warriors are not followers of the prophet, but generally of Brahma. There are the purest Brahmins in India to be found among the Nepaulese people, while others, in many cases, set Brahminical laws at defiance, and eat beef; Buddhists, who conform to the type of their religionists in Birmah, others to that prevalent in Thibet, and some who differ from both. There are followers and persecutors of the Thibet Lamas; Mohammedans who consider the eating of pork a crime, at least as great as idolatry; Hindoos who regard eating beef as impure as Christianity; and herds of mountaineers who will risk life to steal either swine or kine for the gratification of their appetite for animal food. Some offer constant sacrifices of animals, others consider it sacrilegious to kill one; and a large sept or sect (it is difficult to say which it is) has a taste for carrion and diseased cattle.

The morals of the people are very diverse—ceremonial purity being held by many as the *summum bonum*, philosophy being the chief consideration with others. A large section of the population live in desperate licentiousness, and are utterly enervated at an early age. Some of the humbler classes are polygamists, and polyandry is not unknown. Generally male and female licentiousness prevail, and murders the most vindictive, the result of a revenge long kindled, are perpetrated even in the capital, by men of rank, on the ground of jealousy. The knife is carried for the chief purpose of avenging wounded honour in this matter. Among all these conflicting passions, degrading superstitions, deeply cherished prejudices, and absurd religions, Christianity has no field. Efforts indeed have been made to penetrate the chaos of crimes and creeds which make up the social and religious life of these benighted races, but as yet the efforts have not been commensurate with the object.

The portions of the country or countries over which the Goorkha sceptre now sways, which attract most interest, are the two celebrated valleys of Nepaul proper, commonly called Great and Little Nepaul. The larger valley, according to General Fitzpatrick, was once a lake, and in its centre were two islands, now hills in the centre of the vale. One of

these, of elegant form, is sacred to the Buddhists; the other to the Brahmins, who believe that Siva and his wife resided there, to whom they have built temples. The river Gunduck, which flows nearly around it, is esteemed by them to be so sacred, that they, and all the followers of their doctrines, desire to be buried with their feet laved by its current, and afterwards their bodies burnt on its banks. By this means they hope in the metempsychosis to escape occupying a body inferior to that of man.

Nepaul proper sends down to the lower country elephants, ivory, rice, timber, hides, ginger, terra japonica, turmeric, wax, honey, pure resin of the pine, walnuts, oranges, long pepper, ghee, bark of the root of bastard cinnamon, also the dried leaves, large cardamoms, dammer, lamp oil, and cotton of the simal-tree. The productions of Bengal and the north-west provinces, and English manufactures, are taken in exchange—the balance, being very much in favour of Nepaul, is taken in silver: this is one channel of the drain for silver from Europe to the East.

The towns of Nepaul proper are inconsiderable, and destitute of commercial or architectural pretensions.

West of the territory especially designated Nepaul is the country of the Twenty-four Rajahs. The first in the enumeration is Goorkha, which is the original country of the Goorkha race, and of the reigning family. The town is situated on the top of a high hill, and it is said contains two thousand houses, and the temple of Gorakhanath, the tutelary deity of the district, and of the reigning family of Nepaul. The Goorkhas themselves were Magars, but derived the name they bear from the territory which they made their home, and which derived its designation from the name of the local god. The reigning family is worthy of the courage and spirit of their race. The rajah is a man of integrity, intelligence, gentle manners, and resolute will. He visited England, studied the laws, institutions, and manners of our country, is fond of everything British, and does all he can to introduce civilization into his rude but picturesque dominions. His palace is furnished with English furniture and works of art; his dress is in the main European; and his manners and conversation those of a thorough gentleman. He is the faithful ally of the Honourable East India Company; and before his proffer of troops was accepted in 1857, he sheltered all the fugitives who could reach his territory, and treated them with the most delicate consideration. "Equally free from assumed dignity, and flattery, his behaviour, especially to the English ladies re-



ceived at his court, was that of an accomplished man and perfect English gentleman."\*

To the west of the river Rapti there is an extensive region called the Twenty-two Rajahs. There is nothing in their climate, conformation, productions, or people, requiring separate notice.

SIKKIM is a protected territory situated between Nepaul and Bhotan. It has been an independent state from time immemorial, but its limits have undergone many mutations. According to native authorities, its most ancient boundaries northward were a range of highlands, which separated it from the Chinese dominions in Thibet. These hills were called *Khawa Karpola*, or "the mountains white with snow." To the west, the Conki formed the limit until it reached the plain, where the country now "one of the Twenty-two Rajahs," the Morung (or Vijayapore Rajah) was included in ancient Sikkim. Its eastern boundary is Bhotan. Its present limits are compact and well defined, clearly distinguishing it from the dominions of Nepaul and Bhotan, and effectually separating those states from one another. This settlement was effected by the British government after the great Nepaulesc war, and the policy was judicious, for the warlike Goorkhas having gained ascendancy, would soon have pushed their conquests through Bhotan and Assam, possibly through Birmah, or, forming a junction with that power, overawed the British frontier. By the settlement of Sikkim under the rajah, he being under British protection, the Goorkhas are shut up within bounds, so far as any progress eastward is concerned. The East India Company would have probably retained the territory, but the people live in a country of difficult access from the adjoining British province, and it would require a long time to tame them down to the observance of law and order, such as is necessary in a British province. The rajah, towards whom they turn with national loyalty, is more likely to preserve order under the stipulations of the protective treaty.

The country resembles that of Nepaul, to which it is contiguous; the climate is also similar, although perhaps hotter, and less healthy. It contains much fine scenery, and many most salubrious situations. About half the population profess the religion of the Thibetian Lamas, a species of Buddhism, the deity being incarnate in the successive Lamas. The Lamas hold the supreme spiritual power in Thibet, and over the Buddhists of neighbouring countries who submit to their rule: the temporal authority in the Thibetian territory

is wielded by the Chinese emperor. The moiety of the Sikkimites who acknowledge the grand Lamas are enervated by their debasing superstitions; the others consist of numerous tribes—brave, hardy, rude, aboriginal races. These men eat kine or pork, or anything else which is detested either by Buddhists or Brahmins, and they will drink alcohol eagerly: it is alleged, too, that some of them drink with passionate gusto the blood of animals slain for their sacrifices. Sikkim was long a battle-field for ascendancy by its own people, and those of surrounding countries, the chief aggressors being the restless little Goorkhas, whose perseverance against all odds and obstacles was usually rewarded by victory. The rajah has been constant to his fealty, and the British government to its protection, and both have been benefited. The Chinese regard the increasing influence of the East India Company along the frontier of Thibet with great uneasiness, and they have used every furtive means to which they could resort to detach the Goorkha and Sikkim rajahs from their alliance, but in vain. Menaces also have been tried for this purpose, but without accomplishing it, although not without inspiring with the most abject terror his Sikkim majesty, and causing serious misgiving as to the result among the Goorkhas, notwithstanding all their bravery: such is the prestige of the "brother of the sun," and monarch of "the celestial empire," along the frontier states, which are also the boundary states of our Indian empire.

BHOTAN is an extensive region lying eastward of Sikkim, and separated from it by the eastern branch of the Teesta River. Its eastern limit is the apex of an angle, where the British province of Assam and the Chinese region of Thibet meet with it. The last-named country ranges along its northern line, upon the crests of the Himalayas, and to the south it has Berar and Assam. The Hindoos apply the term Bhote to both sides of the Himalayas, extending from Cashmere to China, a vast area of country, but the name Bhotan is applied by Europeans only to the country above defined. The Bhotans constitute a tribe which is very extended over the whole Himalaya range, and the territory now noticed may be considered as their chief locality. The lower portions, adjoining the Bengal frontier, are choked with vegetation, marshy land, and constantly-decomposing matter, rendering the whole plain pestiferous. The northern portions are mountainous, in some places wild and rocky, but in most the mountains are green to their peaks, and towers and hamlets exist on the slopes in the midst of blooming gardens and orchards. Forests of excellent

\* Letter of a lady, a fugitive from the upper provinces of Bengal, during the mutiny.



timber shelter elephants and other fine animals, as well as birds of various plumage. Like Nepaul, the land has many climates—one might almost say every climate, from the sternest winter to the fervour of the tropics. Apples, pears, peaches, apricots, strawberries, raspberries, and blackberries, are indigenous. The vegetables of England are excellent: the turnip, it is said, being the finest in the world. Tea is as common in Bhotan as in China, but it is boiled with flour, salt, and other ingredients. The horses are particularly fine and spirited. Monkeys being sacred, as among the Hindoos, they are unmolested by the people, and scream and chatter in every direction; they are much finer, and in greater variety, than in any other part of India, continental or insular.

From the hills of Bhotan caravans descend to Rungpore, conveying tea and cows' tails from Thibet, Chinese silks, tea, paper, and limes, and their own products—such as beeswax, walnuts, oranges, ivory, musk, gold-dust, and silver (in ingots). The Deb Rajah, as the monarch is called, is himself the merchant, and imports to his dominions indigo from the plains, cloves, nutmegs, incense, sandal-wood, red sandal-wood, hides, cloth, coral, and English manufactures of various kinds. The total value of this commerce is not great.

The people are of two very different races, the majority being feeble and emasculated, their whole minds engrossed in superstition; the other a bold athletic race, with Chinese features, but better limbed than that race. They are all much subject to glandular swellings in the neck, and nearly destitute of hair about the face, having scarcely any eyelash or eyebrow, no beard, and seldom any whiskers. Like the Sikkim people, they were long accustomed to fight with the bow and poisoned arrow, nor are these weapons even yet abandoned, although in Nepaul good European arms are alone employed for military purposes. The women are obliged to work in the fields, and are treated harshly. In religion the Bhotans are Buddhists, and reject caste totally.

The policy of the court is encroaching and artful, and the British territory has been much intruded upon. It has always been difficult to induce the native sovereigns to remain faithful to treaties in this respect, even when their fidelity as allies in war has been unquestionable. They prefer an undefined or irregularly-marked boundary, the passion for disputes about land being prevalent all over India, and apparently inseparable from the existence of native landholders and sovereigns. The Deb Rajah is the temporal sovereign of the country, which he but par-

tially rules; there is also a spiritual rajah, and often civil war alone decides their respective privileges, and relative authority. Of the Chinese emperor both the temporal and spiritual rajah stand in great awe.

The towns in this vast region are unimportant, and the capital is not much superior to the others.

There are numerous small states adjacent to Assam, which are more or less subject to, or under the protection of, the British, which only merit a passing notice. The possessions of the Begum Rajah, situated on both sides of the Brahmapootra, are among these. The boundaries are ill defined, the people wild, and the land wretchedly cultivated. Some of these estates are beautiful, and the land naturally fertile, especially in the lower districts, which are subject to inundations. Excellent rice is produced in large quantities. It is also prolific in mustard-seed, sugar-cane, and tobacco. The British have assumed a nominal sovereignty over the greater part of this territory.

The Dophlas, the Garrows, and other independent or quasi-independent tribes, inhabit neighbouring districts; they seem to be aboriginal races, and are fierce and predatory in character.

In the border territories of India, from the northern limits of Beloochistan to the point where Assam touches the confines of Bhotan, Birmah, and Thibet, the climate is superior to the lower provinces; but the opposition to the administration of government and the collecting of revenue is very great, arising from the wild, bold character of the people of these border realms, the insatiable desire of territory which animates their chiefs, and the perpetual encroachments upon the territory of the company made by petty zemindars, individual intruders, or superior chiefs. The general impression in England is, that the company maintains a system of encroachment upon contiguous territory, whereas they perpetually stand on the defensive against the oriental spirit of aggrandisement, which is often adventured even where defeat and penalty are almost sure to follow.

The relations of the Indian government to the native states have, of late years, improved. Generally it was difficult to secure the execution of any treaties, so little were the rulers of these states bound by ideas of international law. Treaties were usually regarded simply as media of escaping preceding difficulties and perils, and no longer to be kept than convenience dictated. Of late the imperative obligation of treaties has been more generally, and at the same time more freely, recognised by the rulers of the various countries within



the peninsula, and on its borders, which possess an independent status. The agents of the Honourable East India Company at the courts of these sovereigns have been, for the most part, competent men, selected for their ability and trustworthiness, and they have used their moral influence and intellectual resources to improve the administration of these states. Most of these petty kingdoms, when forming alliance with the government of Calcutta, were in a condition of anarchy, or crushed by the tyranny of their princes, or courtiers administering government in their name. "Those among the Mahratta states which had any considerable military strength made annual expeditions, called *mooluckgheery* circuits, for the purpose of conquering or devastating the possessions of their weaker neighbours; and hordes of undisciplined adventurers, known by the name of Pindarries, ranged with fire and sword from one end to the other of the part of India which was under native rule, occasionally invading and ravaging even the British possessions. All this is at an end. The native states are as safe from one another, and from invaders and plunderers from without, as the British dominions. The princes and chiefs are bound by treaties to refer to our arbitration all their differences; and experience has given them the fullest reliance on our impartiality and justice. Boundary disputes between villages of different states, and complaints from the subjects of one against another, are adjudicated either by a British officer, or by courts of *vakeels*, composed of representatives of the neighbouring chiefs, presided over by a British functionary."\*

In Gujerat (or Guzerat), where a considerable number of petty chiefs hold the reins of power, too weak to control their people, and too ignorant and uncivilised to enter into suitable arrangements with one another, criminal courts have been instituted, consisting of a British diplomatic officer, and assessors selected from the representatives of the different chiefs. By these means turbulence has been repressed, and petty raids for robbery and revenge have been promptly punished. One peculiarity of these tribunals has been, that they have nearly suppressed all the crimes which arose out of a generally disturbed state of society; and in dealing with offences which originated in real or supposed grievances, they make due allowance for provocation, and redress the wrongs even of those whom they are bound to punish for seeking justice by unlawful means.

The barbarous practices which have been

to a great degree, or altogether, suppressed in our own territories, such as infanticide, Thuggee, Suttee, Dacoitee, &c., have, through the influence of the British residents at the various courts, been either mitigated, restrained, or altogether abolished.

No European could conceive the barbarous state of financial management in all the native states. The princes grew rich by the impoverishment of the people; their persons, palaces, idols, temples, thrones, sceptres, arms, and other instruments of war or state, glittered with precious stones and the precious metals; while the people were ground down to the dust beneath extortion and oppression. The fiscal systems of these states have been modified or regenerated by the influence and talent of the British residents. At the same time, the personal extravagance of the princes has become, through the same influences, comparatively unfashionable. Formerly, the elephant of a Hindoo rajah was richly caparisoned, the trappings being decorated with gold and jewels: this is not now common, and is rather to be met with among the chiefs of the smaller and less potent states, where love of barbaric display has not been subdued by the chastening effects of civilization.

One of the most fertile sources of revolution and sanguinary anarchy in the native states, as well as of difference between them and the company, was the condition in which succession to the throne was frequently left by the decease of the monarch. It can hardly fail to have struck persons, even only superficially acquainted with Indian affairs, how frequently the rightful sovereign has been left in a minority, and how seldom that has been the case without intrigue having been set on foot to displace the minor by some bold and unprincipled chief or kinsman. This source of disorder has been lessened by the care and precaution of the company. The British residents have generally superintended the education of the minor, and trained him in habits of good government; while their influence has been exercised upon the states to appoint capable ministers, to reform abuses, and restore the country in an improved condition to the young chiefs, who, having been in the meantime for the most part educated in European knowledge, and initiated into public business under the eye of a British officer, are often grateful for the care taken of their interest, and continue, after the accession to power, the improved systems commenced during their minority. The present Scindiah and Holkar, and the Rao of Cutch, as well as many others, may be cited as instances. One native ruler, the late

\* Memorandum of Indian Improvements, by the Court of Directors.



Nawab of Rampore, had actually been a deputy-collector in the service of the British government. Another, the Rao of Ulwur, on his accession, invited some of our native functionaries to conduct his administration, and reform it after the English model. The Rajpoot states, formerly almost in a condition of chronic anarchy, have been rendered peaceful and prosperous, by judicious mediation between the princes and their feudatories, and judicious guidance of both, through advice and influence.\*

Writers who treat of the independent territories of India usually overlook the tribes which own no master, and live in savage wildness in the fastnesses of the ghauts or the Himalayas. Sometimes these are called British subjects, at other times they are regarded as the subjects of some of the rajahs within the alleged boundaries of whose territories the jungles, marshes, or rocky elevations where they make their retreat are nominally represented to be.

"There are numerous hill tribes in various parts of India, known under the names of Bheels, Coolies, Goands, Mhairs, Mecnas, Mhangs, Ramoosees, and others, who are believed to have been the aboriginal population of the country, driven from the plains by the invasion of the Hindoos. These people had been treated like wild beasts by the native governments, and, by a natural consequence, had become the scourge of the country. Whenever the government was weak, they destroyed all security in the neighbouring plains by their depredations, and had universally acquired the character of irreclaimable robbers.

"The first person who is known to have tried the effect of justice and conciliation on any of these tribes was Mr. Cleveland, an officer high in the civil service of the company in the latter part of the last century. The scene of his benevolent exertions was the Bhaugulpore Hills, in the north-east of Bengal; and the feelings which he left behind among the rude people of the district were such, that they long continued to pay religious honours to his tomb. The example thus set has been largely followed in the present generation. One of the first signal instances of success was in the case of the Mhairs, who inhabit a hill district near Ajmeer. Colonel Hall, now on the company's retired list, originated the movement, and it was worthily carried on by Colonel Dixon, recently deceased. In Western India the honour of the initiative belongs to Mr. J. P. Willoughby, then a very young officer, who by similar means established peace and order among the Bheels of Raj-

\* Statement of the East India Company.

peepla, a wild district of Gujerat. The next instance was that of the Bheels of the Adjutee range, in Southern Candeish, through the agency chiefly of Colonel Ovans, and of the present Sir James Outram; and the measures which proved successful with these Bheels were successively extended to many similar tribes in different parts of Central India. Another example is that of the Khoonds, in Orissa, among whom a policy of the same general character was carried into practice by Major Macpherson. This tribe has been induced to abolish human sacrifices.

"The mode in which these objects were accomplished was in all cases fundamentally the same. They were effected by the admirable power of individual character. Into fastnesses, through which bodies even of disciplined troops had vainly endeavoured to force their way, these officers penetrated, in some cases almost unattended. They trusted themselves to the people. By their courage and frankness they gained their confidence. They made them understand that they were not considered as wild animals to be hunted down; that nothing but their good was intended; and the object which had for years been vainly sought by force was accomplished by explanation and persuasion. The robber tribes were induced to settle as peaceful cultivators. Lands were assigned to them, tools supplied, and money advanced, for cultivation. In Mhairwarra the government also constructed important works of irrigation. The more daring spirits were formed into irregular corps, under British officers, and employed to preserve the peace of the districts of which they had once been the principal disturbers. In no single instance has this policy failed. The agricultural colonies composed of these people have all prospered, and the districts which they formerly devastated have become, and remained, among the most free from crime to be found in India. In the late disturbances not one of the corps composed of these people is known to have mutinied. The Mhairwarra battalion has not only remained faithful, but is, in the present crisis, a valuable part of our local military strength, and there has been no disturbance whatever in that district. Among the Bheels of Candeish there has been a rising, which, by showing that the predatory spirit is not yet thoroughly extinct, enhances the merit of the system of measures by which, for nearly a quarter of a century, it has been kept dormant. But the corps formed from among these very people by Sir James Outram has done useful service to government in the present emergency.

"The last great example of the success of this policy was given by Colonel John Jacob



in Scinde, and only differs from the others because the tribes with whom he had to do were not oppressed aborigines, but the proud and warlike mountaineers of the Affghan and Beloochee frontier. The success has been among the most striking yet experienced. For some time after the conquest of Scinde the frontier forays of these tribes kept the country in a perpetual state of disturbance. The attempts to retaliate on them in their hills had been failures, sometimes almost disasters, but had laid the foundation of that knowledge of our power which enabled subsequent conciliatory measures to have their full effect. Colonel Jacob applied to these people the principles of Mhairwarra and Candesh. He settled on land those who were willing to cultivate, and organised from among the remainder a local military police. The effect is, that in the frontier districts, what was lately a desert, is now in great part a thriving agricultural country, yielding a rapidly increasing revenue. For some years there has been scarcely a crime of magnitude on the entire Scinde frontier; and the corps which was raised partly from the former devastators of the country is the celebrated Jacob's Horse." \*

Those who are desirous to give the government credit for the wise and bold conduct of its officers, may be surprised by learning that General Jacob professes to have hewed out a path for himself, without any instruction from the Indian authorities, when he adopted the eminently successful course commended in the company's memorial. Whatever may be thought of such pretensions, there can be no doubt that the general was enabled to effect his purposes chiefly by the impartial and daring spirit of justice with which he set at defiance all fanatical demonstrations and claims for sectarian license. There is an illustration of this in the following regimental orders issued by him, when Major Jacob, at Jacobabad, on the 5th of October, 1854:—

The camp at Jacobabad has been for the last week the scene of wild disorder, such as is in the highest degree disgraceful to good soldiers. A shameful uproar has been going on day and night, under pretence of religious ceremonies. The commanding officer has nothing to do with religious ceremonies. All men may worship God as they please, and believe as they choose in matters of religion, but no men have a right to annoy their neighbours or to neglect their duty on pretence of serving God.

The officers and men of the Scinde Irregular Horse have the name of, and are supposed to be, excellent soldiers, and not mad fakeers. They are placed at the most advanced and most honourable post in all the Bombay presidency; the commanding officer believes that they are in every way worthy of this honour, and he would be sorry if under his command they ever became unworthy of their high position.

The commanding officer feels it to be the greatest honour to command such soldiers, but that it would be a disgrace to be at the head of a body of mad and disorderly fakeers and drummers. He therefore now informs the Scinde Irregular Horse that in future no noisy processions nor any disorderly displays whatever, under pretence of religion or of anything else, shall ever be allowed in, or in the neighbourhood of, and camps of the Scinde Irregular Horse.

This order is to be read on the first of every month until further orders, and is to be hung up in the bazaar in the town of Jacobabad and at the Cutcherry.

By order,

W. L. BRIGGS,

*Lieutenant, Adjutant, 2nd regiment S. I. H.*

The editor of an Indian journal, remarking upon this document, observes:—"When this order was issued there were, we are told, some ten thousand bigoted Mussulmen in the camp and town of Jacobabad, and the number, it is believed, has since increased. Nevertheless, the prohibition has been most strictly enforced, and, with our faith in the reason of men in the mass when reasonably appealed to, we are not surprised to learn that its enforcement has been submitted to without a murmur. Public opinion was with Major Jacob in this instance, as it will always be with those who lay down sound principles, and act upon them consistently and impartially." \*

What Major Jacob effected by the force of his character, his practical common sense in worldly matters, and his military judgment and genius, he himself is eager to attribute to his correct views in reference to the applicability of Christianity to the reformation of wild tribes; and the general has written a very silly book to show this, entitled the *Progress of Being in the Universe*. The book and the title do not harmonise; the writer seems to think that he has new and original ideas of great value on ethics and the moral nature of man. Some of these views are simply nonsense, others exploded fallacies, as the merest tyro in moral philosophy and theology must know; and the only good notions which the general propounds as the result of his own great thinking power, or of that of other men who have been neglected, but the value of whose opinions he had the sagacity to discover, are principles which they or he somehow derived from revelation. "I arrive at the conclusion," says the sapient general, "that the Christianity of the modern churches is only slightly altered from paganism!" How paganism contained Christianity the general does not say; nor does he show in what particulars "the modern churches" altered so slightly the old Christianity of paganism; nor does he tell us how it is, or wherein the *modern churches* are

\* Memorial of the Honourable East India Company.

\* *Bombay Gazette.*



so especially liable to the imputation; the only thing plain is that Jacob of the Scinde Horse, whatever his courage, practical aptitudes, or military capacity, is very ignorant of Christianity, is not at all conversant with logic, or with ethical and theological questions on which he is so dogmatical, and that he possesses a ready capacity for writing nonsense, which he persuades himself is philosophy. When his productions are sufficiently clear to be understood, it is obvious that with a pen in his hand he is as absurd, incompetent, and impracticable, as with his sword he is efficient, and in his own natural character frank, just, and honest. It is difficult to say what particular duties in connection with religion and religious education the government of India may devolve upon General Jacob in addition to border pacification and the drilling of the Scinde irregular cavalry, but it is easy for the Christian and Protestant public of England to judge of his fitness for such a trust by the following outburst of infidelity, which the writer evidently believed to be very eloquent and very learned, as to the philosophy and failure of the Reformation:—

“The Protestants, however, knew and know nothing of *esoteric* religion; in fact, they knew not in reality what they assailed or protested against. They fought against outward forms and shadows only; they held by the *letter* of the book as then received; and, being therefore without that power of adjustment which the Church of Rome still retains, they are now unable to accommodate their doctrines to the advancing common sense and reason of mankind, and still less to improving *moral* powers. The growing intelligence of even the vulgar crowd must therefore, ere long, refuse to accept these doctrines as divine. Before a really divine revelation—before that glorious light of truth which the unfolding of natural law throughout the whole and every particle of the universe is gradually bringing on man’s mind—the mysteries of the churches appear foolish as nursery tales; while the intelligent being who is conscious of his ascent towards the highest, who *feels* the calm but unspeakable joy of real *moral growth*, must spurn with contempt that moral code which pretends to influence him by *hopes* and *fears*. He *is* and is eternally—he cares not for having.”\*

According to the general, there is no really divine revelation, but “the unfolding of natural law throughout the whole and every particle of the universe;” and it is from that revelation, and what he ludicrously calls “moral growth,” that he gathers his views of the errors of the Christian religions. On the

\* *Letters to a Lady.* By John Jacob.

whole, the general may, when too old for the army, make an excellent Buddhist priest; and the sooner when that time arrives the company pensions him off, and sends him to Kandy, or makes a present of him to “the white elephant,” the better for Scinde, for the character of the company which now employs him as a *civil agent*, and for the young officers who, imperfectly read in religion, are brought under the pernicious influence of his pamphlets and his opinions. The company has, so far, formed a more correct estimate of the causes of General Jacob’s success in quiting the Affghan and Beloochee frontiers, than the general himself has done. What he attributes to his philosophy, they attribute to his dutiful execution of their policy: “he settled on land those who were willing to cultivate, and organized from among the remainder a local military police.” Instead of originating something wonderful, for which he was indebted to his philosophical materialism, he has only performed what he was bid, and, as the company declares, “applied to these people the principles of Mhairwarra and Candesh.” Yet notwithstanding this public testimony, the general pretends that all the good effects referred to arose from his urging upon the mountain men the principle of “moral growth.” Topsy, in the memorable novel of Mrs. Stowe, seems to have been of the same philosophical school as the general—she “grewed.” It is of importance thus to notice the political and ethical quackery of General Jacob, because in India so much depends upon the personal opinions and conduct of the administrators of the company’s government, especially in those territories most imperfectly subjected to British law. The gross inconsistencies of the commissioners of the Punjaub, where religious questions arose, were shown upon a previous page; and it is right that the public who read this History, should have a key to any anomalies of this nature that may arise upon the Scinde frontier, in connection with the commonplace but affectedly original infidelity of an officer whose military and administrative talents have won for him the position which he there occupies.

Some of the native states are on the coast: these, as well as contiguous maritime countries, were receptacles of pirates; but this condition of things has been brought to an end, partly by the negotiations of the company’s residents and agents, and partly by the active operations of the Bombay marine. “The piracies which formerly made the navigation of the Arabian seas unsafe for commerce, have been so effectually suppressed by the East India Company’s cruisers, that there



is now hardly any part of the world in which trading vessels are more secure against depredation. The formerly piratical tribes have been bound by engagements to abstain not only from piracy, but from maritime war, which affords opportunities and pretexts for piracy; and, for the first time probably in history, a perpetual peace, guaranteed by treaties and enforced by superior naval

strength, reigns in the Persian Gulf." The establishment of an English settlement at Aden, commanding the entrance to the Red Sea, has also much conduced to the impunity of merchant shipping in those gulfs and seas to the westward of India, as the establishments of the straits' settlements have assisted to protect the commerce of the Bay of Bengal, and the trade with China.

## CHAPTER X.

### MARITIME SETTLEMENTS:—THE EASTERN STRAITS—BORNEO—ADEN.

WHAT may be called the British maritime settlements in the East are important. On page 27 those in the Eastern Straits are named Penang, Province Wellesley, Singapore, and Malacca. The probable area and population were then also given.

The Island of PENANG, officially called the Prince of Wales's Island, off the west coast of Malaya, was acquired by the East India Company in 1785; and the small province of WELLESLEY, on the mainland, was obtained in 1800. The island derives its name from the magnificent betel-nut palm (*Penang*). Georgetown is the capital. Arrowsmith, in a brief paragraph, expresses all that is necessary to notice here of this maritime possession of the company:—"The strait between the peninsula of Malaya and the isle of Sumatra is known by the name of the Strait of Malacca. In it, about midway down the coast of the peninsula, and at a distance of two miles from it, is Pulo-Penang, or Prince of Wales's Island, as it is also called. This island belongs to the British, having been given by the King of Quedah, as a marriage portion with his daughter, to the captain of a British merchant ship, in 1785; it was accordingly taken possession of during the following year, in the name of his majesty, and for the use of the East India Company; who, finding it a convenient situation for the purposes of commerce, and a place of rising importance, have constituted it into a separate government, subordinate only to the governor-general of India. At the commencement of the present century, the King of Quedah ceded to the British a tract of country, on the opposite coast of the peninsula, eighteen miles in length and three in breadth, in consideration of an annual tribute, which still continues to be paid to him. Pulo-Penang is a flourishing little settlement, and continues to increase both in population and utility, though it has been latterly eclipsed by Singapore."

Of the settlement of MALACCA the same

writer gives the following brief description, also sufficient for our purpose:—"Lower down the strait lies the town of Malacca itself, the capital of the whole peninsula, situated upon the coast, about one hundred miles from its southernmost point. It first fell into the hands of the Portuguese, from whom it was taken by the Dutch, and from the latter again by the British. It was formerly a place of some strength and consequence, but as the formation of our settlement at Pulo-Penang rendered it of little or no use as a place of trade, the garrison and stores were mostly withdrawn, the fortifications nearly razed, and the whole place dismantled. Since that time its importance has gradually been diminishing, though it is still a useful post as a guard against the piracies of the Malays, and the jealous intrusions of the Dutch."

The strip of country connected with this city is not more extensive than a large English county. To the Christian world the place is particularly interesting, as the seat of the celebrated Chinese college, founded under the auspices of the London Missionary Society in 1818, by Drs. Morrison and Milne. To the friends of Eastern enlightenment and civilization, and more especially those whose benevolent wishes in connection with such matters extend to China, the objects of the college must be regarded with pleasure, as it was founded for the cultivation of European and Chinese literature. It was at that place the work of translating the Scriptures into Chinese was undertaken by the two indefatigable men above named—a work which was afterwards brought to greater perfection by Dr. Medhurst, and others, under the united patronage of the London Missionary and Bible Societies.

The Island of SINGAPORE was first the locality of a British settlement in 1818, but the whole island was ceded to them by the sultan in 1824. The natives call it *Ugang Larna*, or the Land's End. The town of



Singapore, which gives its name to the island, derives its name from the Malay term *Singapoora*, the City of the Lion. The work on geography used at King's College, thus describes it :—

“Singapore is situated at the southern extremity of the Malay peninsula, on a small island of the same name, and has given name to the Straits of Singapore, which are formed by a cluster of innumerable little islands, vary much in their shapes, and indented on all sides by little bays and sandy coves. Here the China Sea, which connects the Indian and Pacific Oceans, commences, being bounded on the west and north by the mainland of Asia, and on the east and south by Formosa, the Philippine Islands, Palawan, Borneo, Banka, &c. The town of Singapore is said to have been founded by adventurers, who originally emigrated from the Island of Sumatra, but it possessed little consequence till it fell into the hands of the British, to whom the sultan ceded it, as well as the neighbouring islets and districts for four leagues round it. It derives all its importance from its central situation between India and China; and touching upon the southernmost point in the whole continent of Asia, it becomes, as it were, the last connecting link between the mainland and that extensive archipelago of large and productive islands which lies off this extremity of the old world. It has no native productions of its own to export, and must therefore be looked upon merely as a depot for the consignment and sale of merchandise. But the increase of its population, and its transit of goods, during the last five years, are without example in the annals of history, and are owing, no doubt, to the superior regulations of the British traders, and the advantages they hold out to the natives of the surrounding countries, when compared with the well-known habits and policy of the Dutch, as well as to the facility which it has afforded our own merchants for the exercise of their ingenuity in escaping from the fetters of prejudice and monopoly. Its population amounts to nearly sixty thousand souls, and is composed of British, Dutch, Portuguese, Americans, Malays, Hindoos, Arabs, Parsees, Birmese, Siamese, Chinese, Javanese, and colonists from many of the great islands in the neighbourhood.”

A merchant who sailed thither from Batavia thus describes the latter portion of the voyage :—“We arrived at Minto (named, I suppose, after the British governor-general) at night, and early in the morning steamed for Rhio, and then we have no more stopping-places till we arrive at Singapore. Banka is noticeable only for its tin mines; about four thou-

sand tons are annually shipped from Minto, and if modern machinery were introduced larger quantities could be procured. The ore is found near the surface, and is said to be the finest known. There are only twenty-five European residents. The mines are worked by Chinese coolies, who are brought down for sale—a damnable species of slave-trade peculiar to these nations! The Straits of Banka are about one hundred miles long, and in one place only seven wide, which gives us a fine view of the long coast of Sumatra. In some places the land is very low, and you cannot even find Horsburgh's tree; and then you have a volcanic range of mountain scenery, with foliage, from base to summit a beautiful green.”

The harbour of Singapore is exceedingly picturesque; it is formed like a horse-shoe. The appearance of the city, the tropical foliage around it, and the highlands beyond, is pleasing. The “Kling” boatmen, after a contest for possession of the passenger, which is conducted with all the wild tones and gesticulations of savages, convey him safely ashore, and place him on a *gurry*, a vehicle drawn by a very rough horse; the driver, having a rope round the brute's head, flogs it with the other end, all the while running along beside it, until one of the hotels is reached, which are described by travellers as very large, very expensive, prettily situated, and very deficient in good cooks.

The island is about sixty miles in circumference, and is rapidly increasing in population. The scenery is, for so small a compass, diversified, and the soil is clothed with the luxuriance and beauty of the tropics.

Men of all nations that have any commerce touch at this port. The result of the mixed population, and the extensive foreign resort, is that a strange Babel of tongues is perpetually heard in the streets of the town and in the marts of commerce. It has been said that seventeen different languages and fifteen dialects may be heard in the city of Singapore every day! The town itself is healthily and pleasantly situated, and the country in its immediate vicinity is verdant with nutmeg and spice trees. It is undulated and well irrigated with natural streams and canals, formed to subserve the purposes of commerce. The fences of bamboo and rattan particularly strike strangers; they are nowhere in the East so fine or so well tended.

The European population does not exceed three hundred; these are nearly all British, a few Dutch being the exception. The half-castes are very numerous, many of whom come from Malacca; they are, as in Ceylon, Bombay, and elsewhere in the East, darker



than the natives, and physically inferior. In Singapore and Malacca they are, however, generally superior intellectually to the un-mixed native races. Half the population is Chinese; they hate Europeans, and are ready, if a favourable opportunity offered, or what they thought one, to rise and massacre the whole European population. This is the more remarkable, as they are treated with great kindness, have justice fairly administered to them, are free to leave the island, and free to trade. Many of them have realised a competency, and the richest man at Singapore is one of their country, who came there a beggar, and, by dint of craft and industry, attained to notorious wealth. These circumstances do not, however, make them loyal to the people who give them hospitality; they maintain an intimate correspondence with China, regard themselves as Chinese subjects, owing no allegiance to England, but desirous to seize the country in the name of the emperor, their master. The mandarins have as much authority over them as if they were a portion of the mob of Canton, cultivated rice-fields near the Grand Canal, or picked tea on the Chinese uplands. They are at heart savage and cruel, and, at the same time, sly and treacherous. The Malays are fierce, cruel, and crafty, and are much addicted to piratical offences, but altogether they are less dangerous, although far more troublesome, than the Chinese. The Chinese portion of the town is utterly filthy, sending forth a stench intolerable to all but its inhabitants.

The appearance of the people of so many nations in so small a compass is at once picturesque and curious. The natives of all the various countries above-named, who find labour and subsistence at Singapore, retain their costume as well as their customs, and betray their nationality by their appearance as well as by their language.

The port is open to the commerce of all countries; there being no dues or taxes, except a small import for the lighthouse. The revenue of the island is small; the budget for the fiscal year 1853-4 showed—receipts £47,697, and expenditure £55,242. One of the resources of the exchequer is the opium tax, which has been generally farmed by a cunning Chinamen, who has realised wealth by it. There is a constant source of litigation and chicanery in this opium farming, discreditable to the government and demoralising to those who undertake the task of collection. A change in this matter is requisite.

From the foregoing description of the place and its inhabitants, no one would suppose

that literature flourished there, yet in few places out of the United States of America are there so many newspapers in proportion to population.\*

The accounts of the government are kept in rupees, annas, and piee; those of merchants in dollars and cents. A considerable agitation existed for some time on this subject; the East India Company being desirous to conform the mercantile usage to that of the government, whereas the mercantile community strenuously maintained the convenience of the system so long in use. This controversy occasioned the compilation of the following statistical tables, which afford a comparative statement relative to the transactions of the colony with those countries where the rupee is current, and where the dollar currency prevails:—

The dollar is current in the following, viz.—Bornco, Celebes, China, Cochin-China, Java, Rhio, and islands to the southward, Kongpoot, Malay peninsula, Manilla, Siam, Sumatra.

The rupee is current in the following, viz.:—Nicobars, Pegu, Rangoon, Arracan, Calcutta, and coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

The trade between Singapore and dollar countries during the last two years was as follows:—

	1852-3. Dollars.	1853-4. Dollars.
Imports . . . . .	7,458,875	9,649,060
Exports . . . . .	8,036,382	11,074,622
Total . . .	15,495,257	20,723,682

\* The Singapore *Free Press*. Established 1833. Weekly. Subscription, sixteen dollars per annum.

Singapore *Straits Times*. Weekly. Subscription, sixteen dollars per annum. Established in 1845.

The *Straits Times Express*, for Australia, is got up at the *Times* press. Price, one shilling per copy.

The *Straits Guardian*. Editor, A. Simonides. Weekly. Subscription, twelve dollars per annum.

The *Free Press* and *Guardian* are printed with common hand-presses.

The *Straits Times* press establishment comprises letter-press, copper-plate, and lithographic work; bookbinding in all its branches.

The workmen consist of Hindoos, Portuguese, Chinese, Malays, Javanese, and Klings (natives of the Coromandel coast); and it is the more remarkable to see how well they do their work in a language which they do not understand.

The Singapore News-room, as it is called, is the newspaper file-room of the editor of the *Straits Times*. The room is a large one, sixty feet by forty, and contains one hundred and twenty files of papers from all parts of the globe, most of them exchanges. The room is well supplied with prices current, maps, &c., and is in the centre of the commercial part of the town. Officers of ships of war, commanders of merchant vessels, and strangers (passengers), who arrive by the many steamers and sailing-vessels constantly passing through the harbour, are admitted free of charge. Here will be found files of the Indian, China, and Australian journals; also the New York *Shipping List* and *Price Current*, *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* (which, by the way, may be found in the commercial library of all nations), and several San Francisco papers.



With the rupee countries during the same period it has been thus:—

	1852-3. Dollars.	1853-4. Dollars.
Imports . . . . .	3,540,992	4,927,382
Exports . . . . .	1,951,016	2,297,215
Total . . . . .	5,492,008	7,224,597

The treasure imports and exports during the same period has been as follows:—

From the dollar countries,—

	1852-3. Dollars.	1853-4. Dollars.
Imports . . . . .	1,293,263	1,712,862
Exports . . . . .	3,857,622	4,628,308
Total . . . . .	5,150,885	6,341,170

From the rupee countries,—

	1852-3. Dollars.	1853-4. Dollars.
Imports . . . . .	16,558	883,092
Exports . . . . .	1,047,819	789,407
Total . . . . .	1,064,377	1,672,499

The foregoing table was drawn up to show the amount of trade carried on between countries where the dollar and rupee were respectively current and the port of Singapore, in order that those interested in the question might see at a glance the preponderance of the dollar, as a coin, over the rupee, in the dealings with the natives frequenting that emporium, and to prove the injudicious policy of interfering with the currency at present established.

The excess of trade represented by the dollar countries as compared with the rupee provinces is as follows:—

Years.	Dollars.
1851-2 . . . . .	9,129,080
1852-3 . . . . .	10,003,249
1853-4 . . . . .	13,499,085

The transactions in treasure are also in favour of the dollar, and show a surplus, as follows:—

Years.	Dollars.
1851-2 . . . . .	1,745,539
1852-3 . . . . .	4,086,508
1853-4 . . . . .	4,668,671*

#### MEMORANDA FROM RETURNS MADE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

*Table of Moneys.*—4 pice make 1 cent; 2½ cents 1 anna; 16 annas 1 rupee (R); 100,000 rupees 1 lae; 100 laes 1 erorc.

*Table of Weights.*—Measures of capacity are rarely used, and then only with certain articles, such as tobacco, &c. 16 taels make 1 catty, equal to 1 lb. 5 oz. 5½ grs., or 1½ lb. avoirdupois; 100 catties make 1 (Chinese) picul, equal to 133½ lbs. avoirdupois; 40 (Chinese) piculs 1 royan; 2 (Malay) piculs 1 char. The Malay catty weighs 24 Spanish dollars, and the Chinese catty weighs 22½ Spanish dollars. The native merchants buy all imported produce from the islands by the Malay picul, but sell it by the Chinese picul.

Rice is sold by the royan of 40 piculs.

Salt by the same, but weighs about 52 piculs.

Gold and silver thread by a particular catty of 36 dollars weight.

Gold-dust by the bunkal, which weighs 2 dollars, equal to 832 grs. troy.

Java tobacco is sold by the corgo of 40 baskets.

Indian piece goods by the corgo of 20 picees.

Wheat and grain by the bag, containing 2 Bengal maunds; the maund is 61½ catties, equal to 82 lbs. avoirdupois.

*Freights.*—Ships of moderate size, say from 300 to 500 tons, are most in demand for charters. The rates at which foreign bottoms are freighted or chartered depend on the demand for and supply of tonnage, the sailing qualities of the vessel, and the kind of cargo to be transported. These vary so greatly, that it is impossible to give them even approximately.

*Commissions.*—The ships of all nations, except those of the United States, pay a uniform commission of 10 per cent., which covers all expenses for purchasing or selling. For the American trade (U. S.) the usages are different, and are as follows:—

Commissions on sales of goods or purchase of produce, free of risk, either in sales or on advances on produce* . . . . .	2½ per cent.
Negotiating bills of exchange . . . . .	1 „
Interest on moneys advanced, at per annum. 12 . . . . .	12 „
Ships' disbursements . . . . .	2½ „

Added to these expenses are boat and coolie hire, and warehousing, the charges for which, being governed by circumstances, differ widely.

*Sales and purchases.*—Sales of imports are effected in the usual manner, by private arrangement with the buyer. Few articles of import are cleared by public auction.

*Purchase of cargo outward.*—This is done by private contract (never at public sales) by the house to which the master of the vessel is consigned, the said house buying the goods from the natives, or, more generally, from the Chinese dealers, who are the "first hands."

*Terms of purchase.*—These are, first, cash, or, second, confirmed credits from well-known houses, either in London or Liverpool.

*Exchanges.*—The true par of exchange between the United States and this port cannot be determined. The most just approximation is to add to the Singapore rate of exchange on London the current premium of New York drafts on London, plus 2 a 4 per cent.

*Wages.*—With regard to the rate of wages in the various branches and occupations of labour, and of personal service in the business of commerce and trade, only a few instances can be specified, such as bookkeepers, mercantile assistants, and clerks, who receive from 500 dollars to 3000 dollars per annum.†

In connection with the straits settlements there is a desideratum of too much consequence to be overlooked—namely, some efficient arrangement for suppressing the Coolie trade. This traffic is not permitted from British ports, and wherever British consuls are it is opposed, but means are found, by Americans more particularly, for carrying it on in a manner fearfully destructive to human life. The

\* Both these are guaranteed for an extra 2½ per cent., or 5 per cent. in all.

† C. W. Bradley, American consul at Singapore.

Some of the foregoing statistics would appropriately come within a chapter on the general commerce of our Eastern empire, but the tables comprehend so much that is local, and relates to the internal arrangements as well as external relations of the island, that it seems better to give them in this place.

\* Mr. Woods, Editor of the *Straits Times*.



unfortunate objects of this commerce are imposed upon by promises of a five years' engagement of labour, with remuneration, which to them is a strong temptation to embark in the enterprise; they are borne away to Cuba or South America, and consigned to hopeless slavery. Some of our Indian subjects are in this manner deceived, and made slaves. American authors and travellers have admitted and condemned the procedure. The following extract from one of those who saw what he describes, and did his best to acquire accurate information concerning it, is as painful to peruse as it is faithfully narrated:—"The *Westward Ho*, Boston clipper, has just passed Anjer with eight hundred coolies from Swatow to Callao, and others have passed and are continually passing with their living freights. The days of the African slave-trade are with the past, save what the Brazilian and Cuban traders may be engaged in; but the traffic in human life is not wholly abolished when we see English coal-ships, Peruvian convict-hulks, and American clippers, all heading towards the west coast of South America, every square foot of space occupied by a poor Chinaman, who thinks, when he receives a dollar in hand, to be spent in clothing, and makes a contract to work five years at eight dollars per month (fifty dollars being deducted for a passage, and all the rice he may want guaranteed), that he is leaving purgatory for paradise. But when his owner puts him to work on the guano deposits, under the burning sun of the Chinchas, he will find out how sadly he has been deceived. That horrible affair of the *Waverley*, Boston ship, at Manilla, it makes me shudder to think of it, and chills my very blood when fancy pictures the blackened swollen forms of two hundred and fifty human beings, the one piled on another—worse even than the frozen soldiers of Napoleon on the Niemen and at Smolensko, or the startling horrors of the Black Hole at Calcutta. American clippers are daily leaving. The *Westward Ho*, *Hussey*, and *Bald Eagle*, with about seven hundred each, have left, the former to Callao, the latter to Havannah. The *Australia* and *Bonaventura*, with four hundred each, have gone to Havannah; and the *Amelia*, of Boston, has sailed with six hundred for Callao. The *War Hawk*, two thousand ton clipper, with nine hundred was loading for the same port; the *Winged Racer*, of Boston, Captain Gorham, was about to sail with seven hundred for Havannah." This was the state of things in reference to the coolie traffic just two years ago. From the eastern shores of Bengal, the Coromandel coast, the straits, Siam, and China, in a greater or less degree, this

vile traffic goes on, in spite of the East India Company and the British government. All the South American states having, or professing to have, any commerce with the Indo-Chinese peninsula are implicated. The consuls of Peru, in some cases, openly abet it.

The British settlements of BORNEO are on the western coasts of that island, and hold an anomalous relation to the British government. They are the result of the private enterprise of a brave and adventurous man, Sir James Brooke, who has acquired sovereignty, and bears the title of rajah. He is not only willing but anxious to surrender that sovereignty to the crown of England, but, although considerable importunity has been used by persons interested in the commerce of the neighbouring seas, and although the press of Great Britain has in strong terms censured the government for its neglect, nothing has been done for securing these colonies to the crown. The Dutch have settled in other portions of the island, and claim the sovereignty of the whole, except those portions where Sir James Brooke has established his colonies—Sarawak and Labuan. The British rajah is not a young man, and should he die, there is every likelihood that the Dutch will take possession of those settlements, unless in the meantime the British government assert its supremacy. It will hardly be possible for the *vis inertiae*, so characteristic of English governments in colonial matters, to resist much longer the strong pressure of public opinion in favour of an arrangement with Sir James, just and beneficial both to him and to the colony.

There are only two islands in the world larger than Borneo—viz., Australia and New Guinea. It is situated to the east of Sumatra and Malaya, and to the south-eastward of the empire of Annam, on the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The people are pagans, except a comparative few, who have embraced Mohammedanism. Their rites are sanguinary, their worship gloomy, and the attributes they ascribe to deity in reality describe a fiend. They are of various races: Dyaks, Javanese, Malays, Siamese, and Chinese, inhabit the island, as well as the aboriginal races. Formerly there were British settlements on the coasts, but tacitly the Dutch were allowed to claim sovereignty. This makes it somewhat difficult for the British government to assume authority in the colonies established by Sir James Brooke, and places them in a position which is as dangerous as it is exceptional.

From Labuan, on the north-east coast, to Sarawak, on the south-east, coal is abundant. This circumstance gives these settlements an especial value in their relation to the British.



Eastern possessions. The expenditure of coal by the English navy in the Eastern seas is enormous. Eight thousand tons per month were consumed, in 1856, by the naval squadron in the waters of China alone. During 1857 probably two hundred thousand tons were required. All this is carried out from home. It is undeniable that the position of Borneo in relation to Australia, China, and India, makes it most important in connection with its coal resources.

In order to accomplish industrial undertakings, Sir James has had to employ many Chinese. The Dyaks will not work mines; they believe the bowels of the earth to be filled with demons, and no rewards can stimulate their courage or their labours, although brave and energetic in other enterprises. These Chinese settlers, influenced by emissaries from Canton and Singapore, revolted in 1857, and endeavoured to massacre Sir James and the British. The energy of the English rajah, and the gallant co-operation of the Dyaks, enabled him utterly to subdue the revolt. Sir James has established churches, schools, hospitals, and other concomitants and means of civilization; piracy, once the scourge of the Indian Archipelago, has been entirely suppressed; and nothing seems wanting to the prosperity of the eastern shores of Borneo but the acknowledged shield of British power, and the prestige of her majesty's imperial authority.

The last of the maritime settlements of England which it is necessary to notice as connected with her Eastern empire is ADEN. This place is situated near the entrance of the Red Sea, and was occupied by the East India Company for the purposes of suppressing piracy and of awing Persia. In the historical portion of the work that circumstance will more properly come under consideration. The Arabs regarded the possession of the ancient port of Aden by the infidels as a great indignity, and made desperate efforts to recover it. It was necessary for the company to negotiate with the Sultan of Labad, whose acquiescence they secured. The rock of Aden rises two thousand feet above the level of the sea. To the British it is an excellent coaling-station, apart from its political importance. The native population is about twenty thousand. Few Europeans reside there, except those in the service of the company. The garrison consists of a detachment of European soldiers and a regiment of sepoys. A recent traveller, whose observations are as correct as his pen is sprightly, thus conveys the impressions left on his mind by a visit:—"The rock, the plain, and the whole shore look barren

enough; nor bird, nor beast, nor plant, nor creeping thing—you might almost say, without misrepresenting:—nothing at any rate of note can be seen from our anchorage or from the fort and village on the beach. You must have a donkey or an Arab horse the moment you get ashore, and take a ride along the beach, through the thatched village, past the mass of granite rock, over the long military road, down under the bridge, through the deep, dark passage-way cut out of the solid rock, to the cantonments, or barracks, in the valley beneath, where you will find the native town, the sepoy barracks, the European settlements, the chapel on the hill for the Episcopalians, and the cathedral below for the Roman Catholics, the drill-ground, and all that there is to note at Aden. On every side of you nothing but rock, rock, rock. It would be banishment to live here. The company have spent plenty of money in fortifying, but the money has not been well invested, say some of our military passengers. I am astonished to see how poorly fortified are many of the ports of England's colonies. It would appear to me that, had the Russian China fleet been willing to run the risk of British cruisers, they might have bombarded Singapore, Penang, Madras, and Aden; but the destruction of property would have been the only inducement, as they could not have held the places for any length of time, for the oriental steamers can transport troops post-haste to protect the flag of England. But there is one thing pretty certain—India can spare no troops for the Crimea; she wants them all within her empire, for the natives are always plotting." The last remark of this quotation is worthy of the serious attention of the British public. The alarm felt during the Russian war along the seaboard of India, and in the British maritime possessions in the East, was described and discussed by the author of this History in another work,\* but it is here also necessary to point out the defenceless condition of those colonies, and of the seaboard of India. The Indian navy, however excellently officered or manned, and however efficient for the suppression of piracy or hostile operations in the Arabian Sea and its gulfs, is inadequate for the defence of India and the straits settlements during war with a naval power. The royal squadron in the Chinese waters, except during hostilities with that country, does not constitute a sufficient force for such a purpose in conjunction with the Indian navy. The land defences of India and of the various settlements already described ought to be on a scale of

\* *Illustrated History of the War against Russia*. J. S. Virtue, City Road, and Ivy Lane, London.



greater efficiency, whatever confidence the naval superiority of the British empire may inspire.

Hong-Kong is one of our maritime settlements in the Eastern seas, but a description

of it is omitted from this chapter, because it will necessarily be referred to in the next, as a part of China, under the head of independent countries with which we have been at war in the progress of our oriental dominion.

## CHAPTER XI.

### INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN THEATRES OF WAR DURING THE PROGRESS OF OUR EASTERN DOMINION.

#### CHINA.

WHILE we write, hostilities are being conducted against this country by the united arms of England and France. An infraction of treaty, the history and consequences of which will be recorded in the historical portion of this work, has led to the *dernier ressort* of aggrieved nations. This gives a peculiar interest at the present time to anything written concerning an empire so vast and a people so wilful—strangely uniting so many elements of weakness and power.

The Chinese empire is the most populous in the world, and the most populous also which the world has ever seen. It contains nearly four hundred millions of persons—one-third of the entire population of the globe. It is in all likelihood larger than Russia in Asia, and is only surpassed in area by Russia, including its European and American as well as Asiatic dominions, and by the British empire, which stretches over so many regions. The Chinese empire contains greater diversity of climate than any other, unless that under the dominion of England, which, in its European, African, Asiatic, Australian, and American territory, comprehends all climates, over areas which vie for extent even with the area of Russia.

It would be inappropriate to the nature of this work to give a minute account of China, while it is necessary to notice its position, extent, population, character, and resources, as one of those oriental powers with which we have been frequently at war, and within the dominions of which we have planted our flag.

The boundaries of the Chinese empire are Russian Asia on the north, India and the Indo-Chinese peninsula on the south, the Pacific Ocean on the east, and Turkistan on the west. Its area is computed to exceed five millions of square miles—equal to one-third of the Asiatic continent, considerably larger than Europe, and comprising one-tenth of the habitable globe. The natives designate it *Teen-hea* ("under heaven"), in order to

express its vastness. The oceanic boundary consists of various seas and gulfs, formed by the continent and its archipelagoes, and by vast inlets. Among these are the Gulf of Tartary, the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea, so called from the colour of its waters, which contain a large quantity of earthy matter, brought into it by the rivers which give it its peculiar hue, and make it shallow; the Chinese Sea, which has obtained terrible notoriety by its typhoons. These hurricanes are the most violent of any in the world. They occur at remote intervals, in certain seasons, and may be guarded against, indications of their approach being made by sky and water, as well as by the signal fall of the barometer.

China proper is distinguished from the other portions of the empire, and comprises about one-fourth of its area. It lies on the south-east of the empire, and has a coast-line of two thousand five hundred miles, and a land frontier of four thousand miles. It is very mountainous, especially in the west; some of the mountains are perpetually covered with snow. Several ranges branch off to the east, approaching to the Pacific. The Nanling is one of these lateral ranges, and is known as intercepting the water communication between Canton and Peking. The goods transported between these places are borne from one side of the range to the other through the passes by porters. The hills are covered with timber; where nature has not effected this, Chinese industry has accomplished it. The mountain slopes are planted with rice-fields and with gardens. There blossom the orange-tree, which is, in its season, prolific in fruit; there may be seen vast multitudes of beautiful camellias; also rice-fields carefully formed on terraces, and irrigated by Chinese industry and skill.

The principal portion of China proper is an alluvial plain, extending from Peking along the Yellow Sea to Nankin, comprising nearly a quarter of a million square miles. This vast area is a rich granary, especially of rice, and the population is multitudinous. It is



watered by the rivers Yang-tse-Kiang and Hoang-ho, which, rising in Thibet, flow west to east to the Yellow Sea, after courses of more than a thousand miles each. The Yang-tse-Kiang is the largest river in China, and is about sixty miles wide at its mouth, appearing like a sea. Nankin is situated on this river, about two hundred and twenty-five miles from its place of disembogement. The Si-Kiang is the great river of the south, and well known by European mariners, as it passes by Canton. The Pei-ho is the great northern river, which falls into the Gulf of Po-cheeles. These rivers, and others of minor note, irrigate the country.

Few Europeans have been permitted either to travel inland, or by boat to pass any considerable distance up the rivers. Undoubtedly the most successful in the latter description of enterprise has been "the *Times*' special correspondent." Most of our Chinese travellers have seen only a few of the cities opened to Europeans by the treaty effected by Sir Henry Pottinger; what they relate is from hearsay. The gentleman above referred to has, by his courage and good fortune, been enabled to make his passage good along various river-courses, and to visit the cities on their banks. The Yang-tse, "the great river," "the father of rivers," "the girdle of the empire," as the Chinese love to call it, is for a long course, up to Shanghai, known to Europeans. The *Times*' correspondent, passing up from the sea, thus describes it:—

"Next morning we were still out of sight of land, but the leadman's cry told that we were steaming in shallow waters. The morning's bath showed that the water was quite fresh and opaque with rich and alluvial soil. There were no other symptoms of land. We were in the mouth of the mighty river Yang-tse—'the child of the ocean'—the richest river in the world—richest in navigable water, in mighty cities, in industrious human beings, in affluent tributaries, and in wild margins of cultivated land of exhaustless fertility. This vast expanse of turbid fresh water is saturated with the loam of fields fifteen hundred miles away. A portion of this rippling element was gathered upon those great mountain ranges of Central Asia where the Ganges, the Brahmapootra, and the two great rivers that irrigate Siam and Cochin-China, and the fierce 'yellow river' which pervades the north of China, divide the drainage. The volume was increased by every mountain and every descending streamlet through six hundred thousand square miles of midland China. In its pride and in its strength the proud river fights for

a little while with ocean himself for empire, drives back his salt waves, and establishes a fresh-water province in the midst of his dominions. The Chinese love and venerate the Yang-tse as Chinese sons love and venerate their fathers. Philosophers draw their parables from his greatness and beneficence; historians chronicle his droughts and floods as events more important than the change of dynasties; and poets find his praises the most popular theme for their highest flight of song.

"We had steamed for some hours in this shallow sea, when a line, having length, but neither breadth nor thickness, became just visible far away upon our left. As our course was tangential to this line, it gradually became more distinct. Then through our glasses we could see a level coast, well timbered with trees—no palms or Eastern forms of foliage, but such an outline as we might trace on the banks of Essex or Lincolnshire. Between the river shore and the woodlands there was a margin of meadow land, where droves of cattle and flocks of sheep were depasturing, and everything around, except only the fierce sunshine, gave promise that we had escaped into an European climate. Then land upon the right grew into view—not the opposite bank of the Yang-tse, that is far out of sight, but an island which he is throwing up. From day to day he piles there the spoils he brings down from the midland province. The pilots say they can observe increase every week. The Chinese are already planting bamboo there to give solidity to the rich alluvial soil. A thousand squatters are ready to seize upon it and convert it into gardens immediately the tide shall cease to cover it.

"Fishing, and carrying, and convoying, a thousand junks and lorchas are scudding to and fro in the estuary. But we proceed not far up the channel of 'the child of the ocean.' A checker-painted sea-mark (which wants only a telegraph upon it to make its usefulness complete) and a floating lighthouse mark the point where the last tributary to the Yang-tse-Kiang, the river Wangpoo, joins its waters. Upon a low spit of land stands the desolate and amphibious-looking village of Woosung. The place is not really desolate, and is not really amphibious, for large fortunes are constantly being made here (the golden sands of commerce accumulate as rapidly as the deposits of Yang-tse-Kiang), and the piles on which the buildings are erected lift them up out of danger of inundation. But the Chinese have a talent for giving an appearance of squalor to their towns and villages."



The river beyond Shanghai is similar in character: still of immense width, shallow, loaded with alluvial matter, its banks swarming with populous villages, the occupants of which are ever busy in all the forms of industry known to China. Rich soil, fields carefully cultivated and luxuriantly productive, meet the eye of the voyager up this great artery of Chinese commerce. Here and there pagodas and temples present their strange forms to the traveller's gaze, while the wanderers are themselves objects of intense and not always amicable curiosity to the natives.

The enterprising gentleman just quoted also sailed up the great tributary of the Yang-tse—the Wangpoo, and has been enabled to describe what no other European, except those of his party, has been favoured to see. His letter was written on the 10th of August, 1857, and, from its recent date, derives very peculiar interest.

“On the appointed day, Mr. Edkins, the missionary, Dr. Dickson, of Canton, and myself started in three *sauchau* boats, with a fair flood tide, up the Wangpoo River. Our object was to reach Ningpo through the network of internal canals, and without crossing the bay. This is a journey never yet made even by the missionaries, and Mr. Edkins regards it as a pioneering expedition preparatory to future labours. Our first stage is to Hangchow, and thus far our boatmen have covenanted to convey us. These *sauchau* boats are somewhat like the larger gondolas which go outside into the Adriatic. The cabins are fitted up with no little pretension. Mine had plate-glass windows; much carving and some gilding had been lavished upon it. There was a joss-house with a vacant niche for any idol I might fancy to put there, and two ecclesiastical candlesticks, upon the spikes whereof I might, if I had pleased, burn any sized joss-sticks or wax candles. The extent of this, my habitation for the next six days, was however not great—it was seven feet six inches square. Nor was there provision for effeminate luxury. There was a locker within which I might put my most important baggage, on which I could spread my bamboo matting, and over which I hung my mosquito curtains; there was a small table and two camphor-wood stools. What more can a man want? There was a box, with ‘Fortnum and Mason’s’ name upon it in one corner, a modicum of sherry and Bordeaux and a dozen of soda-water in another corner, and a revolver and double-barrelled gun handy to the grip. The use of the firearms is, I believe, solely this—the boatmen will not go on at night unless

they know you have them. The adroitness of the Chinese thieves will justify their contempt for any barbarian swell mobsman. Mr. Edkins not long since found that some one had, during his slumbers, crept in at the cabin window, taken his keys out of his pocket, opened his trunk, and abstracted all his dollars, leaving the trunk open, and nothing else, not even the proprietor, disturbed. But I do not hear of any open piratical attacks up the country, and you do not want firearms to drive away a thief. The first thing he would steal would probably be the gun and the revolver.

“Off we go, then, up this tributary, of the Yang-tse-Kiang. About four miles an hour is our pace, propelled as we are by one gigantic oar, worked over the stern by three men, curved in the handle, and made to perform in the water the evolution we call skulling. We pass through the European shipping, by the floating bath, and into and along moored tiers of junks, which may almost vie in numbers with the shipping in our pool. Hundreds of these ply between Shanghai and Amoy, bringing sugar here and taking cotton back. A thousand others will start this season for Shantung, and will carry with them one hundred thousand pieces of our grey shirtings—a demand owing, the merchants say, to exceptional causes. In an hour we are clear of the environs of Shanghai, and we look to see the river contract to the proper decent dimensions of a third-rate stream. Nothing of the sort. Seven miles up the Wangpoo is still quite a mile in width, and for the greenness and flatness of its banks, and the European outline of foliage, we might be a little below Gravesend. Resenting, perhaps, my small respect for him as a third-class river, the Wangpoo treats us to a capfull of wind just as the tide is finished, and the boatmen incontinently run into a creek, which leads up to a village possessing a high pagoda and a Buddhist monastery.

“We passed the night upon the wide and troubled waters of the Wangpoo with less of meekness than befitted the peaceful character of my companion. I insisted upon starting as soon as the flood tide made. Every wave seemed to break under the flat bottom of my boat, and she rolled and quivered and creaked as though she would have quoted Meneius to rebuke my impatience. But the night was very beautiful. It was so hot that I lay outside, with my head against the broad junk-like prow, and even the rushing wind brought no coolness; the round moon looked down in all her splendour, but did not dim the light of the big stars. Ever as one of our sister boats went ahead, the oar oscillating to and



fro at her stern, produced a sheet of phosphoric radiance which neither moon nor stars could pale. Sometimes we neared the banks, and then the monotonous croak of the frog was heard, and in sheltered places flights of fireflies, like flakes of diamond, fluttered up and down among the cotton plants, and then also myriads of mosquitoes, of great stature, came off and sounded their declarations of war in my ears.

"We were not alone on the Wangpoo. On the contrary, there were never less than a hundred sail. Up the flood tide of the Wangpoo Dr. Dickson's boat separated from us last night, and is not come up. The boatmen talk of perils from pirates or foundering in the storm. We wait and send back runners, and learning no tidings, conclude he has returned to Shanghai. Two large navigable tributaries fall in, but the river above is not much decreased in width. After some hours' further voyage, the Wangpoo loses its name and form. It divides into two equal channels, one of which descends from the right, and comes down from a string of lakes that extend to Soo-choo; the other is our way. Tributaries and canals now come quickly in, showing how wonderfully ramified is the internal water communication of this land. Of course the volume of the stream contracts as we ascend. At night the action of the tide is but faintly felt, and we anchor in a channel about fifty yards wide. In the moonlight Dr. Dickson's boat comes up with a tale of adventure. The next day was a day of canals and great cities."

The aids to the river navigation and irrigation of China by canals are numerous—the Grand Canal being the largest work of the kind in the world, and history supplies no ground for believing that any work of equal magnitude has ever existed. The scenery, rural and social, on the banks of the Grand, or, as it is also called, the Imperial Canal, is to European eyes most peculiar. The fullest account extant written by an English eye-witness, is that of the *Times*' correspondent, who visited it late in the autumn of 1857:—

"The only Chinese objects which to the eye of Western taste are really beautiful, are the bridges that cross their canals at frequent intervals. The willow-pattern plate, so faithful in other matters, does not do them justice. Sometimes they consist of three arches, but generally of only one. In the latter case, solid masonry of carefully-faced granite or limestone advances into the water from either side. In the centre springs a light and graceful arch—more than a semicircle, quite half an oval; it springs forty feet high, and

the crown of the arch has not two feet of superstructure resting upon it. There is no keystone, but the thin coping-stones are cut in the proper curve. The bridge itself is a terrace, mounted by steps on either side at an angle of forty-five degrees. The effect is very graceful and airy, and as no wheeled carriages are used in China (except wheelbarrows), they answer all practical purposes. A sunset on the Imperial Canal, with the monuments on the banks, a vista of these bridges, and the mountains of Nganhwui in the far distance, is a sight I shall remember when I look again upon Claudes and Turners. We are thankful that at last there are mountains in view; for this perpetual level, fat and fertile as it is, grows depressing. It is our fifth day, and we are expecting to reach Hangchow, where all our difficulties of transit must be expected. While writing I have passed along five miles of rural district, with banks all built up, like a Parisian quay, of wrought granite, and the towing-path carried over stone bridges which cross the frequent branches of this immense artificial navigation. I despair of conveying the idea of cyclopean work, enormous traffic, patient industry, vast natural fertility, individual content, and peaceful prosperity with which this journey impresses me. The pagodas are in ruins, and where the quays have fallen there is no hand to repair them. The imperial grain-junks are rotting, and the few forts are in decay; but these evidences of decrepitude in the rulers have not yet operated to affect the personal happiness which springs from fertile lands and industrious husbandmen. At the end of one of the long straight lines of this highway we discern at last a far extending mass of houses, whose walls exult in bright whitewash, and whose roofs are all of old grey tiles. These houses seem to extend far back, and to overspread the plain that intervenes between the bank of the canal and the highlands that form the background of our present view. This, seen through a mob of junks, moving and still, is Hangchow as it appears from the Imperial Canal. All things indicate the capital of a great province. Our old friends the imperial grain-junks have been rotting in hundreds for the last ten miles, the canal has been of extending width, mandarin passage-boats, towed by strings of coolies, have gone by sounding their gongs and flaunting their banners, while the mandarin looked out from his seat of honour, and from behind his fan cagerly eyed the strangers. The commercial navy of China (*pur sang*—no schooners or lorchas) were taking in paper, tea, rice, oil, bamboo basket-work, and a thousand other articles of pro-



duce. They are loading the tea here in its natural state, in chests protected by matting. It is all for Shanghai and the export-market; that is to say, it is all of that high-dried kind which will pass the sea. I counted eighteen junks, of about two hundred tons each, lying together ready laden with this European necessity."

The productions of the country are numerous and abundant, and the extreme industry of the people adds to the fecundity of their fertile soil. Rice is the great staple, but many valuable fruits and vegetables are also produced. The sugar-cane is, in some districts, very fine, and is used in various ways by the inhabitants. The mulberry-tree abounds, especially along the tributaries of the Yangtse, and in the country near the Imperial (or Grand) Canal. Beans are extensively cultivated in some districts. Very useful trees, shrubs, and plants, yielding food or materials for commerce, are abundant all over China: the Japan varnish, known to British commerce, is distilled from the lacker shrub; material for candles is obtained from the tallow-tree; rice paper, as it is termed, is procured from a leguminous plant common in the marshes; the lotus is made useful for food and other purposes; euniferous trees are abundant. The humblest cottager contrives to cultivate some garden vegetables, with persistent industry, in places the most disadvantageous.

The tea-plant is known to be indigenous to China, the rest of the world deriving its chief supplies from thence. This plant (*Thea Chinensis*) is an evergreen, and a very hardy shrub in China, although in India, both in Assam and the Himalayas, it has been necessary to treat it as a delicate plant. It attains the height of five or six feet. The tea exporting districts are not so extensive as is generally supposed in Europe, being confined to limited portions of the provinces of Fo-kien, Quangtung, Kiang-see, Kiang-su, and Tehe-kiang. In almost all the other provinces the amount produced is consumed where grown, and is of a coarse quality, unsuitable for commerce. Fo-kien exports the greatest quantity of black, and Kiang-su the greatest quantity of green. It is not generally known that both kinds are obtained from plants of the same species: the difference in the exported commodities arises from the leaves having been collected at different stages of their growth; and from the employment of colouring matter with the green, such as Prussian blue and gypsum. The young leaves before they expand, and the mere shoots, yield a black tea called Pekoe, and a green tea called Young Hyson, which is prepared as to colour

by tinctures. When the young leaves have fully opened out, the tea is called Pouchong, Souehong, and Camper as black tea, and Imperial Gunpowder and Hyson as green teas. The older and stronger leaves receive the name of Congou as a black tea, and Twankay and Hyson skins as green teas. The oldest and coarsest of the leaves produce Bohea, the lowest in quality.

The skill with which the cultivators of the plant superintend its growth has much to do with the quality of the tea produced. This was made evident by the experiments of the East India Company. It was not until Chinese cultivators were employed, and some of the company's agents proceeded to China and studied the treatment of the shrub, that their plantations in the Himalayas prospered; and even in Assam such arrangements were necessary.

The Dutch, in 1610, were the first to import tea into Europe: it was more than half a century later before it was brought to England. Two-thirds of all the tea exported from China is consumed by the English. The Americans, Dutch, and Russians are the only other peoples who extensively import it.

The botany and flora of China are very varied and beautiful. Even in prolific India and Ceylon, the botanical gardens are indebted to China for a rich portion of their exotic treasures. It is probable that even the fairy floral scenes of the Indian slopes of the Himalayas are exceeded in beauty by those of the southern mountains of China. These are literally clad with azalea; and amidst the beauty thus produced, there is a profusion of gorgeous shrubs and flowers—elematis, roses, honeysuckle, and numerous wild flowers and shrubs, known only to the botanists and florists of Europe, are spread out in endless variety, forming a natural carpet of the most glowing hues. "The flowery land" is no boast, however vain the Chinese may be of applying the appellation to their country. Cashmere may surpass, and Ceylon may rival, the floral beauties of China—and there are a few spots on the great table-land of the Deccan where flowering shrubs, within a more limited range, are produced equally fine; but it is to be doubted whether elsewhere in the world there is another such land of flowers as the regions of the southern hills.

China is not rich in domestic animals: horses, oxen, and sheep are not plentiful, nor are their species good. It does not pay to rear domestic animals. The population, especially of some provinces, is so numerous, that every inch of land is required for tillage to supply man with food; while, at the same



time, human labour is too cheap for that of horses and oxen to be profitably used. In the south-west the tiger and rhinoceros are found, but not in great numbers. The tiger is a fine and fierce creature, resembling that of Bengal, but rather inferior in size and strength.

The ornithology of China is very various. The gold and silver pheasants are beautiful creatures, by many supposed to be finer than the pheasant of the Himalayas. Domestic fowl grow to a very large size, and the eggs are of a magnitude which surprise Europeans. The forms of the ornithological productions of China are often very peculiar, and not unfrequently very beautiful.

The ichthyology of China is also varied, and exceedingly beautiful. Gold and silver fish, so much admired as domestic pets in England, are common in China. Sturgeon, and other large fish, are abundant and excellent in quality. Shell-fish are exceedingly various: the natives eat every species, and the poor classes seem to do so without discrimination. The number of persons employed in the sea fisheries is very great, although in consequence of the prevalence of piracy they incur great danger, their cargoes being frequently seized, and the boats' crews massacred from sheer love of cruelty. It is necessary, in consequence of this state of things, for a fleet of fishing boats to go out with a convoy. The fishing boats which ply off the mouth of the river Yang-tse pay convoy duties, which amount to fifty thousand dollars a year. The wood junks which ply between Ningpo and Foo-chow pay three times as much as the fishing junks. The vessels which lately acted the part of protectors were Portuguese lorchas, but they changed their character into pirates more formidable than those they were hired to repel. They made descents upon the villages, destroyed the fishing tackle and store-houses, slew the men, and carried off the women. The Portuguese consuls winked at these atrocities, and at last appeared to be their patrons; for men captured in the acts of murder or spoliation were handed over to the Portuguese consul, and were allowed to escape with impunity. The Chinese government actually hired the old pirates to put down the new ones, and a conflict ensued, in which the Portuguese behaved with a cowardice seldom equalled, their junks were destroyed, their fugitives pursued on land and slain, and the Portuguese consul, their abettor, driven from Ningpo. This occurred in 1854, since which the fisheries have been protected, and the supply greatly increased.

The mineral productions of China are very

rich, the principal being copper, zinc, quick-silver, and *kaolin*, or porcelain earth, of various sorts, some of the finest quality. The precious metals are found in small quantities. The most important mineral resource of the empire is coal, which exists in vast quantities, and over a widespread area. In the neighbourhood of Pekin, the coal deposits are worked on an extensive scale, as wood is scarce, which the Chinese always prefer for fuel. Frequent outcrops show that there are immense seams of coal in the vicinity even of Pekin, never yet worked. The Chinese are bad miners, although they work assiduously when directed by skilful engineers. They do not use vertical shafts, and are ignorant of the means by which water is exhausted from mines. In consequence of the necessity of emptying the water with small casks, and of carrying up the coal in small baskets, the expense of working these collieries is considerable, notwithstanding the cheapness of labour. Consequently, even in the vicinity of the coal seams, the poor use for fuel slack, coal gravel, and yellow clay, mixed with water into a thick paste, and moulded and baked like bricks.

The porcelain clay is obtained chiefly in the neighbourhood of King-te-takin, a town and district in the province of Kiang-see, east of the Payang Lake. In the town and district there are said to be two millions of persons engaged in the porcelain manufacture. There are not less than five hundred furnaces in the town alone. Chinamen say that the aspect by day and night in this neighbourhood is remarkable—clouds of smoke darkening the sun, or pillars of fire illuminating the sky. Their descriptions correspond with what the traveller sees in England when travelling through the great manufacturing districts of Warwickshire and Staffordshire. Foreigners being carefully excluded, to prevent discovery of the processes of the manufacture, there is no reliable testimony as to the true condition of the district, or the extent of its manufacture: all classes in China, from the throne to the coolie, delight in lying, and there is no form of falsehood which they so much practise as exaggerated statements of the population, resources, beauty, and power of their country.

The porcelain earth is a clay resulting from the decomposition of felspar; the colour is white, yellow, or reddish white. It is not generally superior in China for manufacturing purposes to that which is found in Cornwall, in England, in the Island of Bornholm, in the Baltic, or in Germany.

Among the productions of China silk is prominent. The mulberry-tree has been



long a staple production, and the wide area over which it grows, together with its excellence, enables the Chinese to rear vast numbers of the worm. China may be said to be the country *par excellence* of silk, of which there seems to be an inexhaustible source. It furnishes large quantities to the neighbouring nations and to Europe, and also clothing for the greater part of the inhabitants: there are very few, except of the lowest orders, but what are clad in silk garments.

To the Chinese we owe the knowledge of the manufacture of silk, and that which is imported excels that of every other country in brilliancy and colour. The imports of China silk have largely increased of late years. The imports, which in 1830 were 6000 bales, and in 1846 14,103 bales, had risen in 1856 to 56,561 bales. The average weight of the bales of China silk is—raw, 103 lbs. nett; thrown, 113 lbs. nett. Assuming the bales to be 1 cwt. each, the imports in 1856 amounted to 2828 tons.

“China silk consists of two leading kinds, produced severally in the provinces of Canton and Nankin. The latter, which is very superior to the Canton silk, is known in commerce under the names of Tsatlee and Taysaam. Tsatlee is the Canton patois for Tsih Sé, or seven cocoons, the mode in which this silk was, perhaps, originally reeled. It is now quite otherwise. Taysaam is the Tatsan of the Chinese, literally the *gros cocon* of the French, and is significantly descriptive of this kind. Unlike the production of silk in Italy, France, and Bengal, in China there are no large filatures or extensive establishments for reeling silk of a known size, quality, or kind, uniformly regular throughout. All China silk is the produce of cottage or domestic husbandry, and is mostly reeled by the peasant population which raises the worm. The wholesale prices on the 1st of January, 1857, were as follows, being nearly double the rates ruling a quarter of a century ago:—Tsatlee, first and second, 25s. to 26s.; ditto, third and fourth, 23s. to 24s. 6d.; Taysaam, 19s. to 23s. 6d.; Canton, 13s. to 19s. 6d.; China thrown, 18s. to 26s.”\*

The silkworm gut, used for fishing in China, and exported for that purpose to other countries, is produced in large quantities. “In making silkworm gut, the silkworm caterpillar is immersed in vinegar when it has left off feeding, and is looking out for a convenient corner to spin his cocoon. The silk-bag is then perfected, and out of this the gut is prepared in pure strong vinegar. The time for maceration is about three weeks, or

more if the weather should be cold and unfavourable. When near the time, one or two of the worms are taken out and tried. After due maceration, the worm is broken exactly across the silk-bag, and the two parts are drawn gently asunder, until the gut appears to be of the proper thickness, and then hung up to dry in the air.”\*

The raw silk is produced by the operation of winding “at the same time several of the cocoons on a common reel, thereby forming one smooth even thread. When the skein is dry, it is taken from the reel, and made up into hanks; but before it is fit for weaving, and in order to enable it to undergo the process of dyeing, without furring up or separating the fibres, it is converted into one of three forms—namely, *singles*, *tram*, or *organzine*. Singles (a collective noun) is formed of one of the reeled threads being twisted, in order to give it strength and firmness. Tram is formed of two or more threads twisted together. In this state it is commonly used in weaving as the shoot or weft. Thrown silk is formed of two or three or more singles, according to the substance required, being twisted together in a contrary direction to that in which the singles, of which it is composed, are twisted. This process is termed *organzining*, and the silk so twisted *organzine*.”†

There is a material of silk export called “‘waste cocoons’—that is, the cocoons after having had all the serviceable silk reeled from them. Within the last year or two these (which were before thrown away as worthless) have been shipped to Manchester in considerable quantities, where they have fetched 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. per pound. They are ‘carded,’ and made into silken thread used for the lower description of silk goods.”‡

In the northern parts of China, especially in elevated situations, bird-skins are used for shoes and other articles of clothing, and the carcasses are, strange as it may appear, used for fuel. The feathers of the Argus pheasant (*Argus giganteus*), supposed to be found only in the Malayan peninsula and Sumatra, but which is also a native of China, are much in request for ornament, the wing and tail furnishing beautiful specimens. “Peacock feathers were at one time employed by Canton manufacturers in making variegated threads, which were used in forming beautiful capes for females. Permission to wear the peacock’s feather in the cap in China is, like the

\* Her Majesty’s Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851.

† Ibid.

‡ Catalogue of the Collection of Animal Products in the South Kensington Museum.

\* Catalogue of the Collection of Animal Products in the South Kensington Museum.



European orders, always specially granted to the individual wearer." Marabout feathers, which are chiefly obtained from the marabout crane in Cochín-China, are also an article of production and commerce in the Chinese empire. The feathers of the silver pheasant are carefully collected, and exported to Europe and America for fly-fishing and ornamental work generally. The feathers of the golden pheasant, which are perhaps more beautiful than those of any other bird except the peacock and bird of paradise, are also exported to Europe and America for fly-fishing. The feathers of the common Chinese fowl are also carefully collected for various purposes of home use and export.

"The Chinese manufacture beads of various kinds, fish-counters, &c., from the mother-of-pearl shells, in a far superior manner to that of artists in Europe. Three sorts of beads are made there—one perfectly round, the second not quite round, and the other cut; and they are tied up into bunches of one hundred strings, each string containing a hundred beads. The fish-counters are cut into various shapes—round, oval, and oblong, and are usually sold in sets of about a hundred and forty pieces. Various species of *placuna*, being thin and semi-transparent, are used in parts of China for glazing windows in junks and on shore, and for lanterns, as horn is used here. The Chinese also use the powder of this shell for silver in their water-colour drawings."\*

The Chinese create artificial pearls, by introducing small pieces of wood, wire, and baked earth into the pearl mussel.† These, by irritating the animal, cause it to cover the substance with a pearly secretion. Little figures, made of wood, are frequently introduced in this manner, and when covered with the pearly deposit are used by the people as charms.‡ In this manner pearl-covered figures of Buddha are obtained, the nacreous deposit being so laid upon the image as to make it an object of beauty.§ These figures generally represent the great sectary in a sitting posture. These are treasured by the people, or exported to Birmah, Siam, Singapore, Tenasserim, Pegu, and even to Ceylon, where the great pearl fisheries are. The large snail pearl-shell of Singapore (*Turbo marmoratus*) is much sought after by the Chinese there, and sent to China, where it is highly valued, and is sent thence to other countries. The pearl-white oyster-shell (*Me-*

*leagrina Margaritifera*), in its natural state, as brought home from China, may be seen among the specimens of shells and marine products in the Museum of the Commissioners of Art.\* This shell is used in a great variety of ways in the manufactures of China.

Beeswax is a commodity produced in China in increasing quantities.

The musk-deer is hunted in Thibet, for the sake of the musk, which is brought down to China proper, and thence exported, but only in small quantities, the animal not being common in Eastern Asia.

It is a general impression in England amongst all classes, exclusive of merchants and men of science, that, with the exception of tea and silk, China produces very little that is fit for commerce or conducive to luxury among her own people. A more intimate acquaintance with her productions, soil, climate, and the industry of her people, will dispel this impression. Her selfish policy, as regards intercourse with other nations, leaves many of her natural products which are adapted to commerce imperfectly developed, and the existence of many materials which contribute to taste or luxury among her own people are now only beginning to be known in Europe. The commerce carried on by the Chinese of Singapore is tending to display the resources of the Chinese empire; and were trade and intercourse perfectly free, China would export many valuable materials almost at present unknown to commerce, or only known in a limited degree.

The territorial divisions of China have varied very much. In reference to this a well-known authority has remarked:—"The scientific skill of the Jesuit missionaries accomplished a survey of the whole of this fine country on trigonometrical principles, so admirably correct as to admit of little improvement; and, with the exception of the British possessions in India, there is no part of Asia so well laid down as China. Since the time of the Jesuits' survey, however, an alteration has taken place in the divisions of the country. The provinces of China, which then consisted of *fifteen* in all, have been increased, by the subdivision of three of the largest, to *eighteen*. Keang-nân has been split into Keang-soo and Gân-hoey, Hoo-kuâng into Hoo-nân and Hoo-pe, and the western part of Shen-sy has been extended, and called Kân-so. These eighteen provinces constitute a compact area, extending (if we leave out the island of Haenân) from about 21° to 41° of north latitude, and measuring in extreme length from north to south about

\* Specimens, South Kensington Museum.

† Edgar A. Bowring, Esq.; Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, Drawing by Professor Quekett.

‡ Sir John Bowring.

§ Dr. M'Gowan, of Ningpo.

\* Class II., Animal Products, Division 4.



twelve thousand geographical miles, with an average breadth from east to west of nearly 20° of longitude, or something less than the extent north and south." \*

The present arrangement of provinces is thus given :—

- THE NORTHERN PROVINCE.—Chi-le; Shan-tung; Shan-see; Honan.
- THE EASTERN PROVINCE.—Keangsoo; Gangwhuy; Keangsee; Chekeang; Fukeen.
- THE WESTERN PROVINCE.—Shense; Kansch; Szechaen.
- THE MIDDLE PROVINCE.—Hoopee; Hoonan.
- THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.—Kwangtang; Kwangse; Yanan; Kweichow.†

Another arrangement of the provinces into maritime and inland presents the following :—

MARITIME PROVINCES.

Cities and Towns.

Pe-chee-lee . . . . .	Peking.
Shan-tung . . . . .	Tsi-nan-foo.
Kiang-su . . . . .	Nanking, Shang-hae.
Tche-kiang . . . . .	Hang-choo-foo, Ning-po.
Fo-kien . . . . .	Foo-choo-foo, Amoy.
Quang-tung . . . . .	Canton, Macao.

INLAND PROVINCES.

Shan-see . . . . .	Tai-yuen-foo.
Shen-see . . . . .	Si-ngan-foo.
Kan-su . . . . .	Lan-tehou.
Ho-nan . . . . .	Kai-fong-foo.
Gan-hway . . . . .	Ngan-king-foo.
Hoo-pee . . . . .	Woo-tehang-foo.
Hoo-nan . . . . .	Tchang-cha-foo.
Kiang-see . . . . .	Nan-tchang-foo.
Quang-see . . . . .	Kwei-ling-foo.
Kwei-chew . . . . .	Kwei-yang-foo.
Yun-nan . . . . .	Yun-nan-foo.
See-tehuen . . . . .	Tching-too-foo.‡

\* *The Chinese: a General Description of China and its Inhabitants.* By John Francis Davis, F.R.S., Governor of Hong-Kong.

This measurement differs somewhat from the more recent and accurate estimates which we give, but this authority is more generally relied upon.

† The Rev. Thomas Phillips.

‡ The Rev. Thomas Milner.

It will be observed by the reader that these authorities spell the names of places differently; it is impossible to find any two authors who agree entirely in the spelling of Chinese words. This circumstance also exists in reference to Hindoo terms, but to a still greater degree in Chinese. The author of this work will use quotations as he finds them, and adopt for himself the most usual and best known modes of writing names of places and things. It will assist the reader to inform him that, according to Milner, the following descriptive terms are of common occurrence in the geography of China :—

*Pe*, north; *nan*, south; *tung*, east; *see*, west. Hence, with *king*, court, we have *Pe-king*, the north-court; *Nan-king*, the south-court; *Tung-king*, the east-court;—as having been, at different periods, imperial residences.

*Shan*, mountain. *Thian Chan*, or *Shan*, the Celestial Mountains; *Shan-tung*, east of the mountains; *Shan-see*, west of the mountains.

*Hoo*, lake. *Hoo-nan*, south of the lake.

*Ho*, river, and *kiang*, river. *Hoang-ho*, yellow-river;

The climate is on the whole more temperate than any equal area in Asia, and in some portions it is very equable and agreeable. It is remarkable, however, for the low temperature that prevails during winter, particularly along the coast, in latitudes in which in other parts of Asia or Europe such severity is unknown. Peking is more southerly than Naples, yet frost prevails for three or four months every year. Nankin is nearly on the same line of latitude as the mouth of the Nile, but during the winter months in the latter region the most genial weather prevails, while at the former there is severe frost. Canton is under the tropic of Cancer, and the summer heat is very oppressive, but there is generally frost in January, and occasionally falls of snow have been known there at that season. The climate on the coasts very much resembles that on the seaboard of the United States. Situated on the eastern sides of great continents, both regions are liable to extremes of cold and heat at opposite seasons, particularly the former, as compared with the same latitudes in other parts of the same continents. The heat at Canton, which is on nearly the same line of latitude as Calcutta, is not much greater, if at all greater, than in that place, but the thermometer never falls below the freezing-point in the metropolis of India, whereas it nearly always does so during winter at Canton.

Before noticing the vast extent of country beyond China proper, it is suitable to consider those peculiarities of the empire which are more especially characteristic of China properly so-called.

The two great works of the Chinese are the Great Wall and the Grand Canal. The wall extends from a fort in the Gulf of Pe-chee-lee westward along the southern frontier, a space of fifteen hundred miles, over mountains, ravines, valleys, rivers, and plains. It is a great earth rampart, admitting of a carriage or several horsemen abreast to pass along the top. It was originally cased with stone and brick, but these have become dilapidated. This wall is of very unequal height. On the mountains it frequently does not exceed ten feet; in the valleys it rises to the height of thirty feet, and is there flanked with numerous redoubts, or projections resembling such. There are gates at intervals for convenience of ingress and

*Si-kiang*, pearl-river; *Yang-tse-kiang*, river of the son of the ocean.

The provinces are distributed into three classes, denominated *foo*, *chew*, and *hien*, terms of rank. Their capitals are denoted in like manner—those which have *foo* appended to their names being cities of the first rank; *chew*, of the second; and *hien*, of the third.



gress, such as may be allowed, and also for the purpose of levying duties of transit. It was once a formidable barrier to the predatory Tartars, but is now badly guarded, and the smugglers have made breaches in many places, which no attempt has been made to repair.

The Grand Canal extends from Hang-choofoo in the south, to near Lin-chin in the north, where it joins a river-system connected with the capital, its whole course being seven hundred miles, with an ordinary width of two hundred feet. Much praise has been bestowed in Europe upon the engineering skill exhibited in this construction, but there does not seem to be any warrant for regarding it in that light. It is formed in a level country, which was composed chiefly of loam, and other light soil; no engineering difficulties of any kind were presented. The amount of labour employed was of course great, and the utility of the work was beyond question, as it opened up an inland navigation where the country was without rivers, or possessing rivers not navigable. Davis, however, commends the engineering skill displayed in choosing a line of country so free from difficulties. It does not, however, appear that even this encomium is deserved, for it required nothing beyond commonplace observation to perceive the portions of the country requiring such a channel of inland commerce, and which afforded the greatest facilities for cutting a canal. The untiring industry of the people in producing this great work merits all commendation. Mr. Davis declares that no moral revolution could effect such a change in China as the introduction of the Roman Catholic calendar, for they have no saints' days, although many saints, and no holidays, on any pretext or reason, in China. The most recent accounts of the Chinese which have been received in this country are those contained in the letters of the special correspondent of the *Times*, and his representations of the untiring and energetic industry of the Chinese along the Imperial Canal will enable us to account for the perseverance with which that work was brought to a completion. The "special correspondent" thus describes the habits of the rural and village population:—"Again we were in the country, among the mulberry-trees and the rice-fields, the patches of tobacco, the sepulchral mounds, with their waving banners of high reeds, the gourds trellised on bamboo framework, and the agricultural population all at work—men and women, with equal energy, treading at their irrigation wheels. Here is the secret of the fertility of this great delta: every hundred yards a little family

treadwheel, with its line of tiny buckets, is erected over the canal, and the water is thrown up to refresh the mulberry-trees or mature the rice. When the Arabs learn to labour like this, the plain of the Metidja may become as productive as this delta of the two rivers. We must have passed ten thousand people to-day engaged in this irrigation process."

The ingenuity of the inland fishermen, the industry of the gardeners, the energy of the boatmen, and the depressing effect upon all these important qualities which is created by the oppressive government of the emperor, and the necessary political discontent of the people, are graphically shown in the following extract from the same writer:—"At Keashin, however, we leave that network of canals which, although over fifty yards broad, are now narrowed to a channel by light bamboo partitions on each side. The enclosed side-water is hired and cultivated as ling gardens, a water-loving root, which the English call 'buffalo head,' and which the Chinese much affect. Worse, however, than the ling gardens, the huge hulks of the imperial grain junks encumber these small canals. Since the rebels have been established at Nankin the inland communication has been stopped, and the food of Peking goes round by sea. Many hundreds, therefore, of these junks have become useless. They are rotting in all directions, filling up the channels—some above water, some below, all of them in decay. They must not be broken up, or sold, or burnt,—they are imperial property. At Keashin we enter upon the Imperial Canal. Between the carefully-piled banks of this noble river—for it is as wide as the Thames at Kew—we journey for three days, passing, and sometimes tarrying at, villages, and towns, and cities. It is the country, however, which is most interesting.

" 'God made the country, and man made the town,'

may be true in England, but here man has as much to do in making the country as in making the city. There is no lack of objects as we passed up, towed by these hardy boatmen. The irrigation wheels are constantly going, men and women working under their awning of mats. The junks and boats are never ceasing—who shall number the vehicles for water-carriage which China possesses? The fisherman, with his flock of fishing cormorants perched on his punt, or swimming after him, is passing up under the bank, and I notice that if a cormorant gets a large fish which he cannot swallow he takes it to the punt, and receives something to devour instead."



The city, population, and its habits of industry along the line of the canal, may be judged by a single specimen from the same writer:—"Although but a third-class city, we were at least an hour passing through Kiahing. There are extensive stores of that thick pottery ware used at Shanghai for baths and coarser utensils, much of it well ornamented. There are large carpenters' shops, containing the simple silk-winding machine of the Chinese, in every stage of completion. We are now far advanced into the silk district. There is a large establishment for crushing seeds and making oil. We land to inspect it, and the proprietor is polite and explanatory. There are tea-shops overhanging the water, and the customers, naked to the waist, are lounging and smoking, and sipping from their little cups a weak infusion, without milk or sugar. Then there is a break in the continuity of habitations—a rick of rice-straw and a grove of mulberry-trees—not large round-topped trees, such as we see in France and Italy, but trees free to grow as nature pleases, and bearing their leaves down to the bottom of their stems. Of the millions of mulberry-trees I have seen in this part every one has a good healthy foliage, and not one has been stripped in the manner I have somewhere seen described. Passing this great agricultural interval, we again immerge into the city. We seem now to be in a district of merely domestic dwellings. The enormous signboards, covered with gigantic Chinese characters, are less frequent. There is a fat Chinawoman and her pretty little round plump daughter hanging out clothes in a very small number of square inches of drying-ground under the eaves of their cottage. In another building there is a solitary damsel employed upon her embroidery; and in another a palm-leaf fan is being used to drive the mosquitoes out of the curtains. The little domesticities of life are going on while the men are at business. Throughout the whole extent of Kiahing, and of every other city in this neighbourhood, there are well-finished quays of faced granite, having at every twenty yards broad stone stairs down into the water; upon these the long-tailed race, both men and children, stand and fish. Some of the stores are very extensive, run a long way back, and are divided from their neighbours by thick and high party-walls; but the houses are all built to the same pattern—a garret above a shop, a slanting roof of tiles, and projecting eaves over both the shop and the garret. This is the unvarying form. Signboards with immense characters, the presence or absence of flowerpots and casements, and the various characters of the

commodities for sale, constitute the only difference. We entered Kiahing through an archway in the wall, and quitted it through a similar aperture. There is no difference between the city and the suburb, except that inside the walls the canals are narrower."

Perhaps no living European has accomplished the navigation of the Imperial Canal to its remote inland termination, except the gentleman from whom these quotations have been made. In the following extract he records his arrival at that particular spot—the city of Hangchow (or Hangwhau), as it is generally called. It appears from his narrative, that but for some peculiar policy of the government, the navigation of that great artery of inland trade could be further extended, as at Hangchow there is a large navigable river, to which it is necessary for passengers to transfer their cargoes and themselves. The extract also refers to some important commercial facts which, although more strictly belonging to a future chapter on our oriental commerce, illustrate here the locality, the jealousy of the government, and the facilities already opening to personal visitation, where commercial operations are still fettered. The feat accomplished by the enterprising correspondent of the *Times* and his associates—if his European friends penetrated so far who accompanied him in the earlier part of the expedition—is one full of interest to the European world, and more especially those who are not moved by curiosity merely, but are anxious for the opening up of China to commerce, civilization, and religious instruction. The information contained in the letter was afforded from Hangchow so late as the 22nd of August, 1857:—

"The irrigation wheel has now entirely given way to the wharf. The banks on either side are as the banks of the Thames when the river reaches the city's eastern suburb. High above roofs and masts rise two lofty poles, whose cross-bars show them to be ensigns of official authority. They stand before a large public edifice. In China all public edifices are of the same pattern; joss-houses and palaces and public offices might, and very frequently do, interchange their purposes without much alteration. The building before us has the usual double tier of shelving roofs with upturned corners, as though the original designer of this style had taken the prows of four Greek galleys and put them together, with their rostra facing to the four cardinal points. It also has a very extensive gallery, which comes out on piles into the canal, and is roofed and ornamented in proper official style, and crowded



with Chinese officials. This building is the celebrated 'Psin Kwan,' or 'Ta Kwan'—the 'new' or the 'great' custom-house. This is the foe of Manchester and Leeds, and Nottingham and Sheffield. This is the first lock in the ascending water-way. Here British calicoes get their first lift, to be still further lifted at very short stages. There is no escape. Here the Imperial Canal ends. There are small feeders which come down from places in the neighbourhood, but here the navigation ceases. There is a magnificent navigable river, which rolls on the other side of the city, but with this the Imperial Canal has no connection. Such is the imperial policy: here at Hangchow everything must be trans-shipped.

"We pulled up at the custom-house, and I prepared for the rigorous search which must take place. I was determined to solve this mystery of the differential duties. I had a piece of printed calico and a packet of clasp knives, and also some of my Chinese clothing, not yet worn, on the table before me. I was fully resolved to have a considerable discussion over the payment of these things. After a few moments, a man, something between the coolie and comprador class, and without even the small pyramidal official straw hat, put his head into the boat and said, as plain as unintelligible words and significant gesture could speak, 'That will do; go on.'—'But tell him,' roared I to A'yu, 'that I have duties to pay.'—'He talkee all right.'—'Tell him these boxes are all full of salt, and the boat is full of contraband goods.'—'He talkee no mindee.'—'Tell him we haven't paid the boat toll.'—'He talkee bamboo boatee man.' At this hint we were at once propelled from the shore, and I was left with my British produce to mourn over the fallibility of the best laid schemes. It was quite evident now that the officials were determined to ignore our presence. I knew there was a toll that would amount to nearly a dollar each on our boats; they refused, however, to take it from us. They allow us now to pass the custom-house unquestioned. They are clearly treating the three Englishmen as Dogberry thought it best to treat rogues. Now I began to make frantic inquiries from Chinamen about the matter I had intended to settle myself. I am told that at this 'Ta Kwan' they take fifteen cash, or about three-half-pence, for a piece of China cloth, and four hundred cash, or three shillings, for English. A Chinaman will always give you an answer, and it will generally be the first phrase that comes into his head. I paid little attention to this assertion, and should not have repeated it, but that it seems to accord with my subse-

quent experience. Shanghai is full of English goods; at Keahing and Keashun I saw some English 'domestics;' but after we had passed the 'Ta Kwan' I never saw anything English exhibited for sale, except English sewing-cotton, which had penetrated even to the primitive city of Peh Kwan. It may be that the duties on English goods are as heavy as my Chinese informant says, but I must admit that I do not think the testimony worth much."

The architectural works of China are not of great magnitude: the European factories at Canton were probably the best buildings in the empire. Chinese architecture is not remarkable for taste—it is quaint, peculiar, and original, characterised by strange antithetical features. It is supposed that the people derived the idea of the shape of their roofs from the use of the tent in their primitive pastoral condition. Whatever the purpose for which a Chinese building is designed, the roof obtains something of the catenary curve which a rope assumes when suspended between two poles, and which therefore forms the contour of a tent.\* The want of solidity, characteristic of Chinese buildings, may be traced to the same origin. The bridges are the best specimens of Chinese architecture, many of them being constructed with great ingenuity. The arch was known to the Chinese before the Greeks and Romans understood its principle.

Military buildings are not numerous; they are rudely strong. The best specimens were the forts which protected the entrance to the Canton River, but which have been battered by the British ships-of-war during the various contests with the Cantonese. Garden pavilions are frequently picturesque. Gateways, either honorary or monumental, are common in China; and these sometimes have considerable architectural pretensions. The tall towers, or pagodas, look pretty in perspective.

The Chinese science of medicine resembles very much that of the island of Ceylon—a mixture of astrology, botany, chemistry, and Buddhist superstition. The drug-shops contain large assortments of simples; gums and minerals also enter into the pharmacopœia. Ginsen and tea are prescribed in various ways; virtues are attributed to tea especially, which are unknown or not appreciated in Europe.† The medical practitioners have no knowledge of anatomy. Phrenology is a favourite study with them, and with the more intelligent Chinese generally. They have a saying, that a man may be known by his forehead, and a woman by the back part of her head.

\* Barrow

† Dr. Abel.



The diseases which most commonly afflict the people are fever, ague, dysentery, cholera, bilious complaints of all kinds, pulmonary disorders along the eastern coasts, small-pox, which carries off large numbers of the population, except where vaccination has been introduced by the surgeons of the East India Company. Cutaneous diseases of many kinds are common; one of which, produced by animalcula, is very irritating and peculiar, but is removed by a native preparation of mercury applied as an ointment.

In geometry and numbers the Chinese are deficient, and are indebted for the little knowledge they have to Europeans. Their fractions are decimals, except in the common pound weight of the market, which, like our own, is divided into half-pounds, quarters, and ounces.

Their geographical knowledge is entirely derived from Europeans. By the native geographers China is represented as the great central land, and other nations as small spots clustered around it. The proofs afforded to them, during the present century, of the superior power of European nations, and the extension of the British empire in the East, has somewhat stimulated their curiosity, and caused their educated men to consult geographical works and maps.

The science of astronomy is not cultivated or understood, although the Chinese are very attentive observers of the heavens. There is an *Imperial Almanac* published at Peking, and the penalty of death is visited upon any persons who either alter or imitate it.

In simple but ingenious machinery they surpass all other oriental people.

Their music is very primitive; their instruments, chiefly lutes and guitars of various sorts, are very numerous. They have a squeaking fiddle of three strings, to which they are partial, and a bagpipe similar to that of Scotland, which is an instrument much in favour. A concert of these instruments is a discordant affair to European ears, but to the Chinese is a source of intense gratification.

Their ornamental gardening is very peculiar, and perhaps there is no other art in which they excel to so great a degree. A gentleman who resided at Peking, in a magnificent pleasure-ground belonging to the emperor, and who had ample opportunities for studying the habits and tastes of the people in this respect, thus depicts their talent for this pleasing art:—

“The grand and agreeable parts of nature,” he observes, “were separated, connected, or arranged, in so judicious a manner as to compose one whole, in which there was no inconsistency or unmeaning jumble of objects;

but such an order and proportion as generally prevail in scenes entirely natural. No round or oval, square or oblong lawns, with the grass shorn off close to the roots, were to be found anywhere in those grounds. The Chinese are particularly expert in magnifying the real dimensions of a piece of land, by a proper distribution of the objects intended to embellish its surface; for this purpose tall and luxurious trees of the deepest green were planted in the foreground, from whence the view was to be taken; whilst those in the distance gradually diminished in size and depth of colouring; and in general the ground was terminated by broken and irregular clumps of trees, whose foliage varied, as well by the different species of trees in the group as by the different times of the year in which they were in vigour; and oftentimes the vegetation was apparently old and stunted, making with difficulty its way through the clefts of rocks, either originally found, or designedly collected upon the spot. The effect of intricacy and concealment seemed also to be well understood by the Chinese. At Yuen-min-yuen a slight wall was made to convey the idea of a magnificent building, when seen at a certain distance through the branches of a thicket. Sheets of made water, instead of being surrounded by sloping banks, like the glacis of a fortification, were occasionally hemmed in by artificial rocks, seemingly indigenous to the soil. The only circumstance which militated against the picturesque in the landscape of the Chinese was the formal shape and glaring colouring of their buildings. Their undulating roofs are, however, an exception to the first part of the charge, and their projection throws a softening shadow upon the supporting colonnade. Some of those high towers which Europeans call pagodas are well adapted objects for vistas, and are accordingly, for the most part, placed on elevated situations.”\*

In painting the Chinese are not so deficient as they have been generally supposed to be by Europeans. They are bad landscape painters, being unacquainted with the rules of perspective, although in their landscape gardening so skilful in obtaining its effect. Where perspective, general combination, and imagination are not required, they can draw well: their colours are exquisitely brilliant, and they can delineate figure. Birds, beasts, insects, and fishes are well painted by them; yet they do not succeed in drawing the human figure and face either with the crayon or the pencil. They are capable of taking grotesque sketches, and caricatures in which much idealism is not requisite, but where

\* Barrow.



the merit consists in a truthful yet humorous delineation of an odd circumstance, or association, or a person of eccentric habits and appearance. They will sometimes "take off" an obnoxious European in a manner more truthful than flattering.

They are not sculptors, but with plastic material they model beautifully, where anatomical proportion is not an essential: their modellings of drapery are very excellent.

Their taste in carving woods and ivory, especially the latter, is well known in Europe. Beautiful snuffboxes of agate and rock-crystal are also carved. The ingenuity of the Chinese in working metals is surpassed by no eastern people, except in the precious metals, wherein the Bengalees surpass them. The art of printing existed in China many ages before its discovery in Europe.

Gunpowder (*fire-drug*, as the Chinese call it) was known in China long before Europeans were acquainted with it; but there is no proof that it was ever used for purposes of war. In pyrotechnic displays it seems alone to have been employed, until it was perceived that the western nations used it as a means of destruction.

The magnetic compass was undoubtedly a Chinese discovery, yet they have not profited by it in navigation. Their voyages have seldom extended farther than India, and at present the remotest voyage is Java or the Malay Isles. Instances have occurred of very long voyages in Chinese junks, and, as a case in point, one lately arrived in the Thames; these trips are, however, so purely exceptional, that the limits above named as the bounds of Chinese naval enterprise are exact. According to the celebrated missionary Gutzlaff, the prejudices of the Chinese against all improvements copied from barbarians must ever impede their progress in ship-building, or in attaining to an effective commercial or warlike marine. Mr. Davis (the late governor of Hong-Kong) is of a different opinion, and attributes to the jealous policy of the government the chief difficulty in the way of progress in navigation. The politician, in this instance, has probably formed a clearer view than the divine. The Chinese have copied Europeans in so many improvements, that there is no reason to suppose that they would be indifferent to the example set them in this respect. The Siamese have already followed European models in the structure of coasting vessels, and the Chinese have observed the fact with some feeling of envy. Various inventions attributed to the Chinese, and several attainments in science set down to the credit of their genius, are due to their intercourse with Europeans. The Jesuits, in

this respect, conferred upon China many advantages, and the people have appreciated it more readily and completely than has been understood in Europe. It is to this ready and apt appreciation of what has been taught them by others, that we are to ascribe the knowledge which, in so many respects, it has become the fashion in Europe to attribute to their originality.

The religious and moral condition of the Chinese has of late years become a subject of benevolent inquiry and consideration amongst the Christian people of Great Britain. The vast mass of the Chinese people are Buddhists. In the chapter devoted to the religions of India, reference was made to this system as exemplified there. In the account given of the Island of Ceylon, further light was thrown upon it. Another page will afford a description of the moral and religious condition of Thibet, and give an opportunity of still further illustrating the character and effects of this system. Under the name of Buddhists, however, the great majority of the people of China are really atheists, "without God, and without hope in the world." Having been already so fully described, it is not necessary here to add anything to the notices of the Buddhist religion, or, as it may be more properly designated, philosophy.

Buddhism is not, however, the only religious system known in China, as is commonly in England supposed to be the case. Many of the Chinese are heathens, who pay little or no attention to Buddha, but worship whatever deity seems to become most familiarly a candidate for their homage. The vast numbers of Chinese who live on the sea, and are engaged in navigation, worship the Chinese sea-goddess, "the queen of heaven." The sailors of the celestial empire are perhaps the most profligate and ignorant portion of its population, and less capable of entering into the abstruse refinements of the Buddhist philosophy: accordingly, among other tangible deities, they especially worship the mariner's compass. Offerings of gilt paper, such as the devotees of Buddha burn on shore before the huge images of their temples, are at sea offered to the compass with a heartier devotion.\*

The cultivated classes in China adopt the philosophy of Confucius as their creed; the middle and lower classes are Buddhists; the dregs of society are mere idolaters: but in every class, and under whatever sectarian designation, there is a large leaven of atheism.

It is not generally known in Europe that China has many followers of "the Prophet." During the Mongul dynasty, founded by

\* Gutzlaff.



Kohlai Khan, the Mohammedans were numerous. They are distinguished by wearing a pointed cap. It is common for them to pursue the calling of mutton and beef butchers—a vocation utterly abhorrent to the consciences of the Buddhists. There is another small sect, that of Taou, or Laon-keun (the title of the founder). This sect seems to have originally corresponded with the Epicureans of the Greeks. The founder was a contemporary of Confucius, and at certain periods of Chinese history the sect obtained very great credit. They have now become few in number, and have sunk into mere soothsayers and quacks; there are, however, a few places in the interior where numbers flock to them—not so much as religious disciples as to have their fortunes told.

There are many Roman Catholics in China; some have computed them at eight hundred thousand, and others have alleged that a million is more near the truth. So conflicting are the statements, and with so much acrimony are they made, that it is impossible to arrive at any fair and unbiassed conclusion. The Jesuit missionaries have laboured long and zealously in China, and many of the natives embraced their opinions.

Protestant missionaries, sent out by various nations, especially by Great Britain and America, have long laboured in China, and with more or less success. The estimates made of the labours of these men have been very contradictory: one class of witnesses declaring that they had done no good, and never could reasonably hope to do any, while another has described them as having, by their most laborious perseverance in acquiring the language, translating the Scriptures, writing religious tracts and books, and by personal labours and preachings, accomplished much good, which, if not seen in numerous converts, has not been without evidences; while the discerning can perceive that a good foundation is laid for the extension of the gospel in China. The best authority we have, whose testimony is at all striking, while personally respectful to the missionaries, is very decided against their success:—"One word upon a subject to which I shall probably not have occasion to recur. I have sometimes spoken untenderly of topics much cherished by some of our Protestant missionaries. There is, however, no subscriber to the various bodies which send preachers forth who thinks more highly of the usefulness of these men than I do. I will not say that they are making sincere Chinese Christians,—those who say this must be either governed by a delusion or guilty of a fraud,—but they are doing the work which, if China is ever to

become Christianised, must precede its conversion. They live among the Chinese people, they speak their language, they are known to them by deeds of charity and beneficence; their wives are the friends of the poor, friendless, Chinese women; their children prattle to the natives in their own tongue, and are the messengers of their parents in little offices of love. The merchants in China are almost universally large-hearted and benevolent men; they will give largely, but they have not either time or taste for such offices as these; nor would the wildest philanthropist expect it from them. Yet this must be done by somebody if China is to be opened. Even if I had no hope that the cold speculative systems of Laotze, Confucius, and Buddha could be overthrown—that those palaces of ice should some day melt before the fervid quickening fire of true religion, still I would say plant missionary establishments in China; but remember always that a fool, a bigot, or a firebrand can do more evil than ten good men can repair."

The spirit and general character of these remarks are commendable; but it is curious how frequently travellers and correspondents of the London and New York press record their convictions, or write letters, warning the public of Europe and America that the particular countries which they visit, and where missionaries labour, are not immediately converted, and that representations of missionary success are not to be credited. No such false representations exist; where the mission-field has been productive, that fact is thankfully recorded in the reports of the various successful societies, and in the minutes of their committees; where the soil has proved sterile, that fact is recorded with equal fidelity. It is not necessary for special correspondents and travellers who fly through regions where the agents of religious societies labour, to tell us that there is no success; for where that is the fact, the constituencies of the societies whose agents labour there, know it very well themselves: frequently there has been much good done, and very many converts have been silently gathered, where these cursory observers and imperfectly-informed critics have seen and learned nothing of those achievements. Instances have occurred of sanguine missionaries saying more for their own labours, or those of their fellows, than facts justified; but these cases have been exceptions. The efforts of Protestant missionaries in China have not been successful in proportion to the expenditure of means, and the number of men employed; but nevertheless much good has been done, and in the way the writer just quoted admits.



The Congregational or Independent churches of Great Britain and Ireland have the honour of having first embarked upon the stupendous enterprise of Chinese missions. A body possessing so great a number of eminently learned and gifted ministers was especially adapted to the task. The London Missionary Society, which the body sustains, sent out Robert Morrison half a century ago: six years later he was followed by William Milne. By the joint labours of these extraordinarily patient, painstaking, and devoted men, the entire Scriptures were translated into the Chinese language, as Doctors Morrison and Milne became distinguished Chinese scholars. Both have long since entered upon their rest, after a life of honour and usefulness, and of much intellectual renown. China continuing closed against the preaching of missionaries, the society planted their agents at Java, Penang, Singapore, and Malacca. At these outposts the heroic men waited the hour when Providence would open the gates of China to their ingress. In the year 1842, after the war, "the five ports were opened," and the London Missionary Society occupied the ground—no other religious body having then possessed the requisite number of men learned in the languages spoken upon the shores of the eastern seas. At each of the five ports there is a Congregational church, composed of native converts, notwithstanding the inability of the *Times'* correspondent to discover them. At Hong-Kong, the learned and talented Dr. Legge, and the medical missionary, Hershberg, have laboured; at Canton, Dr. Hobson; at Shanghai, Rev. Dr. Medhurst, W. Loekhart, M.D., Rev. W. C. Milne (now resident in England, and author of an interesting work on China); at Amoy the learned and laborious brothers Stronach took up their stations. The eminent men thus placed in the principal cities were supported by assistants, clerical and lay. The American Congregationalists came to the assistance of their English brethren. They sent Dr. Bridgeman, Dr. Ball, and the Rev. Daniel Vrooman to Canton, where a body of eight native Christians were organised as their assistants; at Amoy two ministers and three native assistants were placed. No less than six Congregational clergymen from the American board took up their residence at Fouchow. Dr. Medhurst and Dr. Legge, clergymen from the English Congregationalists, made great acquisition in Chinese learning, and contributed to the store of sacred literature, so important to other missionaries who shall succeed them. Dr. Medhurst, full of honours and usefulness, laid down his body and his charge together only a short time since.

The labours of Dr. Charles Gutzlaff, of the Dutch church, are also well known. Having pursued his mission in Siam and the Malayan peninsula, he finally directed his efforts to China, and formed what is called the "Chinese Christian Union," for the purpose of religious teaching, and the distribution of religious books and tracts, especially the Bible and portions of the Bible. The constitution of the Union, and its performances, will be best understood by the following extract:—"This institution was formed in the year 1844, in the first instance for the evangelisation of the Kwang-tung province, and subsequently extended its aim to the whole empire. In the same year there were 262 baptised members of the society, who, on their reception, pledged themselves to make it a personal endeavour to advance the cause of Christ among their countrymen. Of this number about nine were engaged as preachers. It gradually increased from year to year, till, in 1847, it numbered 1606 members, of whom 64 were preachers, and in the year 1849 about 3000 members, including 130 native preachers. The Union had, in its lists of publications, about twenty-four books and tracts, some of considerable length, and, added to this list, Dr. Gutzlaff's Old and New Testaments. It professed at this time to have its preachers in nearly all the provinces of China; and, doubtless, with every allowance for much deception, it must have extended, by the oral and written medium, a considerable amount of Christian knowledge, to say the least, over a large portion of southern China. The larger number were spread over Kwang-tung and Kwangsi, and their converts were principally gathered from thence."

The American Episcopal Church has a staff of missionaries in China. Dr. Boone went to Batavia in 1837, and removed to Amoy in 1842, when it was opened to foreigners by the British treaty. On his revisiting America, in 1844, he was consecrated a bishop of the American Episcopal Church, and, returning to China, assumed the superintendence of the American Episcopal Mission, residing at Shanghai. The American Baptist Board commenced its labours for China in 1834; they occupied the outpost of Singapore, but in 1845 directed their labours to Canton. The American General Assembly's board (Presbyterian) sent several missionaries to China soon after the ports were opened. The English Church Missionary Society quickly followed those already named, who took advantage of the opening of the ports, and has at a recent period established efficient missions at Shan-



ghai, Fouchow, and Ningpo. In 1850 the Chinese Evangelization Society, unconnected with any particular church, was formed. It has a few missionaries stationed at Soi-heong. In the same year the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society sent out three missionaries, chiefly through the liberality of an individual—its treasurer. The Rheinisch Mission, and the Basle Mission, at Hong-Kong, and the Swedish Mission at Fouchow, are active and useful, particularly the latter. The English Presbyterian Mission at Amoy is conducted by these missionaries. Other societies have done a little, and individuals, especially ladies, are labouring unsustained by any society. There are probably two hundred Protestant missionaries now in China, of whom the majority are Americans. The Congregationalists of England and America constitute a considerable majority of those thus engaged. The power and influence of Confucius, and the mode in which the labours of Christian missionaries are conducted in China, are alike strikingly illustrated by the following passage from the report of the London Missionary Society's mission at Shanghai:—"But though the influence of idolatry on the general mind is superficial, that of Confucianism is far otherwise. . . . Some weeks ago a learned Chinese scholar, and a rigid disciple of Confucius, called upon Mr. Muirhead, and expressed himself very displeased at a comparison having been made between the person, character, and work of Christ and those of his venerated sage. Such a thing, said he, should not have been done by any means. Christianity is a very small affair, and the cross, though in external form extending in all directions, thus assuming that it is designed to embrace the whole world, is absurd. As to the doctrine connected with it, it can never endure the test of ages, as in the case of the Confucian. He was told that Jesus was the Son of God, that He came down from heaven for the highest, holiest, and most glorious of all purposes, whilst Confucius was only a man and a sage, like many of a similar character in all parts of the world; but at this saying he became violent in the extreme, and replied, 'If you say anything of Confucius, I assure you I would rather go to hell with him than with Jesus to heaven.' The doctrine of the cross, indeed, which was a stumbling-block to the Jew, and folly to the Greek, is both to the Chinese. They see the outward transaction, but cannot penetrate into the depths of its meaning; they behold its shame, but are blind to its glory." During three hundred years the Jesuits have laboured in China, but they never attempted to circulate the Scrip-

tures in the vernacular. The British and Foreign Bible Society, through the media of the congregational missionaries, accomplished that work. Drs. Morrison and Milne published their Bible under the society's auspices thirty-six years ago. Dr. Morrison had previously issued portions of the book. In 1835 Drs. Medhurst and Gutzlaff, aided by Mr. Morrison (son of the great missionary), issued a Chinese New Testament, more adapted for circulation than that previously published by Drs. Morrison and Milne. In 1850 another version of the New Testament, still improved, was adopted by the Bible Society. In 1852 the society's translation of the Old Testament was completed. In 1847 the London Missionary Society sent out a cylinder printing-press to Shanghai, and towards the object had in view in so doing the Bible Society bestowed £1000. The most recent effort on a large scale was that of sending a million copies of the New Testament to China. The origin of this movement, afterwards happily accomplished, was the publication of a letter in the papers by the Rev. J. Angell James, congregational minister of Birmingham, to whom it was suggested by Thomas Thompson, Esq., of Poundisford Park, Somerset. The London Religious Tract Society has also put forth its giant hand to the help of China. Various interesting tracts have been published by that society, and vast numbers placed at the disposal of the missionaries. In this work the excellent Bishop of Victoria, who superintends the missionaries in China connected with the English Established Church has taken an appropriate and active part.

The moral condition of the people upon whom these evangelic instrumentalities are brought to bear is as unhallowed as their religious theories are erroneous. The eminent missionary who led the van of Protestant effort for this people thus expresses himself concerning them:—"The *good* traits in the Chinese character are mildness and urbanity; a wish to show that their conduct is reasonable, and generally a willingness to yield to what appears to be so; docility, industry, subordination of juniors; and respect for the aged and parents, which Confucius principally enforces. These are virtues of public opinion, which are, in particular cases, rather a *show* than a *reality*. On the other hand, the Chinese are specious, but insincere; jealous, envious, and distrustful in a high degree. There is amongst them a considerable prevalence of Sadducean and rather atheistical spirit, such as one would naturally expect from a people who feel not that sense of divine authority, nor that reverence for the divine majesty and goodness, which in sacred



Scripture is denominated 'the fear of God.' Conscience has few checks but the law of the land and a little frigid ratiocination, on the fitness of things, which is seldom found effectual to restrain, when the selfish and vicious propensities of our nature may be indulged with present impunity. The Chinese are generally selfish, cold-blooded, and inhuman.\* The learned divine had not acquired so much experience as has since been gleaned of their habits, or he would not have borne any testimony to their gentleness. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society, which the doctor represented, were, during the Chinese contest which is waging while these pages are going through the press, the objects of a most cowardly attempt at assassination. The ladies and children of the mission, more especially, suffered severely from the poison which their Chinese attendants insinuated into their food. The conduct of the Chinese at Canton, Hong-Kong, Singapore, and Borneo, during the period referred to, was as cruel, treacherous, and remorseless as that of the Bengal mutineers in the mutiny of 1857. In their own internecine wars they are barbarously vindictive, as the great rebellion still raging in the empire has proved on a large scale. No people treat criminals with greater severity, or inflict torture with more eagerness.

Female infanticide is another form taken by Chinese cruelty. The government carts go about the streets of Peking to collect the dead infants cast out into the streets at night by their callous-hearted parents.† No investigation is ever instituted, but the bodies are removed to a common burial-pit outside the city. Upon this procedure the Roman Catholic missionaries have been accustomed to attend, in the hope of saving some infant in which life is not extinct, and, if possible, to restore it to health, and bring it up in their religion. The Peking government connives at infanticide. On these occasions horrible scenes are presented. Before the carts go their rounds, the dogs and pigs of the city are let loose, and they are disturbed by these vehicles while preying upon the outcast children, some with life still in them. It is calculated that nine thousand infants perish annually in the streets of Peking, or are murdered, and flung out to be devoured by the swine and dogs, or removed by the police carts to a common burial.‡ At Amoy "it is a general practice to drown a large proportion of the female children."§ The *Times'* correspondent, in 1857, bears a painful testimony to the horrid practice of infan-

ticide at Shanghai:—"O Vice-consul Harvey! *doctus utriusque lingue!* to whom the manners and the language of China are even as the manners and the language of Paris or of London, tell me what means that more than usually pestilential stench! It seems to radiate from that decaying pepper-box-shaped tower, which, although not twenty feet high, we must, by the courtesy of China, call a pagoda. Undismayed, the energetic vice-consul, who sometimes acts as guide, philosopher, and friend, and expatiates with me over this maze, advances through a vapour so thick that I wonder the Chinese do not cut it into blocks, and use it for manure, and at a distance of five yards from the building puffed hard at his cheroot, and said, 'That is the baby-tower.'—"The ——?" said I, inquiringly.—'The baby-tower. Look through that rent in the stonework—not too close, or the stream of effluvia may kill you. You see a mound of wisps of bamboo-straw? It seems to move, but it is only the crawling of the worms. Sometimes a tiny leg or arm, or a little fleshless bone, protrudes from the straw. The tower is not so full now as I have seen it; they must have cleared it out recently.'—"Is this a cemetery or a slaughterhouse?"—"The Chinese say it is only a tomb. Coffins are too dear, and the peasantry are poor. When a child dies the parents wrap it round with bamboo, throw it in at that window, and all is done. When the tower is full the proper authorities burn the heap, and spread the ashes over the land.' There is no inquiry, no check: the parent has power to kill or to save. Nature speaks in the heart of a Chinese mother as in the breast of an English matron; but want and shame sometimes speak louder still."

At Shanghai there is a foundling hospital, which, it is to be presumed, is a device of the government to check infanticide. The writer last quoted, upon whose authority we learn the fact, does not, however, say whether the institution receives female children, or, if received, whether they are preserved. "There is a foundling hospital in the Chinese city, with a cradle outside the door, and a hollow bamboo above it. Strike a blow upon the bamboo, and the cradle is drawn inside. If it contain an infant, it is taken and cared for, and no questions asked."

The cruelty of the Chinese in religious persecution is at variance with the accounts generally given of their tolerance, and in some sort a contradiction to the indifference with which they affect to regard all religious controversies. The Jesuits have been frequently exposed to great dangers, and have suffered severe injuries. The writer just re-

\* Dr. Morrison.

† Barrow.

‡ Barrow.

§ Dr. Gutzlaff.



ferred to, describing Hangchow, remarks:—"Annals of martyrdom tell still of the massacre of eight hundred Christians at Hangchow. During the last war many of our kidnapped sailors were sent here as to a place of security, and butchered after a mock trial." During the earlier stages of the great rebellion the rebels not only demolished temples as the abodes of idols, but slew their frequenters as idolaters.

Slavery is practised, and that of the worst kind, within certain limits. It would appear that the slavery into which a parent may sell his female child is some check to infanticide, and leaves the supply for "the baby-tower" less horribly abundant. "There is also a system of domestic slavery in China. At an early age a child is worth dollars (a father or mother may for money delegate their own absolute power—delegate without losing it); for although a father may have sold his son to a stranger, or although a mother may have sold her daughter to prostitution (and concubines in China are only thus to be obtained), the duty from child to parent remains unimpaired, and is strictly performed. The incentives thus offered by Mammon, and the alternative proffered by native charity, may save lives that would otherwise be destroyed. But this baby-tower is a terrible institution; it stands there, close to the walls of a crowded city, an intrusive invitation to infanticide."

The whole people are gamblers. It is strange that a race so matter-of-fact and business-like should be so, but in every situation of life, and on an infinite variety of occasions, opportunity is sought for this propensity, so destructive to the mind and the body, so ruinous to the circumstances and the character. The opium dens are the chief resorts of the gamblers; there every appurtenance for the amusement, and every convenience for gratifying the passion, exist. The following is a description of one of these dens of infamy and ruin in a great city:—

"At Ningpo," writes the special correspondent of the *Times*, "I accepted an invitation from the Rev. Mr. Russell, the Church of England missionary priest, and the Rev. Mr. Edkins, of the London Mission at Shanghai, to visit the opium dens of Ningpo city. Commander Dew, of the *Nimrod*, and several of his officers, accompanied us. I had seen the opium-eaters of Smyrna and Constantinople, and the hasheesh-smokers of Constantine, and I was prepared for emaciated forms and trembling limbs. I recollected buying a taboosh in the bazaars of Smyrna from a young Moslem, whose palsied hand and dotard head could not count the coins I offered him.

I remembered the hasheesh-smokers of Constantine, who were to be seen and heard every afternoon at the bottom of that abyss which yawns under the 'Adultrous Rock,'—lean, fleshless Arabs, smoking their little pipes of hemp-seed, chanting, and swaying their skeleton forms to and fro, shrieking to the wild echoes of the chasm, then sinking exhausted under the huge cactus,—sights and sounds of saturnalia in purgatory.

"The Chinese exhibition was sufficiently disgusting, but was otherwise quite a failure. These opium dens are ordinary Chinese cottages, with a room about twelve feet square, furnished with a bed, a table, and a sofa. In the first we entered three men sat upon the bed, and two upon the sofa. There was the opium pipe, the lamp, and the small porcelain cup of treacle-looking opium. One of the customers takes the pipe and the lamp, then dips a pin into the opium, turns it round and round till he has the proper quantity of the jellified drug, inserts the pin in the pipe, applies the pipe to the flame of the lamp, and at the same time draws up the vapour by two or three long inhalations—not whiffs, for he draws it into his lungs; then he passes on the pipe, the opium being consumed, and gradually lets the vapour slowly return through his mouth and his nose.

"The members of this convivial society were good-humoured and communicative. One was a chair coolie, a second was a petty tradesman, a third was a runner in a mandarin's yamun; they were all of that class of urban population which is just above the lowest. They were, however, neither emaciated nor infirm. The chair coolie was a sturdy fellow, well capable of taking his share in the portage of a sixteen-stone mandarin, the runner seemed well able to run, and the tradesman, who said he was thirty-eight years old (say thirty-seven, for the Chinese commence to count their age nine months earlier than we do), was remarked by all of us to be a singularly young-looking man for that age. He had smoked opium for seven years. As we passed from the opium dens we went into a Chinese tea-garden—a dirty paved court, with some small trees and flowers in flower-pots,—and a very emaciated and yawning proprietor presented himself. 'The man has destroyed himself by opium-smoking,' said Mr. Russell. The man, being questioned, declared that he had never smoked an opium pipe in his life—a bad shot, at which no one was more amused than the reverend gentleman who fired it. I only take the experiment for what it is worth. There must be very many most lamentable specimens of the effects of indulgence in this



vicious practice, although we did not happen to see any of them that morning. They are not, however, so universal, nor even so common, as travellers who write in support of some thesis, or who are not above truckling to popular prejudices in England, are pleased to say they are.

"But if our visit was a failure in one respects, it was fully instructive in another. In the first house we visited no man spent on an average less than eighty cash a day on his opium pipe. One man said he spent a hundred and twenty. The chair coolie spends eighty, and his average earnings are a hundred cash a day. English physicians, unconnected with the missionary societies, have assured me that the coolie opium-smoker dies, not from opium, but from starvation. If he starves himself for his pipe, we need not ask what happens to his family. No earthly power can stop opium-smoking in China; but if the people of England are earnest in wishing to stop the English trade in it, nothing is easier than to do so by far less of self-sacrifice than the opium-smoker would be obliged to exercise. Let the old ladies give up tea, and the young ladies give up silk, and the thing is done. If the Chinese had again to pay for opium in silver they would soon grow it all at home, and look sharp after the foreign smuggler. At present the trade is as open and as unrestrained in all the cities of China as the sale of hot-cross buns on Good Friday is in the streets of London.

"The culture of opium certainly is not confined to the province of Yunnan. Any one who penetrates into the amphitheatre of mountains which bounds the Ningpo plain will see valleys upon valleys of fine rich land covered with poppies. The official reports deplore this, but cannot stop it. The estimate is that sixty thousand chests of opium are annually grown in China. This opium is purer and stronger than the Indian opium, but, for want of skill in the preparation, and patience in keeping, it has an acrid flavour."

The means prescribed by this lively writer for extinguishing opium-smoking in China would have no such effect. He admits that instead of being imported, as it now chiefly is, at all events in its superior qualities, it would be grown in China. A market exists in the empire, and the Chinese are at last sagacious enough to see that it will be supplied somehow—either from India in return for tea and silk, or by home production. The probabilities are, that the practice would be extended by the successful prohibition of the trade. A cheaper opium would rule the market,

which could be more easily procured, and larger quantities would be consumed, as the grand impediment to a largely-increased demand is the expense. From the instances given by the writer just quoted, it is obvious that the temptation to opium-smoking is yielded to, even when a poor man is obliged to expend four-fifths of his means in gratifying it. The tone of the *Times'* correspondent tends to leave the impression that the evils of opium-smoking, physical and moral, are less than they are in England supposed to be; and as this gentleman is the latest eye-witness, his testimony is likely to have great weight, more especially as he is an acute observer. He attributes the misunderstanding to those who write to please certain classes in England: this is an indirect allusion to the missionaries. It is not, however, to them that any exaggerated impressions in the public mind at home, if any such exist, are to be attributed; but to the official reports of the officers of the Chinese empire, upon which the missionaries have perhaps relied too implicitly. The medical missionaries sent out by the English and American Congregationalists will probably throw light upon the subject: their present belief is, that opium-smoking is one of the most demoralising and ruinous practices known to the eastern world. The following Chinese official report may convey an exaggerated view of the evil, but it at all events shows the impossibility of suppressing the practice, and therefore the demand for the commodity, by legal enactment in China, in India, or in England. The following is a memorial to the emperor from one of the censors: it corresponds to a report in English official usage:—

"I have learned that those who smoke opium, and eventually become its victims, have a periodical longing for it, which can only be assuaged by the application of the drug at the regular time. If they cannot obtain it when that daily period arrives, their limbs become debilitated, a discharge of rheum takes place from the eyes and nose, and they are altogether unequal to any exertion; but with a few whiffs their spirits and strength are immediately restored in a most surprising manner. This opium becomes, to opium-smokers, their very life; and when they are seized and brought before magistrates, they will sooner suffer a severe chastisement than inform against those who sell it. I had the curiosity to visit the opium-smoker in his heaven: and certainly it is a most fearful sight, although, perhaps, not so degrading to the eye as the drunkard from spirits, lowered to the level of the brute, and wallowing in his filth. The idiotic smile, and death-like



stupor, however, of the opium-debauchee, has something far more awful to the gaze than the bestiality of the other. . . . The rooms where they sit and smoke are surrounded by wooden couches, with places for the head to rest upon, and generally a side room is devoted to gambling. The pipe is a reed of about an inch in diameter, and the aperture in the bowl for the admission of the opium is not larger than a pin's head. The drug is prepared by boiling and evaporation to the consistence of treacle, and a very small portion is sufficient to charge it, one or two whiffs being the utmost that can be inhaled from a single pipe, and the smoke is taken into the lungs as from the hookah in India. On a beginner, one or two pipes will have an effect; but an old stager will continue smoking for hours. At the head of each couch is placed a small lamp, as fire must be held to the drug during the process of inhaling; and from the difficulty of filling and properly lighting the pipe, there is generally a person who waits upon the smoker to perform the office. A few days of this fearful luxury, when taken to excess, will give a pallid and haggard look to the face; and a few months, or even weeks, will change the strong and healthy man into little better than an idiot skeleton. The pain they suffer when deprived of the drug, after long habit, no language can explain; and it is only when, to a certain degree, under its influence, that their faculties are alive. In all the houses devoted to their ruin, these infatuated people may be seen at nine in the evening; some entering half distracted to feed the craving appetite they have been obliged to subdue during the day; others laughing and talking wildly under the effects of the first pipe; whilst the couches around are filled by different occupants, who lie in a state of languor, with an idiotic smile on their countenances, too much under the influence of the drug to care for passing events, and fast merging to the wished-for consummation. The last scene in this tragic play is generally a room in the rear of the building, a species of dead-house, where lie stretched those who have passed into the state of insensibility the opium-smoker madly seeks—an emblem of the long sleep to which he is blindly hurrying."

The personal appearance of the Chinese men of the lower classes is well known in the larger seaports of England, especially in London. Among the genteeler grades of life very great obesity in a man is a trait of beauty; whereas a woman must be very thin indeed to be accepted as agreeable, and her feet must be very small. Cruel methods are adopted to cramp the feet of female infants, so that women in the better walks of life

literally walk upon their heels, and have a hobbling and mincing gait, which the gentlemen exceedingly admire, comparing it, in the language of "the flowery land," to "a willow shaken by the breeze." In the northern parts of the empire, the people are frequently very fair, and are seldom of that dark yellow complexion which the mariners bear who come to London in English ships from Canton and the other open ports of China, or from Singapore and Malacca. The better classes of females have, in the more elevated portions of the country, and in the higher latitudes, delicate, and sometimes beautiful, complexions. Europeans have been frequently captivated with the beauty of the Chinese ladies. The Chinese women are industrious; but although industry is also a characteristic of Chinese men, they often, inconsistently, devolve upon their women the chief labour.

Their manners and customs are extremely antithetical to ours. The law restricts marriage within so many limitations, as neither to favour the happiness nor morality of the people. Widows have much power and influence: the government does not favour their marriage a second time, but the law in this matter is often evaded. Their marriage ceremonies bear a strong resemblance to those of Western Asia, but have some peculiarities. The funeral rites of China are very imposing and impressive. White is the colour of mourning, and is worn by relatives and friends on these occasions. The women lament over the corpse with a cry which some writers have compared to that of the Irish on like occasions; but there is no resemblance: the cry of the Chinese is a dissonant yell raised by the female relatives; that of the Irish is musical but wild, and is "keened" professionally by women who are accustomed to conduct these laments for the dead. The funeral processions are attended by music: the bagpipe, which resembles the Scottish instrument of that name, predominates, and a sort of drum is struck at intervals, as in a military funeral in Europe. The places of burial are picturesque, retired, and carefully tended. The tombs are shaped like the Greek letter omega; some writers say to intimate "the last," but there is no evidence that the Chinese are aware of any such significance being attached to the form of their tombs.

The public festivals are numerous, but description of them would require a space too extended for a subsidiary portion of this work.

Visits of ceremony are much more formal among the Chinese than among any other people, and the ceremonies observed are graceful and elegant. Visiting papers in-



stead of cards are used; these are tastefully decorated, and when opened are of large dimensions. Tea is served on these occasions as a refreshment, a little of the fine leaf being placed in a handsome porcelain cup of small size, and boiling water poured on it; neither sugar nor milk is used, and the decoction thus produced is refreshing and palatable, the aroma being most grateful. Small trays, with cakes and sweetmeats, are at the same time presented. Visits are given and received with every token of courtesy, and a degree of refinement for which Europeans would be indisposed to give this quaint people credit. The apparel worn on these occasions is extremely rich, and often very tasteful.

The long loose oriental dress is generally of silk, of some light colour, gaily ornamented; a spencer is worn over this, consisting of rich silk of a dark blue or purple colour. Dragons and other singular devices, worked with gold thread, decorate these articles of raiment, which are most expensive. The general costume is similar in form, but of much cheaper material. In winter the dress is too loose and wide to be comfortable, and the attempts in severe weather to improve the costume in this respect are clumsy and inconvenient, impeding exercise: the legs are especially protected at that season with cloth boots, which are worn high, the soles of very thick white leather, which are preserved of that colour by the use of whitening.

The habits of food are very remarkable, so far as their customs in this respect have been ascertained: in most places, but especially at Canton, the tavern-keepers are forbid to entertain Europeans. This edict of the government is at the instigation of the Chinese merchants of that city, who have fostered a spirit of exclusiveness in every way possible. The Chinese of the better classes are fond of what is called "good living," and are ingenious and very extravagant in their culinary régime. The cooks are very clever. The *Times'* correspondent, in one of his letters written at the close of 1857, affirms that in the culinary art the Chinese hold a middle place between the French and English; but if his own account of their performances be correct, their achievements must surpass those of the first *artistes* in Paris. The poorer classes in the large towns are addicted to voracious feeding, and there is no description of food too coarse or unclean for their morbid appetites. The swine and dogs which have possibly devoured female infants in the streets of Peking in the morning, may be slaughtered for food the same day. Rats, mice, and other vermin are in request; and there is no crea-

ture, however filthy or hideous, on land or in the waters, that may not contribute to a repast. The *Times'* correspondent communicated an amusing and graphic description of the character and quality of a respectable Chinese dinner, which was published in that journal in February, 1858. It is so striking a picture of the mode and sumptuousness of a Chinese feast, that it ought not to be confined to the pages of a periodical, however eminent. According to that gentleman, the use of the knife is regarded in China as a barbarism which once prevailed among the customs of that country, but which, owing to the advancement of civilisation, had been abandoned for "the chopsticks." The argument upon which this change is affirmed to be an improvement is, that persons ought not to sit down to table to cut up carcasses, but to eat: the carving processes are therefore confined to the kitchen, and food is sent up to table fit for immediate use. An Englishman's mode of eating is supposed to resemble that of the savages of Formosa, and the food is presented to him in a condition fit only for men "who are in a state of nature," to whom civilisation and its conveniences and refinements are unknown. When native merchants at the five ports invite Europeans to a banquet, it is regarded as a matter of politeness to serve it up, as far as possible, according to the national customs of the guest; hence Chinese diet is never seen by Europeans, except as they look at coolies and servants eating their rice, perhaps mingled with vegetables, and seasoned; or as they see the beggars in the streets drinking their dog broth. The gentleman whom we are about to quote invited a European party to the "Hotel of the Imperial Academician," at Ningpo, to a dinner prepared in Chinese fashion. The following is his own account of the feast:—

"The *salon* was more like a slice of a verandah than a room: its front was open to the narrow street. The table was laid with the preliminary trifles provocatives to the coming repast. There was a small square tower built up of slices from the breast of a goose, a tumulus of thin square pieces of tripe, hard-boiled eggs of a dark speckled colour, which had been preserved in lime, and whose delicacy is supposed to be proportioned to their antiquity; berries and other vegetable substances preserved in vinegar, a curious pile of some shell-fish, to me unknown, which had been taken from its shell and cut in thin slices, prawns in their natural, or rather in their artificial red state, ground nuts, ginger, and candied fruits. Everything was excellent of its kind, and the unknown shell-fish par-



ticularly good in flavour. The first dish was, in accordance with all proper precedent, the birds'-nest soup. I believe some of us were rather surprised not to see the birds' nests bobbing about in the bowl, and to detect no flavour of sticks or feathers or moss. What these birds' nests are in their natural state I do not know, for I have no book on ornithology, and have never been birds'-nesting in the Straits. Their existence at table is apparent in a thick mucilage at the surface of the soup. Below this you come to a white liquid and chickens' flesh. It was objected that this was a *fàde* and tasteless delicacy. But remark that these two basins are only the suns of little systems. The same hands that brought them in scattered also an *entourage* of still smaller basins. These are sauces of every flavour and strength, from crushed fresh chilies to simple soy. Watch the Chinaman: how cunningly he compounds. 'But, sir, you do not mean to say that you ate this mucilage with your chopsticks?'—'No, madam, we scooped it with our saucers, and ate it with our porcelain spoons.'

"The next course was expected with a very nervous excitement: it was a stew of sea-slugs. As I have seen them at Macao they are white, but as served at Ningpo they are green. I credit the 'Imperial Academician's' as the orthodox dish. They are slippery, and very difficult to be handled by inexperienced chopsticks; but they are most succulent and pleasant food, not at all unlike in flavour to the green fat of the turtle. During the discussion of this dish our Chinese master of the ceremonies solemnly interposed. We were neglecting the rudiments of politeness. No one had yet offered to intrude one of these sleek and savoury delicacies, deeply rolled in sauce, into the mouth of his neighbour. Efforts were made to retrieve the barbarian honour, but with no great success; for the slugs were evasive, and the proffered mouthful was not always welcome. The next dish was sturgeon skull-cap—rare and gelatinous, but I think not so peculiar in its flavour as to excuse the death of several royal fish. This dish being taken from its brazen, lamp-heated stand, was succeeded by a stew of shark fins and pork. The shark fins were boiled to so soft a consistency that they might have been turbot fins. Next in order came a soup composed of balls of crab. I have tasted this better prepared at Macao. It assumes there the form of a very capital salad, made of crab and cooked vegetables. Meanwhile the ministering boys flew and fluttered round the table, for ever filling the little wine glasses with hot wine from the metal pots. There were three kinds: the strong samshu

for very occasional 'spike;' the medicated wine for those who, having once experienced its many flavours, chose to attempt it a second time; and the ordinary wine, which is so like sherry negus, that any one who can drink that preparation may be very well satisfied with its Chinese substitute. The Chinaman had drunk with each of the *convives* almost in English fashion, but in strict obedience to the Chinese rites, and ungallantly challenging the male part of the company first.

"The porcelain bowls in their courses, like the stars in their courses, continued in unpausing succession. The next named was 'The Rice of the Genii,' meaning, I suppose, the food of the genii, for there was no rice in the composition. It was a stew of plums and preserved fruits, whose sweets and acids were an agreeable counterpoise to the fish and meat dishes already taken. Then we had a dish of a boiled hairy vegetable, very like that stringy endive which they call in France '*Barbe de Capuchin*:' then stewed mushrooms from Manchuria. Then we relapsed into another series of fish and meat *entrées*, wherein vegetables of the vegetable-marrow species, and a root somewhat between a horse-radish and a turnip, were largely used. There was a bowl of ducks' tongues, which are esteemed an exquisite Chinese dainty. We were picking these little *morceaux* out with our chopsticks (at which we had now become adepts, for the knack is easily acquired), when we were startled by a loud Chinese '*Eh Yaw*.' This imprudent exclamation drew our attention to the open front of our apartment. The opposite house, distant perhaps across the street about eight feet from us, presented the spectacle of a small crowded playhouse seen from the stage: it was densely crowded with half-naked Chinamen. They were packed in a mass upon the gallery, and they were squatted upon the roof. I believe they had paid for their places. They had sat orderly and silent all this time to see the barbarians dining. We might have dropped the grass blinds, but it would have been ill-natured; the Chinese did us no harm, and the blinds would have kept out the air, so we went on eating, like Greenwich pensioners or Bluecoat boys, in public. So we continued our attentions to the ducks' tongues, and passed on to deers' tendons—a royal dish. These deers' tendons come, or ought to come, from Tartary. The emperors make presents of them to their favoured subjects. Yeh's father at Canton recently received some from his sovereign, and gave a feast in honour of the present. These must have been boiled for a week to bring them down to the state of softness in which they came up to us. Exhausted, or



rather repleted nature, could no more. When a stew of what the Chinese call the ear shell-fish was placed upon the table, no one could carry his experiments further. An untouched dish is the signal for the close of the feast. The *maitre-d'hôtel* protested that he had twenty more courses of excellent rarity, but our Chinese master of the ceremonies was imperative, and so were we. Plain boiled rice, the rice of Szechuen, was brought round in little bowls, and of this we all ate plentifully. Confectionery and candied fruits, and acanthus berries steeped in spirits, followed, and then tea. No uncooked fruit is allowed at a Chinese dinner. They have a proverb that fruit is feathers in the morning, silk at noon, and lead at night. I was assured by competent authority that nothing had been placed upon the table which was not in the highest degree wholesome, nutritious, and light of digestion. We certainly so found it; for, adjourning to the house of one of the *convives*, we made an excellent supper that night.

"The master of the ceremonies now looked round him with a swollen and satisfied air, and—*eruscit mons*; from his mouth came forth a loud sonorous noise, which a certain dramatist has not scrupled to bedeck with knighthood, and to christen Sir Toby. He, the Chinaman, seemed proud of his performance. We sat uncomfortable on our chairs, did not know which way to look, and some of us would have run away had there been anywhere to run to. Some one who could speak his language gave him a hint which made him declare emphatically that it would be an insult to the founder of the feast if this testimony was not loudly given to the sufficiency of the entertainment and the pletion of the guests. It was with some difficulty that he was prevailed upon to turn over this chapter of the book of rites. And thus ended our Chinese dinner. Before we entered our chairs we walked through the whole establishment, saw the reservoirs for preserving all the curious creatures we had been eating, and examined all the processes of preparation, and the casseroles and ovens in which other dinners were then being prepared. Everything was as clean and as regular as in a first-rate European establishment. Of course I do not affirm that this dinner was to our tastes, but it was one to which education and habit might very reasonably incline a people. It was eminently light and digestible, and, like the Chinese themselves, very reasonable and defensible upon philosophic grounds, but somewhat monotonous, tedious, and insipid. We must recollect, however, that the higher classes in China never take exercise, and are necessarily a sedentary and

dyspeptic class of feeders. It was unanimously resolved that the bill of fare ought to be preserved, and the dinner described; for, although several travellers have given the forms and ceremonies of a Chinese state dinner, and have indulged in a general jocoseness at the strangeness of its materials, no one has ever yet taken the trouble to inform himself as to what the dishes before him really did contain."

The amusements of the Chinese are more varied and more frequently enjoyed than might be supposed of a people having a reputation for gravity. Juggling, games of chance, archery, and what appears to Europeans a puerile occupation, kite-flying, are the principle of these. The ingenuity displayed in this diversion is surprising, the kites being in the form of birds, fishes, reptiles, and monster insects, copied from nature as to form and colour with astonishing exactness. The higher the grade of life, the less given are the people to athletic exercises. Gentlemen in the very highest ranks are fond of archery.

The literature and language of China have engaged the attention of Europeans. The French, Germans, Russians, and other continental nations, although less interested by commerce and connexion than the English, have given it more consideration. The study may be said to have found encouragement in India only contemporaneously with the missionary enterprise. The labours of Dr. Morrison, and the impulse given to religious efforts for China on the part of Christian persons in England, laid the foundation for our present acquaintance with the language and literature of that country. It is the custom to describe the language as monosyllabic, but some recent writers maintain that it is less so than it has been represented to be. It is remarkable for the number of its characters, and the paucity of its vocal sounds. The characters of the language were originally pictures of ideas, but their original simplicity has been forgotten in a great measure, as they became in course of time abbreviated or enlarged for convenience sake. The want of an alphabet compels the use of cumbrous modes of expressing foreign words, very embarrassing to the European student of Chinese, and to the native scholars who hold foreign intercourse, or have to translate or interpret from any strange language into their own. The figurative style both of speech and writing is far more exaggerated and much less elegant than in the languages of western Asia. There is frequently a vulgar coarseness in the figures of speech used by Chinese scholars and gentle-



men repulsive to Europeans of any taste. Dr. Morrison, the missionary, thus expressed his sense of the difficulty of the language both to natives and foreigners:—"A child in China learns to speak its mother tongue as early as a child in England, but a Chinese boy does not learn to write it with the same ease. It is far more difficult for an Englishman to learn to speak, read, and write Chinese than to make these attainments in any other language. An English boy, who knows the grammar of his own language, and has a smattering of Latin, if he goes to French, Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese, finds the letters the same, nearly with the same power, the method of writing them similar, the sound of words directing to the combination of the letters, and in every half a dozen words he find one which he knew before, with some slight modification; but if he goes to Chinese he find no letters, nothing to communicate sounds, no similarity, the method radically different, and not one word like what he has known before, and when he knows the pronunciation of words and sentences the sound does not at all direct to the character which is the sign of the same idea."

The literature of the Chinese language is varied and extensive. Every department of literature known to Europeans has its corresponding branch in the language of China. Their mythology is ancient and peculiar. Their sacred writings are of the age of Confucius (five hundred years previous to the Christian era), that sage himself being the chief of this class of authors. Confucius is the great prophet and teacher of the nation, and his maxims are laws. He is as much followed by the higher classes as Buddha by the middle ranks. Many of the maxims of Confucius are beautiful, but they are evidently derived from the Jewish Scriptures, and are easily distinguishable from those of a Chinese origin. The great mass of the precepts of the followers and expositors of Confucius, as well as of the philosopher himself, are such as a shrewd worldly wisdom would suggest, and have no higher motive than convenience, personal advantage, or the love of fame.

Education is encouraged by the state, and approved of by the people. The character of the education given is such as to increase the national egotism, to teach the people at large to despise women and foreigners, and to train those up in the philosophy of Confucius who aspire to serve the empire in political situations.

The government is a pure despotism. There is no aristocracy but that of learning. Wealth has its influence; but as all that a man is and

has belong to the emperor, it is not always judicious to allow his wealth to be known. The eldest son has a double portion of the family property. The mandarins are the chief officers of state, and none can attain to this degree until after various and severe examinations in the learning of their nation. The emperor assumes numerous titles full of the most absurd pretension, and in a certain degree demands from his people religious worship. Foreigners are despised and hated, intercourse with them being reluctantly conceded.

The origin of the Chinese is lost in the remotest antiquity. Some of the books of the Hindoos represent them as of Indian origin; their own records, with more probability, assign to a region in the north-west of the empire their primitive home. Possibly the Hindoo race may have sprung from a tribe or family in the same mountainous region, whose abode and physical peculiarities produced all their divergent characteristics. The Chinese mixed with other races—Malays, and probably races which have long since ceased to have a distinctive existence, so that in the long course of ages they have assumed their present type of humanity. Some writers represent them as descendants of a pre-Adamite race. Those who take this view of course dispute the interpretation of the Scripture narrative, if not the narrative itself,—that Adam and Eve were the primeval pair. Notwithstanding the learned and ingenious torture to which the passage has been subjected by critics and ethnologists, such a view is opposed to the plain import of the Scripture declaration—"God hath made of one blood all the nations of men."

Having described the general character and condition of China proper, the features of the country, its productions, people, their customs, character, religion, language, literature, and government, it only remains to complete the description of China proper by some notice of its capital and chief cities.

Pekin is the great metropolis of the empire, the seat of government, and "the centre of the imperial throne." It is situated in a vast alluvial plain, rich in soil, and teeming with cultivated productions, and from it as a centre radiates a great system of river and canal communication, which connects it with the most fertile parts of China proper, and the great nuclei of population. The country around Pekin has an agriculture superior to that of any other part of China, although the city stands on a sandy and arid soil. It is divided into two parts—the northern and southern; the former, which is the Tartar city.



is in the form of a parallelogram, the sides of which face the four cardinal points. Its area is about twelve square miles.\* The walls are thirty feet high, twenty-five feet in breadth at the base, and twelve feet in breadth at the top, the inclination being on the inner side. Near the gates, of which there are seven, the walls are faced with marble and granite, in other places with large bricks cased in a mortar of lime and clay, which is as hard as the hardest stone.† The imposing appearance of the exterior is not sustained by a corresponding grandeur within. The city is mean in the appearance of its private houses, streets, and public buildings. The principal streets are well laid out as to shape and width, but they are unpaved and filthy, and are generally filled with stench, emitted by great earthen pans of ordure, collected for manure.

The business streets receive a certain picturesque appearance from the diversity of signboards, ornamented with inscriptions, painted representations, ribbons, long strips of many-coloured paper, and frequently broad flags. The great concourse of persons passing along the thoroughfares or dealing in the shops also attract the stranger's attention, and present a lively scene. Sometimes the crowds cover the whole area of the street, and are often suddenly dispersed to the right and left by long processions of mandarins, attended by men carrying umbrellas, painted lanterns, and various insignia of office; also by funeral processions, the women advancing in front, uttering loud and piercing cries. Marriage trains are among the compact lines of persons which seek a passage, always civilly yielded; these are accompanied by drums and other loud instruments of music. Dromedaries, with coal from Tartary, sedan chairs, provision carts, jugglers, itinerant musicians, pedlars, and quacks, passing to and fro, form a motley scene. The streets are occupied beyond the lines of shops by ranges of stalls, and a Babel of strange sounds reigns along those rows, as the chapmen endeavour to commend their goods, and the purchasers question their worth or quality.

The street performances of tumblers, jugglers, and mountebanks, are well rewarded; and the stolid Chinese, as we are accustomed to deem them, may be seen enjoying mirth and laughter in their most boisterous forms. One might suppose that the worship of Momus was the chief occupation among all the din of sounds and changing scenes passing around.

The northern division of Peking contains three enclosures, one within another, and

\* The Rev. Thomas Phillips.

† Barrow.

each surrounded by a wall. The first contains the imperial palace and household; the second was originally intended for the public officers, and the residence of the great officers of state, but, in addition, merchants have taken up their abodes, and transact their business there; the third enclosure is for the citizens generally. The first, or inmost enclosure, is the most architectural and imposing; it is called the "Forbidden City."

The opinions of the Chinese, in the remote provinces, concerning their capital is absurd, investing it with an exaggerated grandeur, ludicrous to those who have seen it. They believe that its palaces are marble, the columns of silver, the throne, and all the insignia of royalty, of gold, and sparkling with the costliest gems.

The southern portion of Peking is less strictly guarded than the northern, but is very populous. The whole is surrounded by a wall, the circumference within which is twenty-five miles. The suburbs are very extensive, and also very populous, containing streets, in which are large shops with fronts expensively carved and gilt. Mr. Barrow gives some account of the architectural pretensions of Peking, which differ too little from those of the country generally to deserve further notice. Its population is estimated at two millions, but the jealous policy of the government has precluded the possibility of obtaining accurate information concerning it.

China, so long closed against the residence of Europeans, except the mission of the Jesuits, was partially opened in 1842, being the result of the successful military operations of Sir Hugh (now Lord) Gough, and by the diplomatic negotiations of Sir Henry Pottinger. According to the treaty then effected, five ports were to be opened to universal commerce, and every facility was to be afforded to the residence in those places of strangers who came for the purposes of trade. The ports to be opened were Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai. Before giving a description of these cities, it is desirable to place the terms of the treaty before the reader, so far as is necessary to enable him to understand the present position of Englishmen in China, their rights, and the causes of the complaints which have once more rendered an appeal to arms necessary.

*August 12, 1842.*—Meetings were held by officers of the two powers, in which preliminaries were arranged. A genuine statement of facts was sent to the emperor, the demands of the British made known to him, and permission granted to the commissioners to conclude a treaty in accordance with them.

*August 20.*—The first interview took place between the plenipotentiaries on board the *Cornwallis*—a visit of ceremony only.



*August 24.*—The visit was returned on shore by Sir Henry Pottinger, Sir Hugh Gough, and Sir William Parker.

*August 26.*—The high plenipotentiaries held a meeting on shore for the purpose of consulting the terms of the treaty.

*August 29.*—A treaty of peace was signed before Nankin, on board the *Cornwallis*, by Sir Henry Pottinger on the part of Great Britain, and by Ke-ying, Elepoo, and Neu-Kien, on the part of the Emperor of China. The most important provisions of the treaty, as stated by Sir Henry Pottinger, are as follows:—

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

2. China to pay twenty-one million dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.

3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them; and regular and just tariffs of import and export, as well as inland transit duties, to be established and published.

4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic majesty, her heirs and successors.

5. All subjects of her Britannic majesty, whether natives of Europe or India, who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.

6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial sign-manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service under the British government or its officers.

7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of both governments.

8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first six million dollars, her Britannic majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the Grand Canal, and the military posts at Chinhai to be also withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Ku-lang-su are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports be completed.

*September 8.*—The emperor signifies his assent to the conditions of the treaty.

*December 31.*—The Great Seal of England is affixed to the treaty.

*July 22, 1843.*—A proclamation issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, signifying that the ratifications of the treaty of Nankin have been exchanged under the sign-manual and seals of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain and his majesty the Emperor of China; and that a commercial treaty has been concluded: the trade according to the new system to commence at Canton on the 27th of July; the four remaining ports to be opened as soon as the imperial edict to that effect has been received.

This edict was afterwards issued, the ports were opened, and consuls appointed. At Canton, however, it was pretended by the representative of his imperial majesty that the treaty could not be carried into effect, in consequence of the turbulent character of the people of that city, and the old restrictions were enforced with little mitigation. The British authorities, meekly adopting what they considered a conciliatory policy, allowed this infraction of the treaty, forgetting that orientals never appreciate concessions made from such motives, but look upon them as proofs of the intellectual imbecility of those who make them, or as signs of their political weakness, or evidences that they are ashamed

of their own cause and principles, and doubt its justice. The Cantonese thus reasoned: they supposed that, after having made the experiment of war upon the empire, the English believed it to be invincible; that the liberty of commerce granted by the emperor arose from his great clemency, and somewhat from his contempt of the barbarians, whose power he had tested, and proved to be "as the willow before the monsoon;" that the English dare not enforce the treaty at Canton, the citizens of which would prove their loyalty to the too clement emperor, and teach an important lesson to the barbarians, by refusing them ingress to their city. The English authorities had the extraordinary infatuation to submit to this, and with the approval of the country generally. The Peel party, the peace party, the free-trade party, and many enlightened and humane English citizens, upheld the government in overlooking the breach of treaty, and, for the sake of peace and humanity, endeavouring to conduct their commerce at Canton under the restrictions which the violators of the treaty imposed. The result was outrages and wrongs upon English and other foreign citizens, and at last an appeal to arms in 1857. A peremptory demand for the faithful execution of the treaty the moment any hesitation was evinced to comply with it would have spared the shedding of much blood and the loss of much property, as well as have secured years ago a fair, if not friendly feeling, with the Cantonese, who continued to cherish hatred and contempt to strangers, under the inflated ideas of their importance and power, which the submission of the English conduced to foster. The native merchants of Canton, and the viceroys of the emperor, exasperated the native prejudices for their own venal purposes. There was a supplementary treaty to that of Nankin, which has been felt very injuriously by the British traders at all the ports.

*Extracts from the Supplementary Treaty, Oct. 8, 1842.*

ART. IV.—After the five ports of Canton, Foo-choo-foo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, shall be thrown open, English merchants shall be allowed to trade only at those five ports. Neither shall they repair to any other ports or places, nor will the Chinese people at any other ports or places be permitted to trade with them. If English merchant-vessels shall, in contravention of this agreement, and of a proclamation to the same purport to be issued by the British plenipotentiary, repair to any other ports or places, the Chinese government officers shall be at liberty to seize and confiscate both vessels and cargoes; and should Chinese people be discovered clandestinely dealing with English merchants at any other ports or places, they shall be punished by the Chinese government in such manner as the law may direct.

ART. VI.—It is agreed that English merchants and others residing at or resorting to the five ports to be



opened, shall not go into the surrounding country beyond short distances to be named by the local authorities in concert with the British consul, and on no pretence for purposes of traffic. Seamen and persons belonging to the ships shall only be allowed to land under authority and rules, which will be fixed by the consul in communication with the local officers; and should any persons whatever infringe the stipulations of this article, and wander away into the country, they shall be seized and handed over to the British consul for suitable punishment.

The interpretation of the clause limiting the distance to which British subjects may go into the country, has been a source of perpetual dispute, and the lives of Englishmen have been repeatedly sacrificed, when they were, as they supposed, enjoying such liberty in the country as the treaty allowed. At all the ports except Canton the severity of the imperial restrictions have been relaxed, and some adventurous Englishmen have penetrated far into the interior.

Canton is situated in a plain, which is well cultivated; there are undulated landscapes at no great distance, and a bold line of hills towards the north-east. The city is divided into two portions—north and south; the former is called the old city, the latter the new. The northern is the Tartar town, and is three times as large, and nearly three times as populous, as the Chinese town. “The new city” is enclosed by walls, which are carried down to the river. The suburbs greatly exceed the city in extent, and are very populous. The population of the town and its environs is generally computed at one million.

There are few places more repulsive to a European. The streets are narrow lanes, reeking with abominable odours, and filled with a filthy, riotous, and arrogant population. New China Street, Curiosity Street, and some others near the foreign residences, afford innumerable vistas of long narrow lanes, such as no European imagination could conceive. The confusion and crowding of so vast a population in such thoroughfares must occasion great inconvenience, especially as any large object, such as a load protruding far from the head or shoulders of a coolie, or a mandarin carried in his chair upon the shoulders of four men, necessarily fills a large portion of the space. The people bear these inconveniences with good humour, and accidents seldom occur. Fires are, however, very frequent, and terrible destruction is created by them. The style of the houses is inferior, but there are good taverns and hotels, to which the merchants resort whose families are at a distance; and when these buildings are lighted up gaily at night, they present a cheerful and sometimes almost brilliant spectacle. Canton has one hundred and twenty-seven temples, pagodas, and joss-houses.

The situation of the town on the Canton River gives it great commercial advantages, which are increased by the character and resources of the country beyond it. The sinuosities and intricacies of the river's approach are most troublesome to mariners, and, were the Chinese more skilled in the art of war, would furnish great advantage against a maritime enemy attempting Canton. In the vicinity of the city itself the river washes into the land in innumerable creeks. A large number of the inhabitants reside in boats upon the water: this river population has been computed variously from one to two hundred thousand—the latter is probably the more correct computation. The boats are somewhat ark-shaped, and might, at a little distance, be mistaken for wooden houses built along the low banks of the stream. Their occupants live in much harmony, taking good humouredly and patiently the accidents which must sometimes, but do not often, occur to their floating tenements. When, on the 19th of December, 1857, the British and French squadrons anchored off the city, the terror of these river-residents was great; and the sight afforded by so vast a population moving away upon the water was extraordinary and impressive. The allies, in their clemency, allowed this movement; and those who on shore resided in wooden and portable dwellings, took them down with great rapidity, and removed them out of the range of the guns. The river here divides Canton from Honan, situated on the opposite side. The channel is not three hundred yards wide, and it appears much narrower when covered by the mass of boats already described. The mandarin passage-boats, with high poops elaborately carved, and the flower-boats painted gaily, and hung within with lustres and lanterns, give an air of the picturesque to what otherwise would be sombre and monotonous. The cargo-boats which ply in their trade, and which, unlike the hut-boats which are dwellings, are constantly moving about, and give a maritime aspect to the river, which relieves the sameness created by the long, dull lines of the motionless habitations of those whose home is on the water. The gentleman who corresponded with the *Times* during the hostile operations at the close of 1857, describing the appearance of the river and city at the moment when the latter was cleared of the fugitive boats, has afforded a more distinct idea of the place and its aspect viewed from on board ship, than any other writer who has imparted his impressions of Canton:—“And now the channel is clear. We have an uninterrupted view along it. It is not nearly so wide as



the Thames at Wapping, and moreover there are no bridges to interrupt the line of sight; but the buildings on each side are much of the same character as those at Wapping and Rotherhithe—the warehouses of Honan on the right, the low buildings of Canton on the left. About half-a-mile up there is a wide interval, covered only with heaps of building rubbish, but having no structure standing but a newly-built Chinese gateway—a sort of triumphal arch, whereon is writ, in Chinese characters, ‘The site of Hog Lane.’ Beyond this interval, as large or larger than the Temple Gardens—an interval which will be readily recognised as the location of the destroyed factories—there are ruins. High, square, brick-built pillars start up from the *débris* of their fallen roofs: these are the remains of the hong and warehouses, battered or buried during the retaliatory attack of the British fleet. A little further on, where the stream slightly widens, there is an islet in mid-channel: it is covered with the wreck of masonry; stones and brickwork are lying about in shapeless masses; but nine trees, which have survived the deed of violence these ruins tell of, rise in the interstices, and shake their leaves and offer shade. This islet shuts in the view and closes the vista; it is the site of the Dutch Folly Fort.”

Probably no large city, at all events out of China, ever possessed so little architectural attractions. The northern portion, where the residence of the viceroy and the public offices are situated, is much pleasanter than the southern, for it contains large gardens belonging to state functionaries; but with the exception of certain elevated spots, occupied by forts, the whole aspect of the city, from whatever point it is viewed, is dreary and monotonous.

The country on the banks of the Canton River has seldom been admired, but the writer last quoted expresses an animated admiration of it. When he visited it last November, the second rice crop was being gathered, the patches of sugar-cane looked green and reedy, and the bananas still clustered upon the trees; the climate at that season is not severe, and the landscape wears a pleasing aspect. The country is a rich alluvial vale, dotted and intersected with granite hills.

Shanghai is the capital of a department called Sung-keang-foo. It is surrounded by a wall three miles in circumference, which is entered by six gates. A canal, twenty feet in width, surrounds this wall, from which others branch through the city. The town is also surrounded and intersected either by rivers or canals; and the whole country, for many

miles, is cut through by dykes, ditches, and drains, which irrigate the soil and drain it, as may be required. A considerable section of the town near to the western gate is occupied by gardens. There is a good line of river frontage, extending half a mile, suitable for commercial convenience. On the north-east suburbs land has been set apart for foreign residents. The site of the city is excellent for trade: it is generally regarded as salubrious. The climate, for a considerable portion of the year, is agreeable to Europeans; but in the height of summer the glass rises to 100°, while in the depth of winter it falls to 24°. The population is about one-fifth that of Canton, and one-tenth that of Peking. Shanghai is geographically situated 33° 24' north latitude, 121° 32' east longitude, on the banks of the Woosung River, at the point of its confluence with the Wangpoo, and is distant about twelve miles from the confluence of the Yang-tse. The following picturesque description of the approach to the city is given by the gentleman who has been before quoted as the most recent traveller in China whose accounts have been given to the public:—

“At a distance of three miles, in the grey twilight, Shanghai looks like a distant view of Woolwich. The tall spars of the *Pique* frigate, the English and American steamers of war, and a fleet of merchant vessels, give an air of life and bustle to the waters of this noble tributary to the Yang-tse-Kiang. Higher up, where a turn in the river gives an inland appearance, we see a multitudinous mass of junk masts, just as from Greenwich and Woolwich we see the spars of the ships that crowd our docks. All tells of a large commerce requiring a strong protection. In this indistinct light the ‘hongs’ of the European settlement loom like the ship slips at Deptford or Woolwich. It is only upon a near approach that they resolve themselves into fine finished buildings, some columned like Grecian temples, some square and massive like Italian palaces, but all declaratory that the *res angusta domi* is a woe unknown to Englishmen in China.

“The English settlement at Shanghai is situate upon a bend of this river Wangpoo: its boundaries are its fortifications. On one side the Soo-choo River, which comes down from the great city Soo-choo (the Birmingham of China), and falls into the Wangpoo, forms its limits. On the other side, the Yang-kang-pang canal shuts it from the settlement allotted to the French. This French allotment extends up to the walls of the Chinese city of Shanghai. The frontage upon the Wangpoo, between the Soo-choo River and the canal, is nearly a mile in length, and the set-



tlement extends backwards about half a mile. This space is divided into squares by six roads at right angles with the river, and three parallel to it, and in these squares are the residences and godowns of the commercial houses, each in its surrounding plot of ornamented ground. In the rear of all is the Shanghai racecourse."

The commercial importance of Shanghai is very great. In 1856, the number of British ships which unloaded at the quays was 309, their united burthen being 92,943 tons. The imports of Shanghai which, during the same year, passed through the custom-house from all parts, were of the value of £3,010,511: this was irrespective of the grand import from British India of opium to the value of £4,634,305. The tea exported to Europe, America, and Australia, the silk exported chiefly to Europe, and a few other commodities also sent abroad, reached the enormous value of £11,932,806. Of course the difference was received by China in the precious metals, chiefly silver; this was one of the causes of that great drain of silver from Europe and America, which has affected the monetary and commercial world, and which, for a time, appeared to be a puzzle to financiers and capitalists. During the year 1857 there was a great increase in the imports, but a still greater in the exports, requiring a larger payment in the precious metals to adjust the balance. The returns have not yet reached Europe by which these statements can be proved, but persons intimately acquainted with the commerce of the port affirm that the proportion of exports to imports during 1857 will require nearly double the amount of silver to be paid at Shanghai. This prosperity is the result of the industry of the people and the enterprise of foreigners, chiefly English and Americans, while the signs of bad government prevail all through that part of the interior, of which Shanghai is the natural outlet. Official speculation, and the grinding oppressions which have created a great rebellion, have worried and distressed the country, and left it without roads; while its wonderful water-lines have been permitted to fall into decay over a considerable area of country where these are essential to the public weal.

There is a mail between Shanghai and Hong-Kong, carried by five steamers of two hundred and ninety horse-power. It is alleged that cargoes of opium produce the chief profit realised: there are generally six British receiving ships in the river, to which the Chinese repair for the article. The centre of the great commerce of Shanghai is the foreign settlement already referred to,

and which merits a more particular description. The buildings are very large, well built, two stories in height, with upper verandahs, and lower ones of a different form. The garden-ground is laid out with firs, shrubs, and flowers. The tea and silk warehouses are generally about one hundred and thirty feet in length, by forty in width: most of them are built of brick, but some of Ningpo granite. The merchants of Shanghai have the reputation of living in great luxury.

The most interesting objects in the Chinese city are the English Missionary Church, and an American lecture-room. The joss-house is an object of curiosity to strangers: in the centre of an extensive hall is a large cup, with the names of those who contributed to place it there inscribed upon it. The exterior and entrance are covered with figures of Buddha and saints curiously carved; also of dragons, and strange creatures of Chinese imagination. The interior is highly decorated, and large gilt statues of Buddha abound. Various emblematical figures, to which the vulgar render worship, are also placed there.

A visit to a Shanghai court of justice in 1856 by an American\* is thus narrated:—"Again we started for the court of justice, and this was a memorable half hour in my tour. It was a clean, dignified room, with a mandarin, whose whole mien bore unmistakable marks of authority, sitting on the seat of the judge, with policemen, assistants, officials, and clerks, on every side; the prisoners, with chains about their legs, and arms hid behind them, were waiting their trial and the decision of the judge. One man was up in the criminal box; but the system of examination was too cruel for me to continue long in the room. First the guard struck him fiercely over the mouth with a bamboo official staff, the poor wretch shrieking with pain; the other prisoners all the while remaining stolid and indifferent spectators, not knowing who was to come next. Afterwards another kind of torture was resorted to, the guard making the criminal kneel down with his hands above his head in a position which extorted yells of agony, the judge and the officials all showing the utmost indifference. A little further on there were two criminals with huge bolts about their ankles, and the *kanga* (a large square piece of plank) hung round their neck. The whole trial seemed a farce—a mixture of brutal cruelty with refined barbarism. From the court we went to the bastinado, or jail, and saw scores of prisoners above and below: all the cells were crowded, and the clanking of chains and hoarse growls

\* George Francis Train, Esq., Boston, Massachusetts.



of the prisoners spoke another phase of Chinese life." Mr. Train also visited the hospital, which he declares to be equal to those of the United States in care, cleanliness, and comfort.

On a former page reference was made to the existence of foundling hospitals in China. That at Shanghai was visited by the gentleman last quoted, and his account of it affords a most striking exhibition of Chinese manners. Having described the mode of depositing the baby, similar to that already given, he observes:—"As we entered, the nurses, each with a child in her arms, started off in all directions, apparently frightened at the appearance of the *fau-quais* (foreign devils). It was some time before they would come out of their rooms, and then they stared at us with unfeigned surprise. I should have taken up one of the Lilliputian Celestials, but I was cautioned against it—for, if no contagious disease be caught, you are sure to get vermin on your dress. We wandered about the large apartments from room to room, all of which had one or two occupants, and some were filled with older children, in baby-jumpers of strikingly original make, the nurses all appearing, after a moment of fright, to gaze upon the strange sight of features, manners, and dress. Is it possible, said I, that all the charitable institutions of the European and Anglo-Saxon race are observed in such detail in Asiatic China!"

Among the modern enterprises of Shanghai is a large market, which an American was erecting at a recent period, and which, possibly, by this time has been brought to a completion.

The city of Foo-choo-foo (called also Hoh-choo) is situated in  $26^{\circ} 7'$  north latitude, and in  $119^{\circ} 15'$  east longitude. This is a very large town—one of the largest in China. The circumscribing wall is eight and a half miles in extent. It is the capital of the province of Fo-kien. The population is computed at more than half a million. The country around forms a circular basin, with a diameter of twenty miles. The usual uniformity and monotony of a Chinese city is to be found in this, but there are various relieving circumstances. Trees are planted at various places, which, notwithstanding their pent-up situation, display their verdure and refresh the eye. At the northern extremity a hill rises abruptly, and is crowned by a watch-tower, which can be seen from the whole city and the country around for some distance. On the south-east another hill rises five hundred feet, its sides ornamented with temples and the better description of dwellings. Between these two hills in the southern section of the

city there are two rather striking pagodas. The residences of the great mandarins are indicated by tall decorated poles or by painted walls. The city walls are devious, strangely coloured, and bear conspicuous buildings, meant for watch-towers. The writer last quoted describes his visit, which was made at night, under the guidance of Chinese boatmen; and represents himself as taken through lanes dismal in the lantern's shade, up dirty, ragged, stone-fenced streets, down under deeper arches than before, only to go up again stone steps almost perpendicular to an immense height.

It was not until 1853 that Foo-choo-foo assumed importance in the eyes of the foreign merchants: the disturbances at Canton and the rebellion at Shanghai brought it into notice. American enterprise has the credit of having first turned the port to advantage, but the first vessel which left it freighted with Chinese produce was Dutch.

The streets are narrow, intricate, and unsightly, as is the case with all Chinese towns; probably they are narrower in Foo-choo-foo than in any other great city of China. Narrow as the streets are, they are made more so by the encroachments of the vendors of various commodities, who occupy the side-ways, so as to leave in the centre scarcely any room for a chair to be carried through.

The most conspicuous buildings are the treasury department, and the houses of the various officials. There are two temples of some note—one dedicated to "the god of war," and one to "the goddess of merey." The viceregal palace, the college, and jail, are all worthy of some consideration, but their exterior is not remarkable, except for the curious decorations, which show the Chinese desire of display. An intelligent traveller who passed through the streets of the city declares that the people's industry surpassed anything witnessed by him anywhere, although he had visited every portion of the globe. So intent were many of the mechanics upon their business, that although a European carried in a chair through their streets was a rare sight, and great crowds followed that in which our observer was seated, yet these workmen never raised their eyes from their occupations. This traveller considered the Ningpo temple the best piece of architecture at Fouchow; it has numerous apartments, and galleries oddly stuccoed, or carved, or painted. There are two enormous columns of granite, its chief exterior ornament, and these are covered with designs the most peculiar. These specimens of Chinese architectural taste cost "two almas"—ten thousand dollars, which, considering the cheap-



ness of material and labour in China, would equal £4000 in England, and probably more. The sculpture on these columns is tastefully executed in some instances, but the chief effect is produced by the originality and oddity of the designs.

The bridge of Waw-show is one of the curiosities of the city; it is an immense structure. The first part of it, from the south side to the island of Chang-chow, consists of nine stone arches; it is three hundred and thirty feet long by twelve wide; from the island the bridge is continued to the Nan-toe suburb, a distance of thirteen hundred feet. "The upper bridge, on the western side, is eleven thousand feet in length." The whole of the lines of bridges are occupied with street vendors, retailing pancakes, bamboos, and innumerable oddities of food, apparel, and utensils, the use of which could not be recognised by a European. The result of this shopkeeping on the bridge thoroughfares is to narrow still more their original inadequate dimensions, and thereby impede the traffic. "Twice," wrote a traveller, who recorded his experience of the bridge of Waw-show, "my chair was near going over, and once I was held bodily over the tumbling waters below for more than a minute, so as to let an immense *cortège* with a Chinese mandarin go by. This bridge is old, but strong as petrified rock; and how the architect raised the immense stones to their resting-place with the simple machinery of China I am at a loss to understand." The same writer records the experience of another day in the streets of this city in the following interesting record:—"While passing along one of the widest streets we suddenly saw a great commotion among the citizens, and a most abrupt dropping of my chair came immediately after; then appeared bands of Chinese music; then officers of state, on little long-haired, dirty white ponies, with pikes and shields, followed by a company of infantry, one upon another, in splendid confusion; and just at this moment my coolie got another crack over the head with a bamboo for being too anxious to view a pompous mandarin; others came pouring on—musicians and guards—and soon some well-dressed chair-bearers; and then it was that I discovered the cause of this immense assemblage, and why I had been so grossly insulted by having my chair thrown into the mud—for I was just then in the presence of his most royal and noble excellency the Tartar general of the province and country round about. More of his *attachés* followed, and everything was again quiet. On mentioning this circumstance on my return to the British consul, he said it was most unusual to meet

the great officer away from his palace, but that his want of courtesy only tends to show the still hostile feeling which the mandarins, not immediately interested, have against foreigners. I also have been told that the prefect has sent two or three most insulting notes to her majesty's representative. Save that uncereemonious reception, we met with no hard treatment from the dense crowd that followed us through the palace-yard, where we were obliged to leave our chairs, through Curiosity Street, one of the widest in the city. The Tartar general was completely wrapped in furs, and, as he was paraded past, looked down upon us with the greatest possible contempt. We examined in Curiosity Street the whole assortment of bronze and stone ornaments, and saw many beautiful specimens of ivory-carving, wood-work, and tortoise-shell, all which show patience, plodding, and ingenuity, remarkable, for each specimen is made with the simplest machinery. My companion made some purchases of bronze, but I was more amused with some lacquered ware that was on exhibition in one of the shops, and purchased eighty dollars' worth of little boxes (exquisitely ornamented, entirely made of lacquer), and a beautiful lady's dressing-case, with more compartments than cells in a honeycomb. These presents for home are most valuable, because so rare; only one individual in the empire possesses the secret, and Fouchow is the only place where they can be bought, hence the enormous prices which are charged, for all that he manufactures that are not sold to foreigners are taken to the imperial palace at Pekin, which accounts for the independence of the artist—no rival in his Japanese skill, and an emperor and empress for patrons! Save in that wonderful ware, I think that the much-celebrated Curiosity Street of Fouchow is over-rated. One day soon disappeared in searching about that old city, which numbers some six hundred thousand souls, and, if the suburbs are also included, possibly a million. But, from my description of what I saw in Shanghai, you may judge of my experience to-day. My time did not admit of my going over the grounds of the old British consulate, formerly a monastery of much antiquity and consequent interest, from which site the view of the city is most beautiful; neither did I visit the far-famed monastery of Coæ-shan, situated about fourteen hundred feet above the city, commanding a most imposing view for miles around. The quaint bell and immense gong struck by the priests—the ancient relic of Buddha—a whale's tooth—an old priest, said to be five hundred years of age, who lives in a cage, with finger-nails four



inches long, and who looks in splendid condition for a man who eats nothing, and has been starving himself for centuries—the pond of tame fish which the good fathers feed from the hand—and the singular semi-Catholic, semi-barbarous style of costume and manners, would have amply repaid me for my time; but my time would not admit of it, and the day was rainy, else I might have accepted Mr. Hale’s mountain-chair, so generously proffered by the British consul.” The peak overhanging the monastery is two thousand seven hundred feet above the sea, and with a good glass mountains, rivers, and villages can be seen at great distances. On the extreme point, Europeans who have ascended the mountain have left their memorial in a stone pile, called a *casin*, each adding a piece to the heap.

The population within the walls of the city is about six hundred thousand; that without is about two-thirds of the number, making a total of a million.

The country around is extremely pleasant; the villages are populous, the land undulated, and in some places the scenery is even fine. The Pih-ling Hills offer a very pleasing place of excursion for the Europeans and Americans who reside within the town; these are not numerous, comprising in all about fifty foreign residents, merchants, consuls and their officials, and missionaries. Only three or four ladies were among them at the beginning of 1857. The merchants and consuls complain of the dulness of the place, from the very limited European society. The missionaries alone seem content with what the other foreign residents regard as a trying isolation. Those reverend men are content in their great work, and toil on with unceasing solicitude, studying the language, literature, manners, and character of the people, and watching with unslumbering vigilance for opportunity of bringing the natives to the knowledge of Christianity. Not far from the city a dialect or language is spoken which the Chinese do not understand, but, strangely enough, the Canton English, as it is called, forms a medium of communication.

It will be instructive to the reader to give a few statistics on the exports of Foo-choo-foo :—

EXPORTS FROM FOUCHOW.		
TO GREAT BRITAIN.		
1853-4.	10 vessels . . . . .	5,959,000 lbs.
1854-5.	35 vessels . . . . .	20,493,000 „
1855-6.	20 vessels (July to Jan.) . . . .	15,601,500 „
TO THE UNITED STATES.		
1853-4.	2 vessels . . . . .	1,355,000 lbs.
1854-5.	13 vessels . . . . .	5,500,000 „
1855-6.	14 vessels (July to Jan.) . . . .	8,848,500 „

In the season 1853-4 about 300,000 lbs. of tea were exported coastwise.

During the season 1854-5 two vessels were dispatched to Australia, taking 509,000 lbs. of tea, and three vessels out of the thirty-five to England went to the continent, taking 1,140,000 lbs. of tea.

In 1855-6 three vessels were dispatched to Australia; estimated cargoes, 700,000 lbs. To the continent two vessels were dispatched, taking about 400,000 lbs., and coastwise nearly 1,000,000 lbs. were sent during the season.

The Hamburg ship *Alma Oglä* was the first vessel that left Fouchow with teas for a foreign port; she left on the 19th of August, 1853; the American ship *Tsar* followed her on the 27th of August: both bound for London. The last-named arrived first.

The ship *Houqua* was the first vessel to the United States; she left January 16th, 1854, and was followed by the ship *Oriental* on the 22nd of February, and was lost in Kin-pai Pass on the 25th of the same month.

Black teas are the principal exports.\*

The neighbourhood of Foo-choo-foo is infested by pirates, and traders require to keep a good look-out, to carry guns, and have a well-appointed crew, practised in small arms. Notwithstanding these precautions, terrible catastrophes have occurred. Sometimes, however, the pirates, even when in dark nights they have, with muffled oars, approached a vessel at anchor, and so escaped the fire of its cannon, have paid a bitter penalty for their temerity under the rifles and revolvers of English or Americans.

Near Foo-choo-foo is a place called Woo-sung, which has only of late attracted the notice of foreigners. Close by this there is a mission village, erected by the American Episcopalians; it contains an excellent house for the bishop, with a dozen other well-built stone erections, which are inhabited by the clergymen, schoolmasters and mistresses, native teachers, medical assistants, &c. The beautiful appearance of the village, amidst the strange monotonous scenery around it, is like an oasis in the desert.

Ningpo is in longitude 121° 22’ east, and in latitude 29° 55’ north. It is the capital of a department and a province, and is considered the finest coast city to which foreigners are allowed access. The Chinese hold it in high reputation for the literary attainment and refinement of its citizens. One-fifth of the whole population within the walls is computed to be engaged in literature. About a tenth of the population beyond the city walls is supposed to consist of sailors and fishermen. The manufactures are chiefly mats, carpets, and cloth, the latter principally woven by women. There are one hundred thousand houses and shops taxed by government. The population within the walls and in the suburbs cannot be less than half a million. The city is surrounded by a wall five miles in circum-

\* Train.



ference, and possessing six gates, which open upon the suburb or the river. Within this wall the people may be said, without a violent figure of speech, to be packed together, so narrow are the streets and dense the population; yet the principal streets, from which the others branch, are spacious, and the houses superior to those in other Chinese cities. Considerable space is occupied by temples and other public buildings, and there are some gardens of considerable extent in proportion to the size of the place; these are beautifully cultivated, and give a fresh and rural appearance to their neighbourhood. The space occupied by these gardens, buildings, and spacious streets, is so considerable, that the dwellings in the remainder of the city are crowded together to afford habitations for so numerous a population. These circumstances also cause the suburbs to increase rapidly.

The people of Ningpo impress strangers more favourably than those of any other Chinese city; they contrast strikingly with the rude and boisterous natives of Canton. Their bearing to strangers is polite, respectful, and, to some extent, kind.

The *Times*' special correspondent arrived at Ningpo at the latter end of August, 1857. The place was then in great agitation, from the depredations made by Portuguese pirates, and their destruction by the Chinese fleet, and also from the consequences of the great rebellion. The correspondent thus records his impressions of the place and its commercial importance:—"This great city, with its three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, its beautiful river, and its excellent water connection with the interior, is the least valuable of all our commercial stations. Neither tea nor silk is brought down in any quantities, and the little tea that is prepared here is sent to Shanghai to be shipped. The importation of British and straits' produce was last year but £136,359 9s., and not two-thirds of this was British manufacture. The greater security of European shipping and its comparative immunity from the pirates outside (whom I saw the other day send a whole fleet of junks back into the river) have given it some importance as a shipping port for Amoy, Formosa, Swatow, and the straits. In 1856 a hundred and ninety-eight British ships, with an aggregate of 25,506 tons, loaded here. This carrying trade is likely to increase, for the Chinese are becoming quite alive to the advantage of a stout ship and an English flag. 'Can insure?' is a question now very often in a Chinaman's mouth, and Chinamen are rich in this city. Ningpo is still in the after-throb of great excitement.

The European settlement is on the side of the river opposite to the walled city. The hongs are not numerous, nor very large, and they are mixed up with Chinese residences and large timber yards (timber is the staple of Ningpo), and they form a rectangle, the area behind which is occupied by graves and paddy-fields, but chiefly by graves."

In connection with the opening up of China to European intercourse, the gentleman referred to declares that the difficulties are not so great as has been supposed in Europe. Before reaching the city of Ningpo he had travelled many miles by the great water-courses, and he thus observes upon the general experience of Chinese behaviour which his journey afforded:—"We arrived at Ningpo, after some discomfort and some necessity for strong doses of quinine, but after much excitement and great enjoyment. We have passed four hundred miles of country not often before traversed. We have entered four first-class Chinese cities (two of them unknown to European travellers), many second class cities, which in other countries might be classed as first, and innumerable towns and villages. Throughout the whole of our journey we have received from no Chinese an uncivil word or insulting gesture. No mischievous urchin has thrown stones down upon us from any one of the hundreds of bridges we passed through; no one stopped us, and no one waylaid us. It is true that the mandarins at Peh-Kwan sent us a message to appear at their yamun, but when we sent answer that we would endeavour to make preparation to receive their visit on board our boats, and when Mr. Edkins had sent them a Testament, they took the evasive answer in good part, and suffered our boatmen to proceed. From this journey I draw two practical conclusions: the first is, that the authorities in China are exceedingly anxious in no way to complicate their present disputes with England, and, holding in very wholesome terror the English name, are inclined to shut their eyes to the presence of peaceably conducted foreigners; the second is, that, unless excited by the authorities, as they have been at Canton (and as they might have been here, for had the mandarins chosen to say we were Portuguese, we should certainly have had our throats cut), the Chinese people have no objection whatever to the presence of foreigners in their cities. Whenever, therefore, the provisions of a new treaty shall open all China to every European provided with a passport from his own consul, there will be no difficulty in the English merchant carrying his own goods up the rivers and canals, and into the great cities of China.



The people will be glad enough to trade with him, and the authorities can, if they will, protect him."

There is, however, a difficulty in the way of European intercourse with China which is seldom discussed—the bad conduct of the Europeans themselves. The foregoing extract shows the spirit entertained towards the Portuguese, whose conduct is in every respect infamous in their dealings with the people of China. The behaviour of British sailors is sometimes also very bad, and creates a dangerous prejudice. The following instance, related by "the correspondent," will illustrate this, and the recommendation he expresses for the prevention of such misdeeds is worthy the consideration of the powers now engaged, by their successful arms, in opening up China more freely to the nations:—"A circumstance has just occurred which still further illustrates the great impolicy of allowing European vagabonds to be uncontrolled in this country. 'Squeezing' has become so intolerable in this province, that a large city not forty miles distant is in rebellion. Every power in China 'squeezes.' The toutai sends forth to 'squeeze,' the the Canton fleet sends out to 'squeeze,' and squeezing parties are undertaken upon private account. A few days since an Irishman, accompanied by some Chinese, went into the interior to one of the villages where I had passed the previous night, upon, it is alleged, a squeezing expedition. While there he accidentally shot one of his Chinese companions. Delighted with this opportunity of 'getting the law on their side,' the populace rose, seized the Irishman, bound him as though he had been a wild beast which no thongs could make harmless, and sent him up—after severe debate among themselves whether they should not behead him on the spot—to the toutai of Ningpo. He arrived here in a terribly macerated condition, and claimed the protection of the British consul. Doubtless it became the consul's duty to grant this protection, and the man is now in Dr. Parker's hospital. Small advantage, however, will be derived by any British merchant from any treaty which may 'open up China,' if it is to be opened up to European brigands. There must be some arrangement among the European powers upon this matter."

The port of Amoy, Hong-Kong, &c., will be reserved for description under the head of Insular China.

Besides the ports opened up by the Nankin treaty, there are many other large cities in China which might be made accessible to commerce under an enlarged treaty, and there are many large villages so admirably

situated, that they would, under the influence of Western commerce, soon become great cities.

The *Times*' correspondent, in travelling to Ningpo, passed through a great variety of country, and over a vast area where Europeans had never previously set foot, at least within recollection of the inhabitants or record of history, and the general impressions he received are instructive to others. The following is a picture of China and Chinese life, drawn from the scenes presented to him as he passed along, too vivid and striking not to be interesting as a true representation of modern China. Leaving Hangchow for Ningpo, the journey is thus related:—"I should prove intolerable were I to describe the rest of the route with the same minuteness with which I have described other portions of my journey. We had five days' journey before us, the greater part even less visited than Hangchow itself. I must not even venture to describe the sepulchre of Yu, the founder of the Hia dynasty, although it is the grandest sepulchral temple in China, and boasts an antiquity of two thousand years, and although a fierce thunderstorm burst so close, that there was a smell of fire, and the gigantic idol trembled. Perhaps I may be permitted, however, to say, that nearly a hundred lineal descendants of the great emperor, who controlled the great inundations and curbed the waters of the four great rivers, still live in poverty under the protection of the temple. Under the Ming dynasty they received pensions; the Tartars allow them none. Here is a pedigree, ye followers of Rollo! Enough to say of Peh-Kwan that the people asked us whether we were Siamese. They had seen the Loochooians, and we were not like them, and they knew we were not Japanese. Chao-hing is for many miles round girt with sepulchral monuments. It is to the worship of ancestors what Hangchow and its lake are to Buddha. All the wharves and bridges were crowded by all the population of the place as we went through. The half-naked bodies seemed countless as we moved slowly through canals exactly—bridges, smells, and all—like some of the back canals in Venice. We passed several nights among the most uncultivated crowds of boatmen while awaiting our turns to be dragged by windlasses over those dykes of slippery mud which in China do duty for locks. We passed other nights in passing through lakes and listening to the songs and cymbals which told of marriages in the villages on its banks. We watched the paddy harvest, examined the tallow-trees, with their poplar-like leaf, their green berries, and their



alder-shaped form. We saw the cotton come into flower. We fired in vain at two eagles circling round the head of a man, who was accompanied by a little dog, which they wanted to carry off. We stopped and interrogated a sort of Chinese Gil Blas, who was travelling on foot (almost an unprecedented thing in China), and who carried with him all his worldly goods—a pair of blue breeches, a pipe, and a small teapot. We investigated at Yu-Yoa the country from the top of the citadel hill, and in the dyer's shop we examined the dye wherewith those ever-present blue breeches are dyed. After ten days of sight-seeing everything seemed to repeat itself and to revolve like the events of the Platonic year. We became convinced at last that if we were to journey from Hangchow to Peking, and from Peking to Szechuen, we should find just the same arts, and manners, and agriculture, varied only by the exigencies of nature."

One of the most important cities of the interior of China proper is Hangchow. This was once the capital, and Chinese patriotism and prejudice still regard it with fictitious importance and religious veneration. They have a saying—"There is Heaven above, and Peking and Hangchow below." Descriptions of this city are scarce; that of Marco Polo is not worthy of reliance; and we have no European accounts, except that given by the *Times'* commissioner of a visit made by him and the Rev. Mr. Edkins, of the London Missionary Society. Marco Polo says the walls were in his day a hundred miles round. The Chinese chronicles of the city state that in one of the numerous fires which have taken place there more than half a million of houses were burnt. The writer just quoted maintains that the city never could have been much larger than it is, and assigns this reason:—"It stands upon a slip of land about three miles wide, intervening between the river (which is wider than the Mersey, and has thirty feet of water at low tide) and the lake. At one end the ground swells into a hill, over the crest of which the city wall passes. The shape of Hangchow, therefore, is very much that of a couch, the hill part being represented by the pillows, and being the fashionable part of the city." The vicinity is unhealthy, fever and ague being caused by the vast quantities of stagnant water collected near it, and by the decomposition of vegetable matter on the river's banks. The environs contain some good scenery, and very populous villages, adorned with temples and pagodas, lie in every direction. It is strictly forbidden to Europeans to enter this city, but the *Times'* correspondent, accompanied by two mission-

aries (the Rev. Mr. Edkins, and the representative of the Church Missionary Society), determined upon the hazardous enterprise. The account given of its accomplishment is deeply interesting, and even exciting:—"With a retinue of twelve chair-bearers and ten coolies, who followed with our baggage, we left our boats during the mid-day heat, and, skirting the borders of the lake, reached the walls of the city. Here Mr. Edkins, profiting by his other mishaps, instructed the party to avoid the Tartar part of the city and the Mauchoo gate. It was an exciting moment when the first palanquin passed under the city gate. From behind my exaggerated fan I could see a fat Chinese official, who was evidently on duty, but who had his back turned to us. The rascal pretended he was quite unaware of our presence. I found out afterwards that he knew that three Englishmen were passing in just as well as we did. I breathed more freely when the gate was passed, and when we became entangled in the narrow streets. They bore us through the dirtiest parts of the town, and past the *yamun*, or police office, known by the horrible imperial lion scrawled in paint upon the opposite wall. The people soon began to run together. The blinds of the chairs were sufficiently transparent to allow them to see there was something unusual; perhaps the fact of the chairs being closed was enough in itself. Then we grew bolder, and opened the blinds, and, although the crowd pressed to see, there was no hostile demonstration. At last we got to a better part of the city, we boldly descended, and found ourselves in the streets of Hangchow. We now bade one of the coolies guide us to the upper part of the city, while the chairs followed. We passed several curiosity shops, where there were some few things I should have bought, but, alas! our expenses had so far exceeded our expectation, that we were already afraid our funds would fall short—a contingency which actually occurred, for we had to borrow of a Chinese innkeeper. I noticed that in one of the curiosity shops an English beer-bottle was placed among the vases in a post of honour. As we ascended the hill we passed a tea-house, which was the first I had seen in China having any pretensions to ornament. This was evidently the Vérey of Hangchow. A mandarin chair was following us, and we drew up to allow the gentleman to overtake us. In evident perturbation, he stopped his chair, and went into one of the temples, where he doubtless expended some cash in incense to be delivered from the barbarians. We were now among joss-houses and private residences, which I had seen from the pagoda



hill, and from the terrace we could see down into the courts and houses of the lower city. It was a holiday in Hangchow: there were shows going on. We had heard much firing in the morning, and we now learnt that there had been a review of eight thousand troops, and our informants added with much laughter that one of the evolutions had been to make the soldiers charge right into the river up to their armpits. In this part of Hangchow we were less thronged than I had ever been before in China. There was no apparent obstacle to our going where we pleased or doing what we pleased. We did not venture into the theatre, for we knew by experience, at a sing-song on the bank of the lake, that the Chinese ladies, with their smart robes, their painted faces (white and red upon their cheeks, and vermillion on their lips, little enamelled stars beside their eyes, and black upon their eyebrows), would almost jump out of their boxes with fright; while the populace would throng about us, and the actors would stand still, and stare like the rest. Being a little overcome by the sun, I strolled away by myself back to the tea-house, and took my place at a little table as complacently as I should on one of the boulevards; the tea was exquisite—that slightly-dried, small, green leaf, which you never can taste in England; for tea will not keep, or pack, or stand the voyage unless burnt up to the state of insipidity in which we get it. I sipped, and was refreshed; but the sweet tranquillity was not mine. The curious tea-drinkers pressed around me, and there was a waiter, whose nature it was to walk about with a kettle of boiling water, and whose unconquerable instinct compelled him to fill up my cup whenever it was getting three degrees below boiling-point, and was becoming possible to drink. The people were very good-tempered, but they came very close, and the day was very hot. I was so strict in my Chinese costume, that they could find nothing to wonder at but my *physique* and my pith hat. They made the most of these. If I had been dressed in European costume, I believe they would have undressed me in their ardent curiosity. Meantime our coolies and luggage had been stopped at the gate we passed through. The officials told my man that we had acted wrong in not presenting our cards and the Foo-tei's pass, but it was not their business, but that of another officer, to stop foreigners. They do not wish to stop Englishmen's luggage, but look into the servants' boxes. They asked where the Englishmen were gone, and were satisfied when told that we had gone up the hill 'to chinchin joss.' All this talk about cards and passes was of

course Chinese tarradiddles, but it shows that the Chinese authorities were perfectly aware that they had three Englishmen among them. I could find no silk weaving in the city, but there must be quarters like the suburbs of Lyons, for this is the very centre and depot of the silk district. After several hours in Hangchow we got into our chairs again, and passed through the opposite gate of the city, along a dirty faubourg, and over a flat to the Tsien-tang River, which is here about two miles wide. There is a little custom-house, but no ships and no commerce. Hangchow evidently depends upon its inland trade, and seeks no communication by sea. As we crossed the broad river I looked back up this picturesque city, and felt that its environs were as familiar as those of Liverpool, Cheltenham, or Richmond."

The cities on the plain from Shanghai to Ningpo very much resemble one another. The people are employed for the most part similarly: they regard Europeans with intense curiosity, and although not eager for an open trade with them, would readily respond to any attempts at traffic if the mandarins would permit them.

The city of Ting-tse is the only other great city of China of which much certain information exists. It is surrounded by a narrow wall and "wet ditch," and a small canal runs through it. It has four gates into the suburbs, and a water-gate for boats which bring goods into the city: these discharge their cargoes at the mouth of a small river, communicating with a canal which runs through the place. The upper classes of females are remarkable for their small feet and their extravagant use of cosmetics and paint. In their temples they are generally attended by a female servant or bondswoman, who carries a little basket containing articles of the toilet. During the religious services the ladies retire to withdrawing-rooms in connection with the building, where there are mirrors, before which they carefully place themselves, re-arrange their attire, and re-tint their lips, cheeks, and eyebrows.\* In this city, more than in any other in China, the Chinese women compress the feet of their female children, although the Tartars of the same city allow the feet of their females to be properly developed.† The timidity of the women in the surrounding country at the sight of a European is ludicrous. General Alexander declares, that whatever be the extent of infanticide in China, and however inveterate the custom, the women of this city are affectionate to their children.

\* Lieutenant-general Alexander, C.B.

† *Reminiscences of a Visit to the Celestial Empire.*



Such is China proper, its people, and its cities—a country with which our future connection is likely to be more important and intimate, as the present war cannot fail to issue in the concession, by the Chinese, of more extended communication with foreigners.

Beyond the boundaries of China proper immense regions are included in the imperial territories. To the north is MONGOLIA, the most remarkable physical feature of which is the great desert called Gobi: the word *gobi* is a Mongol term to express a naked desert. It extends from the sources of the Amour through Mongolia into Little Bokhara and Thibet, from north-east to south-west. It is nearly two thousand miles in length, the average breadth being under five hundred miles. This vast region does not appear to be appropriately named, for it is not really a *gobi*, or naked desert: there are fine pasture lands within its area. There are large districts of sands which do not shift, and which are covered in some places sparsely, in others thickly, with rank grass. There are many small saline lakes within its confines. The central portion is the true desert, and its extent is vast. The whole district is on an average two thousand feet above the level of the sea. Parts of it are double that elevation, and over the very highest for some way the route lies for the caravans to and from the Russian frontier: these have to traverse a waste of shifting sands, most laborious to pass through. Accidents sometimes occur, attended by loss of life; and blindness, total or partial, is frequently an incident of the toilsome journey.

The Mongols are nomadic—no reliable accounts of their numbers can be obtained. Their religion is Buddhist, and many of them are followers of the Grand Lama of Thibet. They are governed by tribal chiefs, by the spiritual authority of the Lama, and by a council of foreign affairs at Pekin.

The capital of Mongolia is Ourga, situated on an affluent of the Seling River. Karakoum was the capital when the successors of Zenghli Khan held their court, and presided over a vast empire. When Kohlai Khan conquered China, at the end of the thirteenth century, this city was permitted to sink into decay.

Maimachu, on the frontier of Asiatic Russia, is an important place: it is there that the Russians and Chinese transact the commercial exchanges between the two empires. The town is not large; it is clean and orderly. The boundary between the two empires is marked by a long shed, within which commercial transactions are conducted. A door from this shed on the north side opens

into the Russian empire, and, on the south side, another opens into the Chinese empire. Beneath that shed the teas and rhubarb of China are exchanged for Polish linens, woollen cloths, and furs. Several German travellers have penetrated from the Russian dominions into those of China on this frontier, and some of them relate that the contrast presented by the habits, manners, and appearance of the people on different sides of the frontier line is very surprising.\*

East of Mongolia, and north-east of China, is MANTCHOORIA: this region is mountainous, and nearly covered with forests. The mighty river Amour waters this country. Its population is scanty: the Mantchoos are more civilised than neighbouring tribes. The capital is Kirin-oula, where the viceroy resides. The northern half of the large island of Saghalien, off the north-east coast, is committed to his government. The reigning family of the Chinese empire is Mantchoo: they have held the imperial sceptre for two hundred years.

Southward from Mantchooria is the peninsula of COREA. This is a quasi-independent kingdom, the Chinese emperor never interfering with its government, but exacting a tribute. Corea is more exclusive in reference to foreigners than China. Its capital, situated in the centre of the peninsula, is Kingki-too.

West of Mongolia, and north-west of China, are the countries of the CELESTIAL MOUNTAINS, which divides two territories called Thian-shan-pe-loo, or the north country, and Thian-shan-nan-loo, or the south country. The northern region is sometimes called Sangaria—the southern, Little Bokhara; and frequently both regions are described together as Chinese Turkistan. The country at both sides of the dividing range is well watered and fertile. The Chinese hold military possession of the country, and collect revenue, but leave the people to manage their own affairs, who are of the same race and religion as the Turks of Europe and Asia Minor.

On the northern side of the Celestial Mountains the town of Goulja is of importance, and the chief town of the province. On the south side there are several cities of note. The capital is Aksou, where the Chinese authorities preside. Yarkand possesses a considerable population and commerce. The frontier town of Kashgar is occupied by a large Chinese garrison. All these places are situated on branches of the great Yarkand River.

On the west of Mongolia is THIBET, extending to the borders of those states which

\* Erman.



are dependent upon the government of British India, or have been recently annexed to it. The Chinese give to the whole region west of Mongolia the name of Chinghai, which is probably the same as the words China and Chinese. The Mongols of the Koka-nor, and other tribes, inhabit portions of these vast territories, but all submit to the government of Pekin, of which there is more awe than is felt in China proper, or in Pekin itself. Writers on the geography and history of China generally describe the country called Lodakh, on the northern frontier of India, as independent of the Pekin government; but its independence is merely nominal.

The wide-spread countries west of Mongolia are bounded by the Kuenlun and Himalaya mountain systems, and consist of lofty plains. The declivities of the Himalayas on the side of Thibet are not steep, although on the side of India the country descends with so deep a depression. Very little is known of these countries: the court of Pekin is even more jealous of strangers crossing from the Indian frontier than of persons penetrating into China proper by sea.

Many of the mighty rivers which water Eastern and Southern Asia have their sources in these regions. It is remarkable that the Ganges, Indus, Brahmapootra, Sutlej, and Irrawaddy, receive their waters from springs on the northern side of the Himalayas; the streams, as they seek the level, winding their course to the southern slopes, and finally sweeping onward in increasing volume to the sultry plains of India. The great rivers Yang-tse-Kiang, Hoang-ho, and Cambodia, which take a south-eastern course, also have their sources in the great western Mongolian highlands.

The language of Thibet is not so monosyllabic as the Chinese, and is supposed to be a link between it and the Semitic tongues: the Thibetians profess it to be derived from the Sanscrit.\*

The religion of Thibet and Mongolia is Buddhism. The Grand Lama is the spiritual chief of Thibet. It is believed by the people that he has maintained his spiritual reign at the capital ever since a period corresponding with the Christian era.† This is supposed to be accomplished by a series of transformations, as when one lama dies, the spirit of Buddha Lakya is transferred to another body. This is ascertained by a series of revelations vouchsafed to certain hierarchs, after many ceremonies of an absurd kind, and while the sacred vehicles of revelation are in a state of intoxication by a particular spirit. The Emperor of China, however, takes care to

hold in his own hands the confirmation of the election, lest it should fall upon any person inconvenient to his government. If no objection be entertained by his celestial majesty, the new incarnation of Buddha is installed in his high office, and becomes the Dela\* Lama. The general impression in Europe is that this is the only functionary of this sort in the world: such an impression is erroneous. There are three in Bhotan, who are clothed in white; and three in Mongolia and Thibet, of whom the Dela Lama is one, clothed in yellow: the latter is the orthodox colour, being patronised by the Emperor of China. The great Mongol lama is of still higher authority than the Dela Lama,‡ but he appears to derive that superiority from the policy of the Chinese emperor: the Dela Lama is more revered throughout Thibet, and is adored as a god.§ Every chief of a great Buddhist convent appears to obtain the title of lama; but the Grand Lama at Lassa, and the Lama of Tehoo Loomboo, are the supreme hierarchs of Buddhism.

The intercourse between Thibet and British India is considerable, so far as the influx of Thibetians—or, as the Hindoos call them, Bhotians§—is concerned, for the inhabitants resort to all the great places of pilgrimage in Bengal, such as Orissa, Gaya, Benares, Allahabad, &c. They believe that Benares is the seat of supreme learning, that “the holy city” is the source of all science and literature, and that the people of Thibet derived religion and learning originally from India. Of this there is no proof, but such a belief may well prevail from the superstitious regard cherished for India, in consequence of the religion of Thibet having been derived thence. On one of the highest accessible peaks of the Himalayas the Thibetians mingle with pilgrims from all parts of India, and even from Ceylon, to perform various rites together, which would appear to be incompatible with two religions so adverse as Buddhism and Brahminism in many respects are. This circumstance has excited the surprise of authors and travellers, but the philosophy of it appears to be that all striking phenomena of nature—mountains, river sources, junctions of rivers, lakes, desert rocks, forests, and the heavenly bodies—receive homage in the idolatrous associations common

\* This word signifies both a sea and a desert, and probably refers to the appearance of the great plains of Thibet, the sphere of the lama's government. John Bell's *Travels in Asia*.

† M. De Lange, Representative of the Court of Russia at Pekin, 1721-22.

‡ *Histoire Genealogique des Tartares*.

§ As remarked on a former page, the Hindoos call both sides of the whole Himalaya range Bhotia: they do not use the word Thibet.—*Rennell*.

\* Captain Turner.

† Abdul Russool.



to all Asia, whatever the creeds of the people, except where Christianity or Mohammedanism has extirpated the traditional feeling.

Commerce also brings the people of Thibet into intimate intercourse with the frontier nations of British India. Through Nepaul, Bhotia, and Assam, the products of Thibet are exchanged for those of the rich provinces of Hindoostan and Bengal. Many of the productions of India find their way to China by way of Thibet.

There is also a considerable trade between Mongolia and Russia, and it would be far more extensive but for the encroaching spirit of the Russians, who are always intruding upon Chinese territory in the most unscrupulous manner, and in violation of numerous treaties. A writer at the beginning of this century thus describes the method of carrying on the commerce between Mongolia, through which the produce of Thibet and of China proper is conveyed to the Russian frontier:—"The commerce between Russia and China is at present a monopoly belonging to the treasury of Siberia, no other subjects of Russia being allowed to concern themselves in it, on pain of death, unless employed on account of the crown, although this law is often evaded by connivance of the *weywodes* on the frontier places. By virtue of the last treaty, they can send no more than one caravan a year from Russia to Pekin, which doth not consist of more than two hundred persons instead of a thousand and more, which they amounted to heretofore, and which were subsisted at the charge of the Chan of China; whilst they were on the territories of China; but now they are to subsist on their own charges."\* The last-named feature of this regulation was by Russian authority, and shows that while every effort was made by the czars to plunder the Chinese of their Mongolian territory, commerce was even less encouraged sixty years ago than it had before been.

In the days of Peter the Great, the Russian government made strenuous efforts to open up through Mongolia a traffic by which they might derive the products of that country, of Thibet (generally included under the name of Mongolia), and of the lower provinces, in exchange for their furs, which the Russians then possessed more abundantly as a means of barter. The Chinese responded as eagerly to such overtures, and a commercial intercourse was established, which, had Russia improved, would have grown to great magnitude, and which has been checked solely by the greed of territory, which led the Russians perpetually to ferment boundary disputes,

\* Bell.

provoking on the part of the Chinese counter-acting measures.

The Chinese at that time, according to the testimony of Peter's own agent resident at Pekin, brought many articles of exchange to the frontier. Gold from Thibet, ivory and peacocks' feathers brought by the Thibetians from India, and woollen cloth of two qualities—one a fine fleecy commodity, the other rough and coarse—made in Thibet and other Mongolian districts, were conveyed to the rendezvous of Russian commerce, through long and wearisome journeys. A sort of glazed cotton cloth, called *kitaiika*, made in China, was at that time a favourite Russian import.

It appears that the productions of Corea were brought by a very circuitous route through China, at that period consisting of paper made of raw silk; fine mats; cut tobacco, very fine, for smoking, deemed superior to that grown in China; striped cotton stuffs, &c. It would appear, also, that while the Chinese imported furs from the Russians, they also received furs from Corea, which were given in exchange for Russian furs. The Russians received Chinese damask, Indian cotton goods by way of Thibet, tea, porcelain, silk for linings, and "white copper" dishes.\*

The intercourse between Thibet and China proper, and the government of the former, was regulated by a minister who resided at Lassa, whose approval was necessary before any measure, political or commercial, could be adopted. This functionary was, however, obliged to refer to Pekin for instructions and for final approval of any measures to which he gave his consent. "The council for the affairs of the Mongols at Pekin is a college, who have the care of everything regarding the nation of the Mongols, as well those who are the hereditary subjects of the Emperor of China, as also those who are only under the protection of this empire. This college, at the same time, enters indirectly into the cognizance of all the affairs which regard the powers who border on China, from the north-east to the west, whence it comes that they are the court who have most to do of any in China."†

In explanation of this mode of governing remote provinces and dependencies, De Lange in 1723 writes:—"In China all is done by the disposition of different colleges, to whose cognizance the affairs may belong, it not being permitted to address the court directly

\* M. De Lange.

† This description of the conduct of Mongolian affairs at Pekin was given by a minister of Peter the Great of Russia, and it is still applicable.



upon any affair whatever. In the time of the last Chinese emperor, these colleges were so absolute, that, on many occasions, the emperor himself dared not meddle with their decrees; but, since the Tartar princes have been in possession of the throne of China, they are not much regarded; witness the exercise of all sorts of foreign religions publicly authorised, and the allowance of a Russian agent at Peking, agreed to by the sole good pleasure of the emperor, in opposition to the remonstrances of his ministers, and to the constitution of the government of China." The emperors have ever since maintained a stern authority in reference to these colleges.

The people of Thibet are loyal to the Chinese emperor, religion being the great connecting link. They are not brave or enterprising, and would be very unlikely to make a successful insurrection. A few thousand Chinese soldiers, in half-a-dozen garrisons, occupy the country. A considerable army could, however, be collected on an emergency, as the Nepaulese found to their cost, on occasion of their invasion of Thibet. The social condition of the people is very immoral: polyandria exists, and similar in every respect to its practice at Ceylon, and with the same moral consequences. The Thibetians, however, are not jealous, as are the Cingalese; on the contrary, the infidelity of the women excites neither surprise nor resentment. The Thibetians are cold and phlegmatic in all their habits, and are sunk in the most abject superstition.

The climate is sternly cold for a large portion of the year, and the country is exposed to fierce winds, which sweep over the vast elevated table-lands, dispersing the thin soil, and often totally destroying the hopes of the cultivator. There are, however, many places low-lying and sheltered, where the climate is most delightful; and on the northern and eastern slopes of the Himalayas there are regions where the scenery and the climate rival those of most lands. There are sequestered dells and dales in these regions, the floral riches of which almost rival those of the sunny valleys on the southern declivities.

The revenue of the country is derived from land-rent and the gold mines, which are badly worked.\* The mineral treasures of the region are supposed to be very great, but are not yet developed. Nitre is found in great abundance, and most metals in moderate quantities, except silver. On the frontiers of China proper there are coal mines, which are of immense value to the people, for Thibet is very bare of timber, and the climate requires the extensive use of fuel.

\* Abdul Russool.

The animals are very various, and some of them very beautiful. The celebrated shawl-goat, and different species of sheep and deer abound.

Lassa is the capital of this region: it is forty-five days' journey from Peking, and two hundred miles north from the north-east corner of Assam. It is geographically situated  $29^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude,  $91^{\circ} 6'$  east longitude. It is built on the north bank of a small river, and is of an oval form, four miles in length, and one in breadth. In the centre stands the grand temple, the high sanctuary of Buddhism. Each idol of the numerous objects of worship collected there has its own peculiar compartment. Around this collection of buildings a road separates it from the rest of the city. There is always a population of about two thousand Chinese, about three thousand Nepaulese, and a few hundred Cashmerians, besides the natives. It is impossible to estimate the native population, as pilgrims from the whole of Thibet perpetually crowd the place, and also numerous devotees from every part of Mongolia, of China, and all the realms of Buddhism. The Tartars appear to have invaded and plundered the city repeatedly, but never remained long. Little can be gleaned of its history, or of that of the race which inhabits it.

Within one hundred and eighty miles of the Rungpore district in Bengal there is a small town, called Teshoo Loomboo, where a great Buddhist monastery gives the place notoriety, and where the "Teshoo Lama" has his seat: he is the high priest of the Chinese emperor. This neighbourhood is more fertile and civilised, and some timber grows there. There are mines of lead, cinabar, copper, and gold, in the hills which bound the great plain upon which the city stands. Nearly four thousand *gyllongs* were occupied in daily prayer towards the close of the last century, when Captain Turner visited it: this number has probably increased since.

Throughout Thibet, and Little Thibet, and Lahdack, the number of monasteries and nunneries containing devotees of the Buddhist belief is surprising: the number of gods and saints mingled in strange variance with the theory of the Buddhist creed exceeds computation, and justifies the statement that Thibet is one of the most superstitious countries on the face of the globe. The accounts given by Macartney and Colebrook apply as correctly in the present day as when they were written, for everything in Thibet is as it were stereotyped, except that the gods, the saints, and the monasteries, increase in number, and the people in superstition. Nevertheless, the country exercises a vast influence



over other regions of Asia. China regards Thibet as holy land: the Mongols, Calmucks, and Tartars, hold it in the greatest reverence. The Thibetians declare that to them the Chinese are indebted for science and art, while they speak of India as the source from which they derived these advantages. They claim to be the inventors of printing, and to have taught it to the Chinese; but they admit that no improvement in this art has been made for two thousand years. They declare that astronomy, and astrology, which they regard as a noble science, have flourished in their country from time immemorial, and that the Chinese were their pupils in these matters. A British officer, who visited Thibet some years ago, stated that the monks discoursed with him about the satellites of Jupiter and the ring of Saturn, and that they were familiar with stellar phenomena to a degree which greatly astonished him. An invasion of Thibet from British India would issue in the subjugation with ease of the whole realm, for however impracticable long marches in such a country, yet facility of conquest would exist in the fact, that whoever possesses the sacred cities, and the persons of the lamas, are the conquerors of Thibet.

Having described the vast regions beyond China proper, Insular China remains to be noticed. The insular climate of China is less subject to the extremes of heat and cold than that of the continent. The islands which are of most importance are Formosa, Hainan, Chusan, Hong-Kong, Heang-shan, and Amoy.

FORMOSA lies off the east coast, and from its comparative proximity to the Malay peninsula, its eastern shore is inhabited by that race, who are generally regarded as aborigines: the western side of the island is inhabited by the Chinese. The population at large, especially on the eastern shore, is regarded by the inhabitants of China as barbarous. The word Formosa means beautiful, and was given to the island by the Portuguese, because of its lovely appearance. Coal in great abundance has been recently found upon it.

HAINAN is an island situated on the southern coast, inhabited partly by Chinese, and partly by aboriginal tribes. There is nothing sufficiently striking in the characteristics of the island to call for remark.

HEANG-SHAN is an island in the Canton River. The Portuguese settlement of Macao, called by the Chinese *Aou-mun* (the entrance to the bay), is situated upon part of the island which forms a peninsula. The site of the settlement was given to the Portuguese by the emperor nearly three hundred years ago, in consequence of services rendered by

them against pirates. The poet Camoens resided at Macao, and wrote there his celebrated poem "the Lusiad." The population is about thirty thousand. The general conduct of the Portuguese settlers has been fraudulent and rapacious, and much of the ill will entertained by the natives of Canton against foreigners has been caused by their cruel and treacherous conduct. The Portuguese residents of Macao are not more than six thousand: the rest of the population are half-castes and Chinese. Few places which, within a century and a half, have been the scenes of enterprise, are so deserted and fallen as is this settlement. Formerly it was one of the richest emporiums of the East: now Hong-Kong seems to have extinguished its commercial glory. A few English and other foreign merchants are almost the only persons respected by the natives, so completely have the Portuguese lost character.

It is common for the foreign merchants of Canton and Hong-Kong to spend the hottest summer months on this island: there is a beautiful bathing place, and large although not well-built houses are easily procured, and cheaply rented. The foreign and Parsee burial-grounds are picturesque, especially the former: how enterprising are those old Persian devotees of the sun!—there are few places in the East which are ancient haunts of commerce where their traces or their presence are not seen. It is surprising that Europeans think so favourably of Macao in a sanitary point of view, for the atmosphere is damp, and a chilly feeling is consequently imparted to the residents even when the glass is high: it is also common for foreigners to die soon after their arrival, especially if young men.

The Portuguese population is considered devoid of the activity which once characterised them. They are much deteriorated in personal appearance, especially the females, who have coarse countenances and very dark complexions. The streets are little better than gloomy narrow alleys, and, being sometimes of great length, the appearance they present is peculiarly unpleasant. There are palaces and public buildings, formerly the abodes of bishops and governors of rank, or the resort of merchants and men of business, but these are all dropping, little by little, into decay. The Portuguese deserve credit for the architectural beauty of these buildings, particularly of a church, the front of which is alone left standing. Beautiful walks, parades, and gardens, all which were once beautiful, also testify to the taste which once characterised the Portuguese of Macao. The parades are partially broken, deep ruts are allowed to deface the once-pleasant walks, and the gar-



dens already assume that waste and ragged appearance which the fairest pleasure-grounds so soon wear when left without suitable care. The house of Camoens, who sang before Shakspeare's "wild notes," as Milton called them, were heard in England, is still standing, although time, with his furrowing finger, has touched it. The fortifications bristle with cannon, but they are worthless; a few British broadsides would leave them heaps of rubbish. A gentleman who lately visited the island and city thus wrote of some of the features of interest which mark them:—"To me the old palace garden, with so many acres of still blooming flowers and foliage, and paths winding through quaint arbours and huge stone caves,—more solid than the artificial ruins of Bolton Abbey or Chatsworth,—was the most pleasing part of my tour. I was never tired of musing over the grounds, but did not remain long soliloquising over the iron-walled monument of the poet Camoens. I did not expect to find such old magnificence, but ruins of ages past do not at such distance from Christian lands increase my love of decay. From the top of one of the mammoth stone arbours we had a fine view of the old town and the inner and outer harbour; the former is stocked with junks and lorchas belonging to the place, and the yearly income of the latter in freights alone is said to be a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. We saw the islands round about, and were glad to look upon scenery as romantic as it was novel."\*

The same traveller gives a picture of how the coolie traffic—or what may be with propriety be termed the Chinese slave trade—is patronised by the Portuguese, who have ever been the active abettors of the slave trade in all its forms:—"Looking down upon the Chinese part of the town, I saw a large castellated building, the courtyard of which was crowded with human beings dressed in white. My curiosity was excited. Was it an hospital? No. A lunatic asylum? No. A jail, a charity-school, or what? No one could tell. We searched and searched, but could not make the people understand our wants; finally, we got a boat, and moved round to the portcullis, but there was no admittance. Inquiry only made us more curious, but not more successful, until at last a friend relieved us of suspense, and told us that of course no one was permitted to enter—it was a private institution, being the place where a princely merchant stows away his coolies until they are ready for shipment! When I saw them from the garden highlands it was probably feeding-time. At Whampoa they use

\* *Young America Abroad.*

a hulk for this purpose. Poor wretches! they little know what is to be their fate."

While Mr. Train remained at Macao he witnessed a custom which he saw in other parts of China, the description of which is striking:—"We came back through the Chinese town, where with restless activity mechanics were working at their respective trades, shopmen were doing a thriving business, while barbers were never busier; there were music and dancing, with the sing-song artists, never more enthusiastic, and the pawnbrokers were crowded to suffocation, for to-morrow is the Chinaman's New Year, and hence the unusual bustle and excitement in the town: before midnight all accounts must be squared, all books balanced, all bills paid, and debtor and creditor must meet as friends, for it is the custom of China to close up the papers and make a clean breast of finance matters at the commencement of every new year. At every turn I see anxious faces, and men rushing with some little trinket to the Shylock's den, in order to raise a little more cash. There are many who know not what to do, for their pockets are empty, and their debts unpaid, and something must be done before the clock strikes twelve, or else they are disgraced in the eyes of their countrymen. Some bear the marks of desperation on their faces, and hence robbery or murder, perhaps suicide, ere the bell tolls the fatal hour; for 'tis no unusual thing to resort to violent measures if all else fail, and there be bills unpaid. What a strange custom! and yet it is universally followed from the sea-coast to the limits of Tartary. If Western nations balanced accounts as often, there would be less rottenness in finance, and more honesty in commerce. Here, at least, the idol worshipper teaches a lesson it were well if we would learn."

The island of Amoy affords an important position for any European power desirous of having a naval and military post off the Chinese coast; for it is well situated in reference to the great ports, and possesses a comparatively equable climate. The London press, particularly "the leading journal," strongly urged upon the government of Lord Derby, in 1858, the occupation of this island as a post for the security of English commerce. The island is about twelve miles in length, and ten in breadth, and contains within that small area a hundred and thirty villages and hamlets, and a population of nearly half a million persons. The city contains nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants; it is called after the island.

This little island is very picturesque, the surface being undulated from the sea-shore to



a central rocky ridge of considerable elevation, upon the top of which there is a well cultivated table-land several miles square. The rock is black, of a grey tint when broken, but that tint gives place to black after exposure to the atmosphere. The port is capable of holding one thousand vessels.

The city is situated in latitude  $24^{\circ} 32'$  north, and longitude  $118^{\circ} 8'$  east. It is built on a promontory, so as to expose three sides to the sea, and is necessarily long and straggling. The citadel is surrounded by a wall one mile in circumference. The palace and gardens of the Se-tak occupy a considerable portion of the inner city, beyond the wall of which dirty narrow lanes and low ill-constructed houses stretch away in every direction. The Chinese authorities are peculiarly strict in not allowing foreigners to traverse the island, insisting that "the day's journey," which, according to the treaty, was to be allowed for purposes of inland business at the ports, being interpreted to mean from sunrise to sunset. No foreigner is allowed to spend a night in any of the villages, yet the people of these villages have shown a more free disposition to foreigners, and especially to missionaries, than has been shown elsewhere. The local authorities are also very friendly, but the orders of the supreme government are imperative against giving any encouragement to foreigners beyond what the strictest rendering of the treaty entitles them to demand. Although the climate is equable, and the island has the reputation among the Chinese of being healthy, yet the city is not so, and terrible havoc has been made among the missionaries and their families by the insalubrious influences prevailing there.

CHUSAN is another island which public opinion in England and in India has demanded the government to occupy during the Chinese contest of 1858. It is situated at the southern entrance to the estuary of the Yang-tse-Kiang. The island is very fertile and pretty, but small. It is surrounded by a vast archipelago of lesser isles. Few small islands are so populous.

HONG-KONG is the only territorial acquisition made by the British in the Chinese empire. The name means "sweet waters." The islet is about twenty-five miles in circuit, and is situated at the mouth of the estuary which conducts to Canton, which is a hundred miles distant; Macao is forty miles from the island. The strait which separates it from the mainland is in some places less than a mile wide. Safe anchorage for ships is afforded by the Bay of Hong-Kong on a large scale. When, in 1842, the British acquired the island, there were not more than a thousand

inhabitants; in 1858 the number has increased to a hundred thousand.

The capital is called Victoria; it is the seat of a governor, and is an episcopal see. It is built in the form of a semicircle, upon the bay, the buildings extending for four or five miles on either side from the centre of the arc. The streets extend back as far as the mountain will allow; and as street rises above street on the ascent, they present a most interesting picture to a person beholding from the bay, while from the houses at the base of the mountain a magnificent panorama is presented of the town and bay, with the vast throng of commercial shipping, vessels of war, and innumerable fishing-boats, which generally keep "two and two," in order the more effectually to trawl their nets—contributing by this arrangement to the novelty and picturesque character of the scene. The country along the shores of the bay—sand, rock, and hill—adds to the general effect of this prospect.

The approach to the island is not prepossessing; the high grounds of Hong-Kong and the neighbouring islets look bleak and barren, but when the passenger arrives at the town of Victoria he experiences a most agreeable surprise, its fine buildings, sloping ascent, and the magnificent highlands beyond, affording a *coup d'œil* of a most pleasing kind. On landing, the stranger is struck by the proximity of the mountain to the city, overhanging it in a manner calculated to excite alarm for its future safety in case of earthquake, or any extraordinary season of heat or cold, by which the impending rocks might be lowered and hurled upon the houses beneath. Some of the newest houses, and even streets, have been built up the mountain's side. There are several good public buildings—such as government house, Bishop's College, and the Chinese chapel and school attached to it; also a Chinese printing-office, the different mission schools and churches, the hospital, church, club, barracks, military stores, and some of the merchants' establishments. The settlers and the Chinese are fond of giving fancy names to pleasant places in the vicinity—such as "Spring Gardens," "Happy Valley," &c. The public establishments are chiefly on the western side of the bay, called Western Point. Eastern Point is less public, and more picturesque. A Chinese boat-population—similar to that at Canton and other great cities built on large rivers on the seaboard—has already gathered at Hong-Kong.

The following notice of the habits of both the British and Chinese population is from the correspondent of the *New York Herald* in 1857:—"The club-house is most creditable



to the place, and the stranger not caring for the hotel is most comfortably off if introduced by any of his friends who may be members. A good library and all the English periodicals are on the tables and in the bookcase; and good chow-chow, good beds, and good attendance, can be purchased for about three dollars per day; but in China most gentlemen are immediately taken possession of by those who may be known to them, and then, of course, you make their house your home. Not to have a spare bed or two for the new comer would be considered contrary to the established usage of the land. You cannot but feel the greatest possible interest in witnessing the untiring industry of this race, so little known among Western nations. Women and men, and sometimes even little children, are hard at work making combs, trunks, or shoes; some chopping up meat, others arranging their vegetables; now it is a party of masons erecting a bamboo-stage, and then a chain-gang grading the hill at the point of the Hindoostanee soldier's bayonet; now coolies carrying water, an enormous load; then sedan chairs, borne by two or four; boys hawking about candies and sweetmeats; boatmen and house-servants coming and going all dressed in that peculiar national blue, wide trousers and Blucher jacket, and their long tail either wound about their head or trailing down behind. The streets of Hong-Kong offer a thousand subjects for reflection to those who have never been thrown in contact with the celestial race."

The same writer was struck by the resemblance of the island to certain auriferous districts both in California and Australia.

The government is conducted by a lieutenant-governor, chief-justice, and council of five. The first-named is the chief ordinary British official in China, as he superintends the trade of the *cinq*ue ports, and controls the subjects and ships of England in Chinese waters. The present lieutenant-governor is Sir John Bowring, a man of extensive learning and superior business habits. He is not a favourite with the missionaries in China, nor with the classes in England which send them there, and their distaste seems to have been provoked more by the tone which the lieutenant-governor has adopted than by any hostile acts. When in England he was identified with the Manchester school, in the interest of which he was returned for the Lancashire borough of Bolton. Sir John, then Dr. Bowring, was president of the Peace Society, and frequently expressed opinions on the subject of war utterly inconsistent with his official duties as the lieutenant-governor of Hong-Kong. This inconsistency has deprived

him of the confidence of large classes at home, while his policy in China and his commercial intelligence have won for him the trust of the merchants in China both British and foreign.

The Chinese population of Hong-Kong is truculent and seditious, partaking of the worst spirit prevalent at Canton. The English are readily served for money; but the real feeling of the whole Chinese population is a desire—at all costs, and by any means, however sanguinary or treacherous—to get rid of their presence. During the war in 1857 their attempts to poison the British population at Hong-Kong, and their schemes, more than once successful, to gain a footing on board ships as passengers, in order to murder the Europeans, and seize the ships, proved them to be at heart brutal and cowardly, however they might feign obedience and quietness.

The habits and customs of the people are as purely and obstinately Chinese as if they were not resident on British soil. As at Singapore, so at Hong-Kong, they retain their distinctive peculiarities as tenaciously as if they resided in Peking. Various efforts to induce them to conform to British habits in food and attire have been made, for sake of the convenience of such conformity, but without success. The Hong-Kong Chinamen are as fond of rice and tea, taken after their national mode, as their compatriots at Shanghai or Ningpo. Their idea of the way in which the latter article should be used has probably never been so happily expressed as by an imperial poet of their country:—"Graceful are the leaves of mei-hoa, sweetly scented and clear are the leaves of fo-cheon. But place upon a gentle fire the tripod whose colour and form tell of a far antiquity, and fill it with water of molten snow. Let it seethe till it would be hot enough to whiten fish or to redden a crab. Then pour it into a cup, made from the earth of yué, upon the tender leaves of a selected tea-tree. Let it rest till the mists which freely rise have formed themselves into thicker clouds, and until these have gradually ceased to weigh upon the surface, and at last float in their vapour. Then sip deliberately the delicious liquor; it will drive away all the five causes of disquietude which come to trouble us. You may taste, and you may feel, but never can you express in words or song that sweet tranquillity we draw from the essence thus prepared."

It is remarkable that not only at Hong-Kong, but at all the trading ports, an attempt is made to speak English, which, after a little practice, enables English and Chinese to converse with ease for all ordinary practical purposes. At Canton and Hong-Kong this is



called "Canton English," but at the other ports, and at Singapore and Malacca, it is called "Pigeon English." Certainly no other oriental nation has made such indefatigable and successful efforts to establish a medium of verbal communication with the English, based on English words.

Such is a general description of an empire with which we have been repeatedly at war—are at war while these pages are issuing from the press; within whose insular empire we have established ourselves; upon the confines of whose territories our Indian empire touches; and with which we are likely to hold still more important relations in the future. A few remarks in reference to their general condition will fitly close this chapter.

As to the present aspect of our commerce with the Chinese empire, commercial men may form their deductions from these facts:—

At the end of the commercial year 1854 the balance of trade between China and Great Britain was estimated at seven millions nine hundred thousand dollars, or two millions sterling, against China.

The estimate stands thus:—

IMPORTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND INDIA.

	Dollars.
Opium, 65,000 to 70,000 chests . . . . .	24,000,000
Cotton, 200,000 bales . . . . .	4,000,000
Manufactures, &c. . . . .	4,000,000
Straits and India . . . . .	1,600,000
Total . . . . .	33,600,000

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.

	Dollars.
Tea, 85,000,000 lbs. . . . .	15,000,000
Silk, 40,000 bales . . . . .	9,200,000
Sundries . . . . .	1,500,000
Total . . . . .	25,700,000

During the succeeding three years the exports to Great Britain have greatly increased.

In the commercial year 1856-7 the export of teas to England and her colonies was 87,741,000 lbs.; and in the same year the deliveries in England of China silk amounted to 74,215 bales.

In the chapter on the general commerce of India the relations of that part of our empire with China, especially in connection with the opium trade, will be discussed.

It is important to inquire whether the government of that country is likely to improve, and whether it presents a prospect of stability as to its principles, form, and dynasty. It does not possess the affections of the people. The emperor is more feared than loved—more revered with a superstitious regard to the sacredness of his person and functions than intelligently respected. The imperial throne has more authority, and is regarded with more affection, along the northern slopes of the Himalayas, or among the rovers of the

Mongolian deserts, than in China proper. The relation of the government to its remoter provinces is paternal; to its home provinces oppressive. The industry of the people, although persevering, is repressed, and the fiscal system is exacting and urgent. Everywhere there are traces of decay, and only the untiring labour of the people prevents a rapid retrocession in agriculture, manufactures, and general wealth. The faithful testimony of an eyewitness at the close of 1857 records such impressions when beholding the energy of the people and the effects of a bad and oppressive government, and the predominant originality of the Chinese race asserting itself in connection with all imported ideas, religious, scientific, and social:—"I notice everywhere the same lavish expenditure of labour in paving the footpaths and bridging the dykes with slabs of limestone or granite. The pagoda, from the galleries of which nothing is visible but the limitless flat plain and the frequent villages, is of course a thing comparatively of yesterday. The Buddhists brought the form from India not long before the birth of Christ; but these products of untiring toil, these mounds and dykes, these countless masses of enormous stones brought from afar,—still more those practical, matter-of-fact, Sabbathless, business-loving, pleasure-despising habits of mind, which, under a less corrupt and depressing system of rule, would lead the present race of Chinese to sustain these works and to create others—that insensibility to play of fancy, yet love of quaint conceits and forced antitheses—that incapacity to feel grace and beauty, yet strong appreciation of mere geometrical symmetry—that complete disconnection from (not divergence from) all the modes of thought and vehicles of thought, traditions, and superstitions of other nations—these things suggest a train of dreamy thoughts, and send the mind wandering back to times almost as old as that setting sun. May it not be that we have here a not very degenerate specimen of a civilization that covered the whole earth before our traditions begin—which spread and flourished before the Semitic or the Indo-Germanic race had being—which has left its traces in India and in England, in Mexico and in Italy, in California, and in Greece, in Brittany and in Normandy, and in the most remote islands of the ocean; pilers of mounds and hewers of mountains, builders of Babels whose might was quenched we know not how, and whose sparse descendants we can just trace under the names of Egyptians, Pelasgians, or Etruscans, mingling with new races, and losing their identity."

Throughout China proper there exists an



invidious nationality, which is intolerant of the governing family being of any other race than the Chinese: Mantchou, Calmuck, Mongol, it matters not which, the vast mass of the Chinese people hate Tartar rule, whether power be wielded by an emperor or his satrap. It is alleged by those who have made considerable acquaintance with China, that there cannot be less than seven millions of men bound together in secret societies, which preserve their fealty with stubborn attachment and constancy of purpose. Of course such a number would represent very many more than those actually confederated. Various efforts have been put forth to suppress these societies, but they have been fruitlessly made. Numbers implicated in the seditious confederacies have perished under the headsman's weapon, although life was offered to them if they would reveal the secrets of these associations. The punishment of death does not seem to have any terror for them; and although the government executions sweep thousands and tens of thousands away, the treasonable clubs increase in numbers and boldness.

The rebellion, which for a period of at least nine years has been raging in China, has excited the astonishment of Europe, and earnest inquiries as to its origin, character, and probable success, have been made ever since the tidings of the outbreak first reached Europe. As to the origin of it, there can be no doubt that the treasonable clubs had much to do in setting the example, and affording encouragement, and at length aid, but they did not originate it. The general discontent of the Chinese people was such as to prepare the public mind for any new combination against the government. A new and strange organization came into existence, but neither its founder nor those who joined it had any notion of directing it against the imperial throne. That organization was the "Chinese Union," founded by Dr. Gutzlaff exclusively for Christian purposes, as already shown upon a former page. Every member of this Union undertook to teach some other Chinaman what he knew of Christianity, or to place in his hands some evangelical treatise, or a portion of the sacred Scriptures. This "Union" extended rapidly into the interior, and some discontent with the government existed among its members, in consequence of the severe treatment received from Buddhist and Confucian fanatics, among the mandarins, officials, and scholars. The previously existing "political unions" (as they would be called in English parlance) inflamed this discontent purely for political purposes, they, in their exaggerated nationality, being eager to grasp

and use any instrumentality that promised to be effective in opposing the Mantchou dynasty. Eventually circumstances occurred, and a person arose, which gave to "the Union" a political as well as a religious character. A certain man, who from childhood had been skilful in all the learning of the Chinese, met with a native missionary, the assistant of the celebrated Congregational clergyman, Dr. Milne; this native teacher presented the young scholar with a tractate in the Chinese language on Christianity, which the latter read earnestly, and was led in the result to attend public worship as conducted by the Congregational missionaries. He continued to do so for a considerable time, and studied the Bible and other religious books such as he was likely in that connection to receive. Retiring to the interior, he engaged himself actively in connection with "the Union" of Dr. Gutzlaff, and succeeded in obtaining extraordinary accessions of members to the ranks of that religious confederacy. The mandarins persecuted him and the new converts; many were decapitated, and great numbers suffered the spoiling of their goods. These things were not known in the seaports, and of course not known in Europe, where the idea of native Protestants suffering martyrdom in great numbers would have excited an extraordinary sensation. After endurance for a considerable time, some of the evangelists arrested by the mandarins were rescued: attempts were made by the mandarins to punish those who took part in releasing the prisoners from custody, but the authorities were resisted by the evangelicals with more audacity than before, the political clubs making common cause with the members of the religious "Union," and all flew to arms. They were encountered by the Tartar troops, and a civil war began, having a twofold object—religious liberty, and the rescue of the Chinese race from the rule of the Mantchou dynasty. The political "clubbists" cared nothing for the objects of "the Union;" "the Unionists" regarded only the liberty of teaching and worship: but as these also were patriots, they, when once in arms, readily coalesced with the clubbists in a common effort to dethrone the Tartar tyranny. Various oppressed classes, and ultimately all the discontented, good and bad, joined these two sections of insurgents, and a motley army was formed under the chief leaders of "the Union," as they were men of superior intelligence and moral influence. The *tien-teh*, or chief, was Hung-sew-tsemen, the scholar who received the book from Dr. Milne's native teacher, Leang-Afah. The history of the origin of the insurrection



does not correspond with the accounts generally given by either the merchants or correspondents of the English and American press; it more nearly accords with that which the most experienced missionaries relate, but does not entirely agree with any. After most mature consideration of a vast variety of material, this appears to the author to be the only method of accounting for the origin and early rapid progress of the insurrection. A very respectable authority\* has lately combated the idea that Christianity had anything to do with the movement, and alleges, that the assumption of a religious motive was a mere trick of Chinese diplomacy, such as that crafty people are always so ready to resort to. But the publications of such of the rebel chiefs as had any connection with the Rev. Dr. Gutzlaff's Union render it utterly impossible to receive any such explanation of their conduct. No doubt the *Herald's* correspondent was informed by Chinese merchants, native and foreign, that such was the case, but it is declared on very respectable testimony, by one† who spent much time, and incurred much labour, in travel through Thibet, Mongolia, and China, that the government at Peking used every means to conceal the real facts of the case, and to misrepresent, distort, and pervert them. The native press was under strict surveillance; the provincial papers copied from the *Pekin Gazette*; and that journal, never veracious, was characterised by extraordinary mendacity in all its accounts of the opinions, purposes, and progress of the rebels, and of the origin, qualifications, and character of the chiefs. Even after the peace of 1842, when the British so completely vanquished the Chinese, that the emperor wrote to Key-ing and Pei-po, his majesty's commissioners, to make any terms with the barbarians, rather than allow the progress of their arms to continue, Huc, the traveller, declares that he was constantly asked by the people whither the barbarians whom the emperor had so severely chastised had been driven! "It is next to impossible to say what effect the late rebellions have had upon the government, for the articles in the *Pekin Gazette* only lead the people astray."‡ The following character of the origin and the originators of the great revolt is to some extent adverse to the narrative of both here given, and in some respects confirms it:—"The missionaries saw the handiwork of God, and their arduous labours fairly crowned with approaching success. Religion was the motive power, and many

of the clever writers traced the origin of the rebellion to Thae-ping-wang, who was a student of the missionary Roberts in 1833. Some of the merchants agreed, but more of them had no faith in the Christianity of the troubles. It was no general insurrection, and each chief at each place acted on his own responsibility, and was actuated only by the hope of plunder or rising to fame on the waves of revolution. One of the leading chieftains was known to have been a horse-boy (of bad character\*) of one of the merchants of Shanghai, and the others' history could not be traced to any good. The movement at Shanghai was entirely distinct from that one hundred and fifty miles up the Yang-tse-Kiang, at Nankin, while that at Amoy was not the same as that at Canton. Robbery and piracy were fast creating new men, and the government could not concentrate forces fast enough to put down the disturbers of the peace. The attack of the foreigners at Shanghai was, it will be remembered, on the imperial, not the rebel camp, showing the belief that the latter was the stronger. Then none knew how the battles would turn, and the foreigners, influenced only by trade and personal safety, were desirous of taking the popular side. Now they see their error, although many still hold that all was for the best; for had they not stopped the advances of the Tartar troops, no one would have been safe in the settlement. I have said that most of the missionaries believed that was only the ripening of the missionary fruit; and even now there are few of them that will endorse the position which I have taken, that nought but the love of piracy, and the excitement of the mob, influence the insurrection."

The general doctrines of the Unionists are the same as those of evangelical Protestants. Confirmation of this was afforded a few years ago when a number of the party emigrated to California. Concerning those men the *Neveda*, a Californian journal, stated that they were Protestants in doctrine and habit of life, and as such took oath upon the Bible in courts of justice. Many absurd opinions and blasphemous expressions have been attributed to the rebels of late years. This is accounted for variously. The supreme chief, soon after the perusal of the book given him by Leang-Afah, became ill from anxiety of mind, and the deep distress caused by the discovery that he had been an idolater and a "devil worshipper." During this illness he had visions, in which, as was natural in his excited state, there appeared to be urgent

\* The correspondent of the *New York Herald*.

† Huc.

‡ The *New York Herald*

\* This story has never been authenticated, and is probably without foundation.



revelations given to him to propagate the Word he had received, and, as he fancied, new revelations of truth were made to himself. It would appear that, while capable of reasoning well, and acting in concert with others, in reference to religious and political matters, he never recovered the shock of that illness, nor the intense impression made upon his mind by those visions. He was evidently subject to occasional aberration, and on those occasions put forth pretensions and opinions inconsistent with his ordinary behaviour, and his seriously avowed belief. Another explanation of these inconsistencies is to be found in the fact that the clubbists imitated the Unionists in their religious phraseology, because of the powerful effect which the evangelical doctrine exercised, and wishing politically to use its influence. These men did not understand the subject, and propounded doctrines, assumed titles, and performed acts in the name of the Bible and of Christ, which the members of "the Union" repudiated. The amalgamation, however, of the two sections went forward so rapidly, that much of the original purity of opinion and consistency of practice has departed. The original idea of civil and religious liberty which prevailed in the Union has also given place to a fanatical assumption that they are raised up to purge the earth of idolatry; under this notion they attack Buddhists and Roman Catholics, and destroy their places of worship. This circumstance has formed another source of misrepresentation. The Roman Catholics, being eager to deprive their persecutors of the character attaching to any moderate profession of Christian doctrine, have undoubtedly given descriptions of the creed and conduct of the rebels sometimes exaggerated, and in other instances unfounded.

The opinions deliberately published by "the Union" and its chiefs are such as cannot fail to demand the serious attention of Christendom; and whatever nonsense may be inculcated by some of the teachers or chiefs, there is in most of their proclamations and books a powerful leaven of evangelical truth. The supreme chief has been accused of blasphemy in calling Christ his brother, but it is a part of their phraseology to speak of God as "their celestial Father," and Christ as "their celestial Brother who redeemed them." It is in this sense that the term has been used, by such of the rebel chiefs at all events as had any connection with "the Union." Hung-sew-tsemen, who had been an author before he professed Christianity, wrote various compositions in prose and verse after his alleged conversion. The following is a specimen given by a very distinguished

American missionary\* who knew China well:—

"Confessing our transgressions against heaven,  
Our dependence upon the full atonement of Jesus,  
We should not believe in devils, but obey the holy Com-  
mandments,  
Should worship only the true God, with the full powers  
of the mind,  
Should think on the glories of heaven,  
Also on the terrors of hell, and pity the wicked,  
And early turn to the true, escaping  
From the errors and afflictions of the world."

This appears to have been written soon after the light of Christianity dawned upon his mind, and before the thought of being a political and military chief ever occurred to him. After he had raised the banner of revolt, he posted on the walls of some of the cities the following address to the insurgents:

"Believe truly in Jesus, and ultimately have happiness;  
Turn away from God, and ultimately have misery."

This species of military proclamation was imitated by men less capable of giving good advice to the insurgents, either as to arms, policy, or religion.

A church dignitary† at Hong-Kong has given the following prayer, as a specimen of the religious and devotional compositions in circulation among the rebels:—"I, thine unworthy son (or daughter), kneeling down upon the ground, with a true heart repent of my sins, and pray the great God (Shang-ti) our heavenly Father, of thine infinite goodness and mercy, to forgive my former ignorance and frequent transgressions of the Divine commands; earnestly beseeching thee, of thy great favour, to pardon all my former sins, and enable me to repent and lead a new life, so that my soul may ascend to heaven. May I from henceforth sincerely repent and forsake my evil ways, not worshipping corrupt spirits (Shin), nor practising perverse things, but obeying thy Divine commands. I also earnestly pray Thee, the great God our heavenly Father, constantly to bestow on me thy Holy Spirit, and change my wicked heart. Never again allow me to be deceived by malignant demons; but, perpetually regarding me with favour, for ever deliver me from the Evil One; and every day bestowing on me food and clothing, exempt me from calamity and woe, granting me tranquillity in the present world, and the enjoyment of endless happiness in heaven; through the merits of our Saviour and heavenly Brother, the Lord Jesus, who redeemed us from sin. I also pray the great God, our Father who is in heaven, that his will may be done on earth as it is in heaven. That thou wouldst look

\* Rev. Issachar Roberts.

† The Bishop of Victoria.



down and grant this request, is my heart's sincere desire.' In this extract from *The Book of Religious Precepts of the Thae-ping-wang Dynasty*, we have a clear recognition of the guilt of sin, the duty of repentance, the atonement of Jesus Christ, the need of a new heart, and the work of the Holy Spirit in renewing and purifying the soul for heaven."

A distinguished missionary\* of the Congregationalists says:—"The Emperors of China have been remarkable for their absurd claim of extravagant titles and relationships to heaven. The rival emperor declares that Wang (king), and not Shing (holy) nor Ti (emperor or potentate) belongs to him, for the latter term belongs only to the great Supreme Being (Shang-ti)."

In confirmation of this favourable opinion of the pretensions of the rebel chiefs, the same missionary quotes a proclamation from the chief to his army:—"The great God, He is God (Ti). The monarchs of this world may be called kings, and that is all. The great God (Shang-ti), our heavenly Father and Supreme Lord, is omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, the Supreme over all. There is not an individual who is not produced and cherished by Him. He is Shang (supreme); He is Ti (potentate). Besides the great God (Shang-ti), our heavenly Father and Supreme Lord, there is no one who can be called Shang, and no one who can be called Ti. Therefore from henceforth all you soldiers and officers may designate us your lord, and that is all; you must not call me supreme, lest you should encroach upon the designation of our heavenly Father. Our heavenly Father is our Holy Father, and our celestial elder Brother is our Holy Lord the Saviour of the world. Hence our heavenly Father and our celestial elder Brother alone are holy; and from henceforth all you soldiers and officers may designate us your lord, and that is all; but you must not call me holy, lest you encroach upon the designation of our heavenly Father and celestial elder Brother."

The prospects of the insurrection have been much discussed in China and in Europe. The most recent opinions given are unfavourable to its success. These views receive some confirmation from the fact that the rebels have lately experienced some signal defeats, have been driven from their important positions on the Grand Canal, and have lost some of the chief cities which they had conquered. This must not, however, be taken as proof of a failing cause, for some of their chief conquests were made with means so inadequate, that the wonder is they were

able so long to occupy them. The city of Amoy, for instance, containing so large a population, was stormed by about six thousand insurgents, *sans culots*, as Dr. Legge termed them, and, according to the same testimony, armed chiefly with knives: yet the surprised mandarins fled at the approach of danger, and the troops were so fascinated with the audacity of the stormers, that they made common cause with them. Subsequently the Tartars reconquered the city. The great bulk of the Chinese look listlessly on, taking no part, and caring little who is the conqueror, so as their ordinary business is not interfered with: the little interest they do take is, however, in sympathy with the insurgents.

The rebellion has lasted too long to expire under a few reverses caused by the insurgents having pushed on too far from their basis of operations. The doctrine which the revolvers are spreading is acting as a solvent upon the established order of things, too active and potent not finally to subdue both throne and temple. Even if the present insurrection were suppressed, the seed of it could not be extirpated: it has been sown broad-cast upon the Chinese mind. Since 1849,\* when the first outbreak showed itself—a period of nearly ten years—the moral influence of the rebellion among the people, although not among Europeans, has been growing, so that wherever a rebel army arrives, there is no disposition in even the most populous cities to resist them; and generally the Tartar troops fail to encounter with success the fierce energy of those earnest men. The last authority upon the prospects of the rebellion, whose opinion has reached Europe, is the correspondent of the *Times*. He thus expresses himself, writing at the latter end of August, 1857:—

"From three o'clock till eight I slept, and awoke to find myself moored against the village of Min-Hang. While at this village I fell in with a Chinese physician, who had escaped from Nankin when it fell into the hands of the rebels. He was the first specimen of a Chinese gentleman I had seen. The villages in this neighbourhood contain many fugitives from the rebel districts. The government lodges them in the temples, and allows them thirty cash (about threepence) a day, wherewith, at the present prices, they cannot buy even a sufficiency of rice. Of course disease is common among them, and this benevolent old gentleman devotes himself to their care. He came on board my boat, and we had a long chat. He insists that the key of the Yang-tse-Kiang. Chin-Kiang, has

\* The late Dr. Medhurst.

\* It was not until 1853 that it gained head.



been recovered by the Imperialists; for his friends at Soo-choo have written to him to say so. I doubt this, however; for if this decisive event had happened, the government would certainly have announced it at Shanghai. His view is that the rebellion is dying out. He says the locusts have destroyed it, having especially come upon those provinces where the rebels hold their sway. He does not rest his expectation upon the imperial armies, for he says that the rebels are robbers and murderers, accustomed to every artifice, and adepts in all villany. All the loyal people can do is to hem the conflagration round, and wait till it burns out.

"These are the opinions of a well-informed Chinese gentleman, who has seen much more of these rebels than the Europeans who have written upon the subject. About forty-eight hours is the longest period that any European has been among them, and they have never invited any closer intercourse. Mr. Edkins interpreted for me these sayings of my Chinese acquaintance with no great satisfaction. The missionaries still hang their hope upon this rebel cause: the facts are unpromising, but still they hope. Devastation and bloodshed track the course of these insurgents wherever they go, but these are only necessary incidents of civil war. The ruin of those public works, which are to China what their dams are to the Dutch, mark where these rebels are, and where they have been. Still more widely-extended ruin follows upon the exhaustion of the imperial treasury. The two great rivers, no longer restrained by the great artificial embankments, now suffered to decay, are altering their courses, and devastating tracts as large as European kingdoms. Perhaps a man whose fervid religious zeal is akin to that which animated Joshua or Gideon, may see in all this but the will of God working to a great end, but the religious facts are not encouraging. The nominal head of the movement, claimed as a missionary convert, has sought no communication with any Christian teacher. He boasts himself the sovereign of the whole earth, calls himself the younger brother of Jesus Christ, and claims to have constant personal intercourse with the Almighty. His second in command, the king of the east, blasphemously styled himself the Holy Ghost; but he has been slain in internecine conflict, and the great leader, or his counsellors, proved their vigour and their Christian humanity by butchering two thousand of his adherents in cold blood.

"This does not look like a hopeful result of a missionary conversion, nor does it give much promise of temporal success to the

insurrectionary movement. But then these reformers put to death the 'idolaters,' whether they call themselves the priests of Buddha or the missionaries of the Pope; they forbid opium-smoking under pain of death, and tobacco-smoking under pain of blows; they appear to have read, although they have misinterpreted, the sacred books which the missionaries distribute. Amid the outpourings of blood, in famine and pestilence, in the wreck of all the physical good which antiquity has wrought, our missionaries think they see a hope for the religion of the Bible."

It is but just to the writer of the foregoing passage to state, that he admits his fellow-traveller, the Rev. Mr. Edkins, Congregational missionary, differed from him totally in his views as to the principles and prospects of the insurgents. That the reader may put upon this admission its full value, the following is the correspondent's estimate of the judgment of that clergyman. Having described some of the missionaries as having urged the rebels "to go forth and kill," an extremely improbable hearsay story, the correspondent observes:—"Mr. Edkins is a man of very different spirit to such as these. Upon the testimony of the linguists of Paris, and of the Chinese here, I know him to be one of the greatest of Chinese scholars, and from my own intercourse with him I can say that he is fairly read in the sciences, and well acquainted with western literature. He has undertaken the task of showing the Chinese that we have a literature, and thus disabusing them of that contempt which extends itself to our faith. His American coadjutor, Dr. Macgowan, undertakes to instruct their graduates in the mysteries of the electric telegraph, and their pilots in the law of storms. Missionary labours thus directed must result in good. Your medical missionaries, such as Dr. Lockhart and Dr. Parker, command the gratitude and goodwill of the people. Men of learning, like Mr. Edkins and Dr. Macgowan gradually compel the respect of the literati. These men are ploughing a soil in expectation of a seed-time which is not yet. To the missionary societies of England and America I would say *hæ tibi erunt artes*,—ignorant declaimers in bad Chinese have no success in China. Their preaching is foolishness in more than the apostolic sense; but this practical and conceited people only jeer and blaspheme. Yet I have found even the higher class of missionaries hoping against hope that the rebels may succeed, and that they may turn out to be Christians."

A correspondent of the *New York Herald*, whose letters were dated a little earlier than those just quoted, takes the same views, and



they are expressed in a manner which entitles them to consideration:—

“I have given my reasons for believing that the late insurrection was entirely foreign from the Christian’s labours; but, as I have said, few of the members of the mission will agree with me. However, my opinion goes for what it is worth. Read MacDowal’s and Meadows’ correspondence in the *Times* last year, if you wish to see different views. The one argues directly against the other; but neither conclusively. Depend upon it, the Tsing dynasty came much nearer being overthrown with the English war than by the late movement; for the one had power, the other only told of weakness. It is utterly impossible to say what a day may bring forth. Here, as in Europe, a change may come in the night-time. China may remain stationary for a year or two, or longer, and then, *mirabile dictu*, all may be in commotion again. As Europe was in the middle ages, so is China now—just upon the eve of some wonderful moral and political change. Feudal Europe held back for a long time from civilization, from the arts, literature, and commerce. So it is now with China. Foreign influence must work out the country’s destiny. What is wanted is the united action of several nations—an allied fleet to wake them from their lethargic slumbers.

“I have shown, in running my eye through the page of history, that the revolution of 1853 is nothing at all unusual: periodical storms of insurrections have and will continue to spread the Jacobin system throughout the empire; the same restless democratic spirit that is working at the vitals of European monarchism, in a different form is eating at the roots of the Tartar’s throne. I can imagine nothing more terrible than the breaking up into petty governments of such a mighty people. Better be as they are, than in the hands of native princes, each striving for the other’s life.”

As a question of authority between “the correspondents” and the missionaries, it will not be wonderful if men who have known China for many years, and have conversed with the rebels, should know better the condition of China, and the state of Chinese parties; nor is it unlikely or unreasonable, that men accustomed to study human nature from the religious point of view, should be the better judges of a great religious or quasi-religious movement. Probably no man in

China is more competent than the Rev. Dr. Legge, of the Congregational mission, to judge this matter. His views are, that although the fortunes of the rebels may be chequered, they are sure to succeed in the end; that in such case they will open China to European commerce, but will nevertheless suppress the opium trade; that although they imperfectly understand Christianity, and civil and religious liberty, they will make China as free to the missionary as to the merchant; and however likely at first to persecute idolatry in every form, they will yield to more tolerant views under the influence of Christian ministers, and the social and political ideas entertained by the English, Americans, and others conducting commerce at their ports.

The merchant class in China is less favourable than the missionary class to the rebel cause, in consequence of the notorious determination of the insurgents to suppress a traffic by which the trader profits. This will, perhaps, explain much of the too sanguine favour shown by the one, and the distrust or hostility of the other, to the insurrectionary party. There can be no doubt that the issue of the war with England in 1842 deprived the Tartar troops of all prestige in the eyes of the people, and inspired the hope of a successful struggle; and that the present war with England and France will be productive of the same result in a still greater degree, affording new life to the rebel cause. Should success crown their efforts, then, in the words of Dr. Legge, it may be said, “there will be effected one of the greatest revolutions the world ever saw.” Idolatry will cease to be the established creed of one-third of the earth’s population; Christianity, in a form more or less enlightened, will be ostensibly recognised by that proportion of mankind; and freedom of intercourse will be secured between China and Europe, productive of marvellous commercial results. Should such a change take place in China, Japan, Java, and other benighted regions of the East will feel the vibrations of a moral and political earthquake extensive and mighty, and be startled from the social, moral, and intellectual torpor in which they have been so long benumbed. The regeneration of China is the regeneration of the oriental world; for the industry and enterprise of the race fit them to become the apostles of a new eastern civilization.



## CHAPTER XII.

INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN THEATRES OF WAR DURING THE PROGRESS OF OUR EASTERN DOMINION (*Continued*).

## BIRMAH.

THE empire of Ava comprises many territories which did not originally belong to it, and which have all been included under the general name of BIRMAH. Fierce wars have been conducted by the Birmese with Cochin China, Siam, Laos, Pegu, and with every people around them, by which their dominion gradually extended over the whole of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. In this career of conquest many checks were experienced, especially from the Peguans, who at one time plundered the capital of Ava. The wars with England were disastrous to the Birmese, issuing in the loss of some of their finest territories, comprising, as shown on another page, the countries along the whole eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. Having already described the provinces thus conquered from the Birmese, it will be unnecessary to dwell long upon the characteristics of an empire, our chief interest in which is connected with its contiguity to those conquests.

The Birman empire, in its present extent—shorn of the territories wrested from it so lately by the English—occupies that portion of the Indo-Chinese peninsula which separates the British dominions from those of China proper and Siam. It is bounded on the north by Assam and Thibet; on the east by China and Siam; on the west by certain states of India tributary to Great Britain, and by the British province of Arracan; on the south by China, Siam, and Pegu. It is impossible to say with precision what are its precise boundaries along its eastern and south-eastern frontiers, as they are perpetually changing, especially from disputes with Laos, Lachtho, Cambosia, and Siam. These are peaceful nations, but the love of extending territory, which seems ingrained in the hearts of all orientals, brings them into incessant differences with the Birmese, who are, however, more generally the aggressors. The area is unknown: no surveys exist, and any statement would rest on mere conjecture. Since the loss of Tenasserim, Pegu, and the other ceded territories north of the latter, it is alleged that from two hundred thousand square miles, which the empire once contained, its area has been reduced to half that extent.

The number of the population cannot be ascertained: the highest estimate is about sixteen millions. The ancient part of the

empire—that which is inhabited by the governing race—is Ava, a very extensive region. It gives its name to the whole of the Birmese dominions, which are frequently called the empire of Ava; and it is supposed by some writers to take its name from the city so designated, which is upon the right bank of the Irrawaddy, and central to the empire.

The climate is one of the finest in India, especially in the northern portions of Ava bordering Thibet. The intense heat experienced in the British provinces of Tenasserim, Pegu, and Arracan, is not common in any part of Ava, except for a short time during midsummer: the climate is, however, very warm in every part of the empire. The productions of the soil are tropical. The regularity of the seasons is favourable to the cultivator, as he can nearly always rely upon a return of the expected produce, and has no difficulty in determining upon what is suitable to plant or sow. There is very little lowland in Ava, and hence, notwithstanding the low latitude, vegetables and fruits common to Southern Europe in some places grow well. Most of the productions of India and China thrive within the limits of the old Birman empire. Good wheat, and other cereals, are raised. Tobacco, cotton of two sorts (one very white, the other brown, suitable for nankeens), indigo, sugar-cane, and rice, yield abundant crops to the husbandman. Nearly all the fruits of the tropics are plentiful in Ava. Trees of very many kinds flourish: teak grows thickly by the river courses, although the best kinds are found in the mountains, which are also crowned with varieties of useful firs. The forest districts are unhealthy, as they are in India. Ague and jungle fever are very common, and Europeans cannot encounter the pestiferous influence of these neighbourhoods. The woodmen are a peculiar class, who live by the timber trade: they endure the deleterious influences of the climate as none others can, but they seldom live to an advanced age.

The tea-plant is indigenous to Birmah: some good qualities of the Assam species are found on the frontier of that country. Some very fine qualities have been also discovered on the Chinese frontier, but the quantity picked in either case is very small. In the interior there are wild plants, which are very prolific, bearing a leaf resembling Bohea; and



a peculiar species, the leaf of which makes a most agreeable pickle, in the opinion of some Europeans surpassing all others.

The mineral productions of Birmah are abundant as they are varied. The gold and silver mines of Badouem, on the Chinese frontiers, have been long known. The mines of Woobolootan are amongst the most remarkable in the world; they are situated on the hilly range near the River Keenduem, and yield gold, silver, sapphires, and rubies. Near the city of Ava, at Keoummevum, there are mines still richer, and the variety of the treasures found there probably exceeds that of any other mines in the world. Between the Rivers Irriwaddy and Keenduem there is a small river called the *Shoe Lien Koup* (the stream of the golden sand), in which gold dust in large quantities is obtained. In many of the minor streams, along the lower mountain slopes, gold is found in the sands. Ava is famous for its beautiful chrysolites. Amethysts and garnets are found in very great numbers: jasper is a product much prized by the Birmese. Near some of the rivers amber, the purest and most pellucid in the world, is dug up. The marble of Birmah is likewise unrivalled; it admits of a polish which renders it almost transparent. This commodity is invested with religious sacredness, because the images of Buddha are formed from it: its exportation is prohibited, except through the medium of government. There are but few minerals which are not to be found in Birmah: iron, tin, lead, antimony, arsenic, and sulphur, are obtained in large quantities, with but little expenditure of labour or capital.

One of the curiosities of Birmese production is the petroleum oil, which is drawn from wells, that have attained great celebrity in the East: throughout the imperial provinces this oil is much in request, and as the government holds a monopoly of its sale, a large revenue is thence derived.

The animals of Ava are of the same species as those of Arracan, Pegu, and Tenasserim generally, which have been already described when an account of those vanquished provinces of the Birman empire was given. In Ava the elephant is much prized.

The vegetable, mineral, and animal products of this fine country are articles of commerce with neighbouring nations, and but for the illiberal commercial notions of both the people and the government, the Birmese empire would, ages since, have been a vast emporium, so numerous and valuable are its resources.

The chief commerce is conducted with China, in which country there is a market for most Birmese commodities; and the manufactures of China are highly valued in Ava.

China takes most of the cotton which is exported, and especially of the brown sort, which is manufactured into cloth in the city of Nankin. The Chinese eagerly purchase from the Birmans amber, ivory, precious stones, and betel-nut. Formerly edible birds' nests were a Birman export, but these were sent to China by provinces which are now British. The Birmese receive for their commodities from China silks raw and wrought, velvets, gold-leaf, paper, porcelain, and metal vessels. The Avaneese are very desirous to procure Chinese preserves, which are in high reputation in all that part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Cocoa-nut is a much valued importation from Ceylon and Continental India. From the latter muslins are received, and broad-cloths from England. The beautiful wing and tail feathers of the Argus pheasant (*Argus giganteus*), found only in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the Island of Sumatra, were formerly a profitable commodity of Birmese commerce. They are now generally exported from Malacca. Marabout feathers are at present obtained chiefly from Cochin China: previously they were also a Birmese export.

Feathers were, at a former period, woven for clothing in Ava and China. The forests of the former, and the sea-coasts, afforded haunts for multitudes of birds; and the feathers were plaited or woven into garments with great ingenuity. The plaited feather-work of Ava was very beautiful, but the Chinese excelled in incorporating feathers with various tissues, and producing what they called feather-cloth. This art is almost lost in China: it is still practised after a rude fashion in Ava. The Birmese also used feathers in decorating jewellery, but the natives of China excelled them greatly in this art, which they still successfully practise, the higher classes of the Birmese being good customers: feathers, precious stones, and the precious metals being exchanged for these decorated products of Chinese ingenuity. These manufactures are of a character so peculiar and remarkable, that a description of the processes cannot fail to interest the reader. A distinguished naturalist, referring to the uses to which the ancient Birmese and Chinese put the feathers, so abundant on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and particularly naming the head-ornaments and feather-cloths, observes:—

“Among them was the celestial goose velvet, the foundation of the fabric being of silk, into which the feathers were ingeniously and skilfully interwoven on a common loom, those of a crimson hue being the most expensive. Of these wild goose feathers two kinds of cloth were made—one for winter, the other



for summer wear. Rain could not moisten them: they were called 'rain satin' and 'rain gauze' respectively. Canton men imitated the manufacture, employing feathers of the common goose, blending them with cloth. This fabric, though inferior in quality, was much cheaper. Goods of the same description were also brought from Hohleh (believed to be Bokhara), made of birds' feathers: they were twilled, the crimson-coloured being most valued. The article was too heavy for garments. The Cantonese also learned to imitate this, making it like plain silk, and inferior to that from abroad. Although the Chinese would seem to have lost the art of weaving feathers, plumagery is still extensively practised in the decoration of metallic ornaments worn by all classes of females, chiefly on the head. The gaudy lustre of the metal is softened by laying over portions of it a covering of blue feathers representing flowers, insects, birds, and the like, which imparts indescribable beauty to the silversmith's elaborate filigrees. The art appears to most advantage as practised by artificers, whose occupation is the manufacture of garlands, chaplets, frontals, tiaras, and crowns of very thin copper, on which purple, dark and light blue feathers of gorgeous brilliancy are laid with exquisite taste and skill. A more tasteful, elegant, or gorgeous blending of art and nature than is exhibited in some of these head-dresses, perhaps no ingenuity has hitherto devised.

"As this elegant art has not hitherto attracted the attention of foreigners, the mode of procedure may be briefly described:—On the table at which the workman sits, he has a fasciculus of feathers, a small furnace with a few embers for keeping warm a cup of glue, a small cutting instrument like a screw-driver, a pencil or brush, and the articles—either silver-gilt, copper-tinsel, or pasteboard—which are to be feathered. The thumb and index-finger being smeared with glue, the feathers are gently drawn between them, which stiffens the barbs, causing them to adhere firmly together; and when dry the perpendicular blade is drawn close to the shaft, dividing it from the barbed portion. Holding this cutting instrument as in writing, *à la Chinoise*, the artist, by pressing on the strips of barb with the knife, cuts them into the desired size and shape, which is a work of some delicacy—the pieces being very small, in the form of petals, scales, diamonds, squares, and the like, and requiring to be of the same size as the particular spot on which they are to be laid. Besides fingering this tool in the manner described, he holds the pencil nearly as we do a pen, dips it into the glue, brushes the spot to be coated; then expertly reversing

it, touches with its opposite point a tiny bit of feather, which is thus lifted up and laid on the part for which it was fitted. Care is requisite, also, in giving a proper direction to this twilled work, for such, of course, is the appearance presented by the barbs. The feathers most in demand for this purpose are from a beautiful species of *alcedo*, brought from the tropical regions of Asia: they are employed for silver articles. King-fishers of coarser plumage and less brilliant hues, found throughout the country, are used for ornaments made of copper or pasteboard. Blue always greatly predominates over lighter or darker shades, relieved by purple, white, or yellow." \*

Several substances for tanning are exported from the limits of the old Birmese empire, some of which are the products of Birmah proper—terra japonica, an inspissated extract from the leaves and branches of the *Uncaria gambier*, and cutch, an astringent extract, obtained by boiling the wood of the *Acacia catechu*, are specimens of these.

The bone fans, in the manufacture of which the Chinese so excel, are made from material in a large degree supplied by the Birmese empire. The ivory fans of China and other ivory manufactures of the celestial empire are made in considerable part from material exported by either the Avanese or inhabitants of British Birmah. Although African ivory is preferred in this country, the Chinese find it more convenient to obtain that of Birmah in exchange for their silks. The ivory of the tame elephant of Birmah is supposed to be superior to that of the animal in a tame condition elsewhere. That from the wild animal of Birmah is valued by the Chinese as highly as the best African. The uses to which ivory may be put are almost innumerable,† and the natives of the empires of Birmah and China adopt a very great number of them. Fans, flowers, fancy boxes, idols, idol furniture, altars, inlaid work for columns and doors of temples, throne decorations, and ornaments for the pavilion of the white elephant, are some of the purposes for which it is employed. The government has a monopoly of such as is exported to China. Ivory dust is used for food by some of the higher classes, which others consider to be irreligious. The blanc-mange which is made from it is extremely agreeable. The Birmese never succeeded in attaining to the perfection of either the Indians or Chinese in the working of

\* Dr. Macgowan on Chinese and Aztec Plumagery, in *American Journal of Science and Art*.

† See a Paper read by Professor Owen before the Society of Arts, reported in the *Society's Journal* of the 19th of December, 1856.



ivory; for although some good specimens of Birmese carving exist, especially of ancient date, yet the following encomium upon their more artistic neighbours is correct:—"The Chinese have long been celebrated for their excellence in the fabrication of ornamental articles in ivory, and, strange to say, up to our own time, their productions are still unrivalled. European artists have never succeeded in cutting ivory after the manner of these people, nor, to all appearance, is it likely they ever will. Nothing can be more exquisitely beautiful than the delicate lace-work of a Chinese fan, or the elaborate carving of their miniature junks, chess-pieces, and concentric balls: their models of temples, pagodas, and other pieces of architecture, are likewise skilfully constructed; and yet three thousand years ago such monuments of art were executed with the very same grace and fidelity!"\*

Horn, particularly the horn of the buffalo, is also sent to China, where it is manufactured into drinking-cups, hilts of swords, snuff-boxes, &c. In Birmah drinking vessels are made out of this material by the hand, and in a most wasteful manner; in China the process is as scientific as in England, and therefore less expensive than the Birmese work, so that these articles are sent into Ava, made from the horn imported thence to China. The process in the latter country may be thus described:—"The horn, being sawn to the required length, is scalded and washed over the fire, but, instead of being slit and opened, is placed, while hot, in a conical mould of wood; a corresponding plug of wood is then driven hard in to bring the horn to shape. Here it remains till cold, and is then taken out, and fixed by the large end on the mandril of a lathe, when it is turned and polished both inside and outside, and a groove or *chime*, as the coopers call it, is cut by a gauge tool within the small end for receiving the bottom. The horn is then taken off the lathe, and laid before the fire, when it expands, and becomes somewhat flexible; a round flat piece of horn, of the proper size (cut out of a plate by means of a kind of crown saw), is dropped in, and forced down till it reaches the chime, and becomes perfectly fixed in this situation, and water-tight by the subsequent contraction of the horn as it cools." The buffalo and deer horns imported from Siam to Great Britain frequently pass into that country from the Birman empire, and nearly thirty thousand pairs of horns reach England from the Siamese coasts.

Hogs' skins are used in the manufacture of shoes. The animal thrives in Birmah, as it

does in almost all countries and climates. The most valuable wax imported to England is the insect wax of Birmah and China, the secretion of the *Coccus ceriferus*. Musk, in grain and in the pod, is brought to England from Birmah and Siam.

The Birmans use no coin in their commercial dealings with foreigners or with one another; silver in bullion, and lead, are used as the currency.

The people are muscular and active, but not tall. The complexion is purer than that of the Chinese, and much fairer than that of the natives of Bengal, the form both of feature and person much more resembling that of the Chinese. The women are much fairer than the men, and in the northern parts of the country they are sometimes fairer than the inhabitants of Southern Europe.

The government is despotic, the emperor, like his brother of China, assuming the most absurd and pompous titles. In a state document of 1810 the King of England was described as the emperor's vassal. There are no hereditary offices or titles, all honours reverting to the crown upon the decease of the possessor. The officials and wealthy classes are polite and affable, but subtle and rapacious. This arises in part from the extreme oppressions to which they are subjected on the part of the crown, in order to enhance the already enormous riches of the royal house, which possesses stores of precious metals and precious stones, the most costly Chinese silks, ivory carvings, plate, and other articles of expensive Chinese manufacture, reputed to be of enormous worth.

The Birmese have always been warlike, and especially addicted to naval warfare. Their war-boats were a terror in the Bay of Bengal and in the Eastern seas at a period not very remote. The whole people are liable to be called out to military service; but a very small standing army is also retained, which, for the most part, consists of native Christians. The discipline and arms are alike wretched. In combat with men whose weapons are not superior, the Birmese show great spirit and courage. The *henza*, or Brahminy goose, is the royal ensign, like the eagle of certain European armies, ancient and modern.

The Pali language is the sacred text of Ava, Siam, and Pegu. The Birman language is written in the Sanscrit character, but bears no resemblance in construction to that language.\* The character in common use throughout Ava is a round Nogari, derived from the square Pali. It is formed of circles and segments of circles, variously disposed,

\* Report of the Society of Arts.

\* Missionary reports.



and is written from left to right.\* The higher classes affect an indistinct pronunciation.

The Birmanians are fond of literature. A curious exemplification of this exists in the fact that Sir William Jones's translation of the institutes of Hindoo law were translated by an Armenian, in 1795, under the orders of the Birman emperor. Letters are so generally diffused, that very considerable numbers can read and write. Those who can afford to keep libraries do so, and, as in China, the public libraries are on a large scale. They are, however, few in Birman. According to one authority,† the library of his Birman majesty, early in this century, was the largest royal library in Asia. The people are fond of poetry and music, and love to repeat in verse, and sing, the exploits of their ancient kings.

The religion of Birman, as the reader has seen from references in previous pages, is Buddhist. There are no castes, and no hereditary trades or professions. The characteristics of this religion have been sufficiently depicted in former chapters. There is, however, one most extraordinary superstition for which the empire is noted—the reverence paid to the white elephant. The Birman, who believe in metempsychosis, suppose that a white elephant contains a human soul in the last of many millions of transmigrations, at the conclusion of which he is absorbed into the Deity. A white elephant is, in consequence of this superstition, always selected for the highest post of dignity in the kingdom next to that of the emperor. The elephant takes precedent of the queen. The following description is the substance of one given in more detail by Captain Canning after a visit to the capital of Ava in 1812:—The residence of the white elephant is contiguous to the royal palace, with which it is connected by a long open gallery supported by numerous wooden pillars, at the farther end of which a curtain of black velvet, embossed with gold, conceals the august animal from the eyes of the vulgar, and before this curtain the offerings intended for him are displayed. His dwelling is a lofty hall covered with splendid gilding both inside and out, and supported by a number of elegant columns; his trappings are very magnificent, being gold studded with large diamonds, pearls, sapphires, rubies, and other precious stones; the vessels out of which he feeds are likewise of gold inlaid with precious stones, and his attendants and guard amount to a thousand persons. The animal thus fed, dressed, and attended, and apparently unconscious of his

own importance, receives at a great distance the homage of his votaries, who humbly bow their heads before him nearly to the ground. He possesses a cabinet, composed of a *wringhee*, or prime-minister, a secretary of state, an under-secretary, a transmitter of intelligence, and various inferior officers, who are, nevertheless, high functionaries. There are several large estates in different parts of the country which belong to him, and by the income of which the vast expenditure connected with his dignity is defrayed. When such is the religion of Birman, the moral and social life of its people cannot be expected to approach in any degree what is pure or happy.

As in China, the extraordinary minute provision made for the punishment of offences, and the multitude of crimes thus provided for, show the laxity of the people and the rigidity of the government.

The treatment of woman is one of the worst features of Birman social life. They are subjected to every species of hardship, but are not shut up, as in India; on the contrary, they are as unrestrained as European women. There is a peculiar institution affecting woman, which may be called wife-lending, which would demoralise any country where such a law and such a practice was permitted to exist. Females, married or single, are *leased* for a certain time to serve as a wife, especially to strangers. If the stranger is obliged to depart the country, the bond ceases to be effective—both parties are free. Yet the women are seldom unfaithful. It is rare for a Birman woman to betray her husband, even under the vilest provocation. No women in the East, or perhaps in the world, are so little given to intrigue in any form. Even when placed under bond to a stranger, they are true to that bond, and are kind to their offspring. All children of Europeans born in Ava are held by the laws to be the subjects of the emperor, and cannot be removed without his special permission, which it is presumed he would hardly dare to refuse when British subjects made the demand, yet under cover of this law shameful desertion has been excused. In British Birman similar customs exist in respect to woman, but of course without the sanction of law. The result, however, is injurious not only to the unfortunate women who are deserted, but to the reputation of England and of British subjects. The Birman correspondent of the *New York Tribune* recently gave an *expose* of the consequences ensuing from such a demoralised state of society, calculated to enlist the sympathy of every British philanthropist, especially when it is remembered

\* Captain Canning.

† Colonel Symes.



how the religious and benevolent public of America have struggled to sow the seeds of truth both in British and native Birmah, and their noble exertions to save and educate the native females of those territories. According to the statement in the *Tribune*, many Europeans take advantage of the customs above referred to, and often have families by native women, who are left wholly destitute, the children to grow up heathens, and less cared for than those of Birmese fathers. The correspondent thus exemplifies his assertion :

“Three years ago this present month I was informed by a Birman that a young Englishman had entered the monasteries of the priests, and embraced the Buddhist religion. I could not believe such a statement, and took no small pains to look into the matter. I found, to my inexpressible regret, that the cast-off son of an English gentleman had shaved his head, put on the yellow robes, and entered the monastery as a priest of Buddha, where he daily bowed before the idols of Gotama, and was worshipped by the people as himself a god. His father was—he know not where.

“During the same season, while travelling in the jungle, remote from any city, I called at a small village, where my attention was arrested by a lad about twelve years of age under the care of a priest, and in training for the priesthood. He had the large Roman nose, an intelligent forehead, brown hair, and every feature indicated that he possessed a large share of English blood. I made inquiries concerning his parentage. He was the son of an English officer, but had never known his father. His mother died when he was an infant, and, but for the ‘tender mercies of the heathen,’ he would have been left to perish. My heart yearned for the poor boy. I would gladly have taken him to my heart’s home; but he had been given to the priests, who were unwilling to part with so valuable a prize. I have never seen or heard from him since.

“About two years ago I was passing by a market-place, and saw two girls—perhaps I should say young ladies—of eighteen and twenty years of age selling fish and a variety of eatables. They were dressed in Birmese costumes, but so strong were their English features, that I inquired of a man near by concerning them. He said they were the daughters of an English officer, who left the place eighteen years ago, when the youngest was an infant. Their mother died soon after, and they had been brought up by their grandmother, who was very poor. They had no knowledge of their father. Neither could speak or read a word of English. They

were heathen, although the daughters of a nominally Christian father. They lived, dressed, and worshipped as the heathen do—slept on a mat, and ate with their fingers.

“I called a few days ago at the house of a collector of revenues in this city. His wife was the daughter of an English physician once stationed here. She said she had been told by her mother that her father was Dr. somebody (I could not make out who), and that he lives at Madras, though she has not heard from him for many long years. Poor woman! I fear she will never hear from her father again. Her husband is a very strong Buddhist, and she joins with him in all his acts of heathen worship.

“Not long since, while passing through the streets, I saw a little girl about two years of age. She possessed English features to a remarkable degree, and, more than all else, the Anglo-Saxon indomitable ruling propensity, for with a stick she was driving about the yard a number of children, some of whom were many years her seniors. I inquired concerning the child, and learned that it was the daughter of an officer who had left the place before the birth of the child. He had made no provision either for her or her mother. The mother had recently taken a Birmese husband.

“I called one day at a house where was a Birmese funeral. A large congregation had assembled, and among the crowd I noticed a white child about a year old. It was a bitter cold morning for this country. The poor child was bareheaded and barefooted, and covered only with a thin calico slip, through and under which the bitter east wind was piercing as the little one clung to the bosom of her mother, a thin delicate girl of eighteen. I inquired concerning the father of the child, and was told that its father was Captain —, who left the place about a year previous. For the first few months he sent the mother a small pittance per month, but she was now entirely dependent upon her own labour for the support of herself and her worse than fatherless infant. This captain, let it be remarked, had an English wife and family, whom he left in Bengal while on these coasts.”

The empire of Ava has few cities, yet the country places are sparsely inhabited, the people collecting in villages, as in India.

There are two capitals—Ava and Umme-rapore; and these are the only towns of any great note in the Ava dominions. The first-named of these two cities is more properly designated Aingwa, but corrupted by Europeans into Ava. It is situated in latitude



21° 51' north, and longitude 95° 58' east. It is only four miles from Ummerapore, and both may be considered one city, from the intimate connection between them, the environs of one nearly meeting the other. Ava is divided into two fortified departments—one only a mile in circumference, the other four miles. It is a place of temples, most of them passing into a state of dilapidation; but the superstitious people, although willing to build others, would regard it as sacrilege to repair those that still exist. In the temple of Logathero Praw there is a gigantic idol of Buddha, formed from a huge block of the purest marble. The idol occupies a sitting posture, and from the pedestal on which it is represented as sitting to the top of the head it measures thirty-four feet. The measurement across the breast is ten feet, and the diameter of the head is eight feet. Colonel Symes was of opinion that the temple was built over this colossal figure, as the door would be too small to admit even the head. Ummerapore (the city of the immortals) is situated on the banks of an extensive lake, seven miles long, and one and a half broad. It is well fortified, according to Birmese notions. The private buildings in Ummerapore and in Ava are mostly of wood, and frequent conflagrations devastate both. The temples of the former city are chiefly of wood, and richly gilded with the best Chinese gold-leaf both within and without. The amount of gold thus consumed is very considerable. The best building is the imperial library, which is of great value, the books being covered with choice woods richly gilt.

There are various ruined cities, possessing no traces of former greatness, nor any objects of value, except colossal images of Buddha.

The conflicts with Britain have much humiliated this empire. They were generally begun by their imperial majesties with arrogance, and ended in defeat and loss. Birmah is one of those antique old Eastern lands which must be rescued by truth and civilization, conveyed by Western instrumentality.

#### AFFGHANISTAN.\*

This country has been repeatedly the scene of English campaigning, and along its frontiers a border war has been frequently sustained. It is bounded on the north by Little Thibet and Koondooz; on the north-east, by the Indian Caucasus and Little Thibet; on the east, by the Punjaub and the line of the Indus; on the south-east, by Scinde; on the south, by Beloochistan; and on the west, by Persia. It is impossible to make any accurate statement of its area or population.

\* Aff-ghani-st'han.

Its surface exceeds that of France, Belgium, and Holland. The population is supposed to be about six millions.

The configuration of the country is hilly, and along its frontiers for the most part picturesque. The Hindoo Cush (Indian Caucasus), a westerly extension of the Himalayas, and the Parapamisan, a still more westerly continuation of the same range, towering up into the regions of perpetual snow, present objects of sublimity along the north-eastern and northern frontier. The Suliman, and other ranges, diversify the scenery along the east, or Punjaub boundary. The streams flowing from these hills, especially from the line of the Hindoo Cush, fertilise the lower country. The border lands of Beloochistan are desert, like the neighbouring frontiers of that country. The rivers are not numerous. The Cabul passes the city of that name, and flows eastward to the Indus, which it joins above Attock. At the confluence a remarkable *ignis fatuus* is seen every evening. The Cabul River is not voluminous, but, from the character of the country through which it flows, its descent to the level of the Indus is rapid. The Helmund directs its course westward, crossing a desert, and empties itself in the great lake Zerak. There are other rivers of some importance, but none large. Eastward, the Cashgar, Koomul, and Gorum, irrigate the country. To the west the country receives the fertilising influences of the Ety-mandur, the Urghundaub, the Kooshrood, the Furrakrood, and the Sera. The people are accustomed to cut great numbers of small channels from all the rivers and streams, some of which are exhausted upon the earth, for the fertilisation of which their course is thus checked.

The south-west monsoon is heavy in some districts of the country, while others are, from their conformation, or westerly position, beyond its influence.

In a region so hilly the climate must be various. The valleys experience the heat of a low latitude, while the high acclivities of the mountains are clothed with perpetual winter, and on the lower slopes a European climate is found, producing the fruits and vegetables of the temperate zone. The climate seems especially influenced by the direction of the winds, which, sometimes blowing from snow-capped mountains, or over desert wastes, are cold; in other directions, coming from regions more warm and humid, they are refreshing. The easterly winds are from such causes genial, while those from the west are severely cold, partaking in their character of the east winds in early spring in the metropolis, and along the east coast of Eng-



land. There are valleys which are so surrounded by mountains, that they can hardly be affected by winds, from whatever quarter.

The appearance of the Affghans would impress the traveller in favour of the climate. They are fair, tall, robust, and appear to enjoy good health, except from the influence of epidemics, which are numerous and severe. The most common are fever and ague in the hilly jungle districts; ophthalmia near the deserts; catarrhs in the latter regions and on the highlands; and smallpox everywhere, which carries off great numbers. In winter Europeans suffer, especially in the higher districts, from coughs, and other pulmonary affections. During some seasons the winter has proved to Europeans as trying as that of Siberia. In January, 1842, the British army, in its retreat from Cabul, suffered terribly from this cause. The climate is generally very dry, rivalling Scinde in this respect, without being liable to the heavy and incessant rains at long intervals to which that country is subject. In some of the districts of Affghanistan the climate is supremely delightful; and old traditions exist in Western Asia that the region of Paradise was situated in that country, just as in Southern and Eastern Asia similar traditions point out Ceylon as the place where our first parents tasted the forbidden tree.

The inhabitants believe that they are the descendants of Saul, King of Israel, and frequently apply to themselves the designation Beni-Israel. Some elaborate works have been written to prove this, and others to show that they are descendants of the tribes of Israel carried captive, whose abode it is so difficult to trace, but the argument is not satisfactory in either case to historians and ethnologists generally.

The customs of the people and their manner of life differ much according to the physical peculiarities of the districts which they inhabit. In some places they cultivate the soil, raising such products as are favoured by a tropical climate, or the cereal harvests of the temperate zone; in others they are cultivators of widespread orchards, the bloom and fruit of which in their seasons present aspects of extraordinary loveliness. These orchards might be called fruit-tree forests, their extent is so vast. In some districts the people inhabit old cities founded by the Greeks or the old Affghan kings. In others the people occupy long straggling villages of mud-built huts, with wooden or tiled and terraced roofs. Large districts are occupied by tribes who feed their stock on the wild grass and herbage, moving about like the wandering shepherd races of ancient times,

pitching their tents where the pasture more abounds, or some grateful stream supplies refreshment to the flocks and herds and those who tend them. However diversified their habits and occupations, their homes and the sources of their support, their physical features are much the same, except in some border districts. They are bold, haughty, hospitable, vindictive, prompt to make war, tenacious in maintaining it, skilful in retreat, in pursuit vigilant, ever hanging upon the front flanks and rear of a regular army, ready to dispute its advance through some defile, or cut off stragglers in the weary march. Many of the people expect that they are at some future period to march as conquerors through Persia, and to settle in the ancient land of Israel. Such an expectation is the more remarkable, as, with the exception of a few half pagan border tribes, they are fierce Mohammedans. The destinies which they make out for themselves are reconciled to their religion by the notion that the earth is to be one day subject to the Prophet; that to him all nations shall bend the knee, and in him is the fulfilment of all things. His disciples have a right to universal possession, and what portion of the world so suitable for the Beni-Israel as the land of their fathers? It is not to be supposed from these vaticinations and hopes that the Affghans are indifferent to their own country; they are patriotic, and capable of strong local attachments; and their belief that Eden was a portion of their country adds to the attachment which they feel; but they suppose that it is their destiny to move forward, or for a considerable portion of them to do so, to the land of promise, from which their supposed progenitors were exiled. These views are not shared equally by all the tribes, some of whom could not be persuaded to forsake their mountains permanently for any reward, although always willing to make border raids for plunder, even where the gain is doubtful and the danger imminent. On the frontiers of Scinde and the Punjab some of the tribes are the fiercest Mohammedan fanatics in the world.

The Affghans make good soldiers when employed under our Indian officers. The infantry of their own chiefs is very ineffective, except in mountain warfare, being wholly without discipline. They were shattered by the first volley of the infantry of old Runjeet Singh. Their cavalry is very good as irregulars; the horses are of superior breeds, some resembling the Arab in form, but larger; others are of a rude appearance, and vicious, but strong, fleet, and enduring. Thus mounted, these wild horsemen made splendid charges upon the infantry of the old



Khalsa army, but were broken upon the squares of those fine battalions. Before British discipline the Affghans never made any stand, except where very small numbers were engaged, and the conflict was hand to hand, or where, protected in some narrow defile, they could deliberately take aim with their long matchlocks.

The commerce of the country is in a very backward condition, although there are many products which would be acceptable to their neighbours, and some wants to supply, which the resources of the countries beyond theirs could satisfy.

There are no navigable rivers, and no good roads; over a large portion of the country there are no roads of any kind: these are of course impediments to commerce of a most formidable kind. Camels are employed in travelling and bearing burthens, as are also horses, which are singularly sure-footed. Caravans are formed, which trade between Chinese Turkistan and Cabul, and between Persia and India, bearing the products of those lands to Affghanistan, and returning with the productions of the latter. The dromedary is also useful for travelling and trading purposes, and is much used in all the plain country, especially in the portions that are dry and sandy. These animals not only carry the articles of exchange, but are objects of commerce. The tall, long-legged dromedary, known in Western India, is imported from Affghanistan, and the Bactria camel is much valued in Scinde and the Punjaub. This animal is very strong, covered with shaggy hair. The camel and dromedary are exchanged for the oxen of the Rajpoots. The sheep of the mountains are an article of commerce, as is also the wool they produce. These sheep have large flat tails a foot broad, and are almost entirely composed of fat. Goats, with long twisted horns, are abundant in the mountains; both the hair and horns of these animals are of some commercial value.

There are various wild animals which are hunted, not only for the skins, which are bartered, but for food. The hunting dogs possessed by the Affghans are very superior, the greyhound and the pointer equalling the best breeds in England. English officers and civilians purchase them. The Affghans are also expert in training eagles and hawks for the chase. Europeans fond of wild sports could find abundant occupation in the mountains which separate our Indian dominions from Affghanistan. The chirk is a bird which the mountaineers have taught to strike the antelope, and fasten on the head until the greyhound comes up. The lion hunter might

possibly find the object of his pursuit in the hilly country of Cabul, but the animal is now extremely scarce: some writers state that it is extinct.

The country seldom suffers from locusts, and the people are very little annoyed by mosquitoes, a circumstance important to the lovers of field sports. In their pursuit of game the people incur great danger from various species of venomous reptiles, while the tiger and wild boar sometimes, and the bear frequently, endanger their pursuers. Sometimes the black bear will descend from the wooded hills to feast in a field of sugarcane, and will defend himself with formidable strength and long-sustained ferocity. The wild sheep, wild goat, and wild dogs, are favourite objects of Affghan sport.

There are few mineral resources of the country used as articles of commerce, but it can hardly be doubted, little as those regions are explored, that the riches of the mountains are vast. Gold has been found in the streams. Silver has also been discovered. Beautiful rubies have been brought by the Persian, Scinde, and Punjaub merchants. Cliffs overhang the Cashgar River, containing *lapis lazuli*; lead, iron, sulphur, and antimony, have been obtained. Saltpetre abounds; rock-salt is taken from "the salt range;" alum is extracted from the clay at Calabaugh; orpiment is procured at Bulk, and from the country of the Huzzaras.\*

The timber of Affghanistan will become increasing valuable to the inhabitants of Scinde and the Punjaub. Among the trees suitable for commerce are cedar, oak, walnut, birch, &c., and some woods of wild fruit trees beautifully adapted for tasteful cabinet articles.

The countries with which the Affghans trade besides the British territories adjoining, are Chinese Turkistan, Thibet, Turkistan, Beloochistan, Persia, and Arabia, by way of the port of Kurrachee, in Scinde. To British territory are sent horses, ponies, sheep, goats, hunting dogs, wool, horn, skins, furs, hair, honey, and other animal products; madder, asafœtida, tobacco, almonds, pistachio-nuts, walnuts, hazel-nuts, and a vast quantity of fruits both fresh and dried. Shawls, manufactured partly in Affghanistan and partly in Thibet, and cotton, are also sent down to India. The Affghans derive in return spices, cowrie shells, musk, coral, cotton cloths, silk cloths, indigo, ivory, chalk, bamboos, tin, and sandal-wood. The horses exported from Affghanistan to India are generally natives

\* Certain hill tribes. The name, meaning a thousand, is used to denote the reputed number of their tribes.—MILNER.



of Turkistan, but are sold as of Affghan breed.

The people live well, as fruits, vegetables, and animals abound. So plentiful is fruit at Cabul, that grapes sell for one farthing a pound, and even more than that weight is very frequently given for so small a sum.

It is beyond the province of this work to give a minute historical account of the various tribes by which the country is peopled. Few tribes can number a very numerous fraternity, for the whole population is not more than that of Belgium and Holland, and the number of tribes is exceeding great. Sometimes these amalgamate, or form a net-work of alliance along our frontier, rendering them formidable so long as they act together, and are hostile, which their predatory habits dispose them to be, when the fear of British soldiers does not operate to deter their incursions, or wise policy does not conciliate them. Union, however, is not an Affghan virtue: a certain saint of theirs left this prophecy concerning them, which some interpret as a malediction, and others a benediction—"Always free, but never united."

The Huzzaras and Eimanks inhabit what is supposed to be the original home of the ancient Affghan race, by those who allege that the present stock is from the ten tribes of Israel: certainly the difference in appearance, language, and habits between the two septs or nations, whichever they may be, in relation to one another, justifies the supposition of distinct origins. These old tribes, however, proclaim themselves to be of Arab line, an opinion which many British officers who have served on the frontier have adopted. The Huzzara (or Hazerah) country is now British territory, as was shown on a former page. After the termination of the Sikh war it was made over to Gholab Singh, but, from the turbulent character of the people, the ameer was not likely to hold it in subjection, and other territory adjoining the Jummo frontier was given in exchange. Tribes of the same race as the Huzzaras extend along our whole Punjaub frontier; and were it not for the skill with which Sir Henry Lawrence and his fellow-commissioners, and afterwards Sir John Lawrence, conducted their frontier operations, it would have been impossible to have secured British authority within the conquered dominions of Dhuleep Singh. Other tribes, more warlike still than the Huzzaras, but of kindred blood and character, dominated them, and urged them to conflict with the various occupants of the Punjaub, Sikhs and British. Sir Henry Lawrence observed in his report:—"The Gukkeers, Guggers, and the other aborigines of Huzzara,

have most of them been mastered by Pathan invaders from beyond the Indus. These chieftains, secure in their fastnesses, and connected by ties of consanguinity and fellow-feeling with tribes still wilder than themselves, had been accustomed not only to spurn all constituted authority, but actually to exact black mail from the rulers of the Punjaub. The Moguls, and subsequently the Douranees, failed to master them; and the Sikhs, after having been frequently foiled, at length nominally accomplished their subjugation, by stirring up internal faction, and by the perpetration of countless acts of cruelty and treachery. But the conquerors held little more than the ground occupied by their garrisons; and the mountaineers, kept down only by a movable column kept constantly in the field, took advantage of the Sutlej campaign to rise, *en masse*, and recapture all the forts."

Sir Henry, having noticed the Huzzara and the tribes of the Trans-Indus frontier, observed:—"On account of the notoriety which many of the hill tribes had attained, and the large armaments which have been employed against them, it will be not amiss to group the several races under one view, and thus to complete the portraiture. The two main denominations are, firstly, of mixed tribes, chiefly of Affghan and Turkish descent, and secondly, Belooch tribes.\*

"The mixed tribes hold the mountains from Huzzara and Peshawur to Dera Futteh Khan, and consist of the following sub-divisions:—Turnoulees, Momunds, Afreedees, Khuttuks, Pathans, Bungush, Orakzyes, Wuzeerees, Sheeranees, and Bhuttenees. The Beloochees tenant the hill ranges from Dera Futteh Khan to the south-western extremity of the Derajat, and to the borders of Scinde; their sub-divisions are the Ooshteranees, the Bozdars, Ligharees, Boogtees, Murrees, and Ghoorchanees.

"The Turnoulees chiefly belong to Huzzara, but they hold lands on both sides of the Indus. Leagued with the Jadoons of the Mahabur, and with the Chuggerzyes, Husunzyes, and other northern Pathan tribes, they proved most formidable opponents to the Sikhs. It was in their country that Mr. Carne, the collector of Customs, was murdered.

"West and south-west of Peshawur, the most important tribe are the Afreedees. They hold the Khyber and Kohat passes. The numerous sections of the tribe (*kheyls*), each headed by its chief, have been usually split up into factions, and united only to oppose the sovereigns of the Punjaub and of Cabul, and to levy black mail from travellers and mer-

\* To be noticed under Beloochistan.



chants. All the great invaders and the supreme potentates of northern India have successively had these Afreedees in their pay—Ghengiz, Timour, Baber, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah, the Barukzyes, the Sikhs, and lastly, the British. To all these unmanageable mountaineers have been treacherous. In each khey, some will receive money from a government, and will connive with the remainder in stopping its convoys, plundering the baggage, and murdering stragglers. Their hills near the Khyber are difficult for military operations; but the highlands of Turee, which stretch back into the interior, and in which the Afreedees, together with the Orakzyes, and others, take up their summer abode, are accessible from Kohat, and possess a climate congenial to Europeans. In their plain settlements they are merely squatters, who have won their acres by the sword, and pay revenue with the utmost unwillingness and irregularity. They are not deficient in aptitude for husbandry. Men descended from the same stock with them farm some of the most highly-cultivated garden-lands in Furruckabad. They are brave and hardy, good soldiers, and better marksmen. The best shots in the Guide corps are Afreedees. Perhaps two hundred of them may be found scattered among the Punjaub regiments. If placed as escort or sentries over treasure, they are not to be trusted; but in action they are true to the salt, even when fighting against their own brethren. In this fidelity they are not singular. Fanatic Mohammedans everywhere will fight against men of their own creed, on behalf of the infidel, Hindoo, Sikh, or British.

“The Momunds have of late gained a notoriety by their desultory skirmishing with the British troops. They inhabit the hills north of the Khyber, and hold both banks of the Cabul River. Their capital, Lalpurah, is situated just beyond the north-western extremity of the Khyber. They have encroached upon the plains, and now possess some of the richest lands in the Doab, from Michnee, where the Cabul River debouches from the hills, to Mutta, on the Swat River. They have also extensively colonized south of the Cabul River. In many points of character they resemble the Afreedees, but are inferior as soldiers.

“The Eusufzye Pathans and their martial qualities have been already mentioned. At the battle of Turee, which gave the sovereignty of Peshawur to the Sikhs, the Eusufzyes formed the strength of the Mohammedan army, which, numbering thirty thousand men, withstood a Sikh force of equal numbers, supported by guns, and headed by Runjeet

Singh himself. On another occasion, they surrounded and attacked a body of Sikh irregular cavalry, eight thousand strong; the maharajah was absent, but Hurree Singh, Nulwa, and forty other sirdars, the flower of the Sikh chivalry, were present. These chiefs, feeling their position to be desperate, charged with the utmost gallantry, and cut a way through their assailants—a heterogeneous mass of undisciplined fanatics.

“The Khuttuks dwell in the hills south of Peshawur, and the plain which lies between the base of these hills and the Cabul River. In the Kohat valley, also, they are the predominating tribe. They hold the Kooshalghur Pass, leading from the Indus into Kohat, and offering the easiest entrance to the valley.

“Of these four great tribes, the Afreedees and Momunds have repeatedly appeared in arms against us since annexation; while the Eusufzyes and Khuttuks have never fired a shot except on our side: yet neither of the two latter are inferior to the former in manliness or spirit. Even during Avitabile's reign of terror, they never abated their resistance to Sikh authority. This relentless ruler never ventured into the Khuttuk valley, or the Eusufzye plains.

“The Orakzyes are to be met with to the north-west of Kohat, near the Hungoo valley.

“The Bungush tribe inhabit the enclosed plain of Meeranzye, and also the Khoorum valley, within the Cabul limits.

“The Wuzeerees have their abode in the hills south-west of Kohat, overlooking the Bunnoo valley. The internal history of this remarkable tribe is fully set forth in the volumes of Mr. Elphinstone and Major Edwardes. They occupy numerous passes opening into the Tânk and Bunnoo valleys. The hill, which overhangs the western face of the Soorduk defile, is always held by them. The British government is peculiarly interested in the guarding of the Soorduk Pass, as it forms the direct line of communication between Bahadoor Khey and Bunnoo. The nomadic habits of this tribe have been previously touched upon; they are both graziers and robbers. Commanding the main channel of commerce from Cabul and Ghuznee to the Punjaub and Hindoostan, they strive to levy contributions (with more or less success) from the Provindeahs, those warrior merchants whose hardihood and perseverance command a passage from Ghuznee to Derajat.

“Between Tânk and Bunnoo, the Ghubber mountain, a large mass protruding into the plains, is infested by a predatory tribe named Mithanees, who are perpetually at feud with the Wuzeerees.

“On the mountainous border of Dera



Ismail Khan, the most formidable tribe are the Sheeranees; they have frequently descended to rob and murder."

The late governor-general of India,\* in minutes entered the 9th of May, 1853, thus notices the Affghan tribes which have been enumerated and described in the above portions of the report of the Punjaub commissioners,† and refers to the importance of our frontier relations to Affghanistan, as affecting the maintenance of a standing army along the border line to prevent invasion. Peace has, however, been principally maintained by the intelligence and skill of the Lawrences and their coadjutors, rather than by an imposing array of arms:—

"The frontier, indeed, has not been free from disturbance, but the attacks upon it have been made, not by the ruler of Cabul, but by the wild tribes of the hills, who, if they are hostile to us, are not one whit more so than they are to the ameer, and to all mankind besides. There has not been war upon the frontiers, but forays over the border. These tribes have been murderers and plunderers since the days of Ishmael, their father; and it is not to be expected in reason that they should at once be converted to order and harmlessness, merely because British rule has been advanced to the foot of their mountain fastnesses. Much, however, has already been done.

"A policy of forbearance and defence was enjoined towards them. The lands they had held in the plains were left to them, and their communities were in no respect interfered with, so long as they respected the rights and the security of others. When after a time the tribes in the Derajat, and above the Peshawur valley, began to commit aggressions, defensive measures alone were taken, while warning was given that a repetition of such aggressions would bring down punishment on their heads. When the warnings repeatedly given to them were disregarded, our subjects murdered, and their property destroyed; and when it became apparent that the tribes were misconstruing the forbearance of the British government, and were presuming on the supposed inaccessibility of their mountain retreats, the government felt it to be its duty to have recourse to sterner measures and severer retribution.

"The punishment of the valley of Ranizaie by the force under Sir Colin Campbell, of the Syuds of Khagan and of the Huzzumzies by Colonel Mackeson, of the Omerzye Wuzerees by Major Nicholson, and more lately of the

Sheeranees and Kusranees, on the borders of the Derajat, have given to those wild people a lesson, which will have, I doubt not, the best effects, and indeed has already produced them. During the past cold season no single outrage has been committed upon the Peshawur frontier.

"The people of Ranizaie, and the several divisions of the Momund tribes that have been punished, have made their submission, have asked permission to re-occupy their lands, and have offered to pay for them revenue—a sign of subjection which they have never exhibited before to any previous dynasty, whether Mogul or Persian, Affghan or Sikh."

The whole of the chiefs of Affghanistan, whether on the British, Belooch, Thibetian, or Persian frontier, are subject to the reigning monarch at Cabul. He has the right of making peace and declaring war, but cannot cede territory. His grand vizier has the chief responsibilities of government. Previous to the inroads of the Sikhs and British, the kingdom was divided into twenty-seven provinces, eighteen of which had separate governors. These were Herat, Furrak, Candahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, Bamian, Ghorebund, Jellalabad, Lughman, Peshawur, Dera Ismail Khan, Shikarpore, Sewee, Scinde, Cashmere, Chuch Huzzara, Seia, and Mooltan. Several of those provinces fell under the dominion of Runjeet Singh, and were conquered by the British from Dhuleep Singh, and now many of the principal Affghan provinces are placed under the British non-regulation provinces of Scinde and the Punjaub. Herat has lately been the cause of a war between Great Britain and Persia, the province lying sufficiently near the Persian frontier to attract the covetousness and ambition of that power. It has, by treaty on the part of the courts of London, Teheran, and Cabul, been recognised as an independent territory.

The language of the Affghans is called Pushtoo. Its origin is a matter of dispute among philologists. Some maintain that it is an original language. Sir William Jones considered it a dialect of the Chaldee of Scripture. The Persian alphabet is employed by the Affghans; but as there are sounds in the Pushtoo which the Persian character will not express, they adopt a system of points. The literature of the country is Persian.

The sect of Mohammedans to which most of the Affghans belong is the Sooni.

The power of the kings of Cabul before the loss of so many fine provinces was very considerable, and the population, in 1809, according to the computation of Elphinstone, was nearly treble what it is now.

\* The Marquis of Dalhousie.

† Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, Mr. Mansell, and (his successor) Mr. Montgomery.



There are few countries so capable of resisting invasion as Affghanistan. On the side of India it can only be entered through defiles, where a small band of resolute and well-disciplined men could defend them against hosts. The Bolan Pass, *en route* from Scinde to Candahar, and the Khyber Pass, leading from the Punjaub to Cabul, illustrate the inaccessibility of the country by hostile forces, if the defence be firm and intelligent. From Turkistan the passes through the Parapamisan and the Hindoo Cush are still more formidable, rising to elevations of eleven and twelve thousand feet. Herat is the key of Affghanistan from the side of Persia, and some have called it the key of British India.

There is a peculiarity in the antiquities of Affghanistan and its borders on the Persian side very remarkable. Round towers, generally of stone, called *topes*, the largest of which are about a hundred and fifty feet in circuit at the base, and rising to the height of sixty feet, are to be found in various parts of the country. Their origin or use cannot be traced. Some of them have been proved to contain square chambers, in which ashes, rings, vessels, and relics, have been found, the nature of which could not be ascertained. Burnes pronounced them to be the tombs of kings, but he did so on insufficient evidence. These towers resemble the round towers in Ireland, concerning which also conjecture is lost in the remoteness of antiquity.\* Various authorities have assigned to the latter a purpose similar to that which Burnes ascribes to the round towers of Cabul. Others believe them to have been erected as temples of the sun; and certain writers deem them to have been the emblems of a philosophical and yet more corrupt idolatry. No doubt they are of oriental origin, and a correct theory in reference to them would throw light upon the antiquity of the Affghan towers.

The morals of the people are sufficiently indicated by the quotations from Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Dalhousie. Treachery, indifference to human life, eagerness for plunder, a love of feud and tribal conflict, vindictiveness, and wild fanaticism, seem to be striking characteristics on the unfavourable side. Bravery and hospitality are the virtues most prized and practised by them.

Cabul is the Affghan capital. It is situated in the north-east, on the Cabul River. The site is nearly six thousand four hundred feet above the level of the sea. The soil is productive, and the climate delightful. Orchards surround the city, yielding the many kinds of Asiatic and most descriptions of European fruit. The population is sixty thousand. In

\* Petrie; O'Brien.

the centre of a garden outside the city two slabs of beautiful marble mark the graves of Baber, the founder of the Mogul empire in India. Both within and without the city flowers are much cultivated, and very numerous and beautiful varieties spring up in the fields, orchards, and on the hill-sides. The jessamine, narcissus, hyacinth, poppy, tuberose, and common English flowers, are everywhere to be seen. The country is not well wooded, but the hills nourish birch, holly, and hazel, and on the low grounds the mulberry, tamarisk, and willow. The pistachio is to be met with on the hills near Cabul, but along the Hindoo Cush it grows abundantly. The wild olive, and a gigantic species of cypress, are favourite trees with the people. Timber becomes more scarce in the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants complain of want of fuel.

The sufferings of the British army in 1842 from the severity of the climate has created an impression in England that, from the elevated situation of the city, the winters are intolerably cold, but, although sometimes very inclement, they are not generally severer than in England. The summer climate is really trying to Europeans, for the city is so shut in by hills, that there is not a free play of air, and the heat becomes intense. For a few weeks after midsummer the valley of Cabul has been compared to a furnace. The closely encircling hills afford protection from the winds and snow-storms of winter. It would appear that the climate in this region was in ancient times more temperate as to heat and cold than it is now, for Indian and Persian writers of antiquity celebrate its genial character in prose and verse. The scenery of the province is very lovely, variety being given by the ever-changing aspects of the mountains, dependent upon light and shade, and the different points of view presented by every change of the observer's position. The infinite variety of fruit blossom, and of flowers which cover the earth a large portion of the year, also give a peculiar charm to the landscape.

The predominating tribe of Affghanistan (the Douranee) inhabits the province of Cabul. The throne is occupied by a Douranee dynasty, which was founded by one of the officers of Nadir Shah, on the death of that distinguished personage, in 1747. Shah Soojah was deposed in 1810, the people having rebelled, and rival chiefs having successfully intrigued against his person and dynasty. The shah fled for protection to Runjeet Singh, bearing with him the *Koh-i-noor*, or "mountain of light," the most splendid and valuable diamond known. Runjeet did not



scruple to deprive the refugee of his treasure; but retribution followed, for the kingdom of Runjeet was in turn subdued by a more powerful foe; the diamond became a trophy of war, and was destined to reflect its glory upon Queen Victoria.

The Douranees are very eager to establish their descent from Israel. They say that Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, consigned their ancestors to the country of Cabul after the overthrow of the temple and city of Jerusalem. This view was adopted by the oriental scholar Sir William Jones, the diplomatist Sir Alexander Burnes, and the Baptist missionaries Drs. Carey and Marshman. Modern orientalists and philologists dispute these claims; yet while the argument on the negative side seems unanswerable, it is very remarkable how such a tradition of their origin should exist among the people themselves.

There is an Armenian colony in the valley, whose fathers were brought thither by Nadir Shah during his Turkish wars; also a Hindoo settlement of remote antiquity; and another of Usbeck Tartars. It would seem to have been the policy of various princes to colonize that region with foreign and even remote peoples, and this circumstance gives some weight to the views of those who suppose that there has been a colonization of Hebrews.

Cabul is computed to be 839 miles (traveling distance) from Delhi, 976 from Agra, 1118 from Lucknow, and 1815 from Calcutta.

South of Cabul is the ancient city of Ghuznee (or Ghuzni), situated in latitude  $33^{\circ} 10'$  north, and longitude  $66^{\circ} 57'$  east. This was once the capital of an empire which stretched from the Ganges to the Tigris. Like Cabul, its better fortunes are in the past, although, also like that city, it has had a chequered history. The climate is intensely cold, owing to the great elevation of the district above the level of the sea. The inhabitants of the city are obliged some years to remain more than six months within their houses, in consequence of protracted winter, which often continues beyond the vernal equinox. On at least one occasion, at a remote period, the city was buried beneath a fall of snow; in several instances it narrowly escaped a similar fate. The productions of the country around are such as might be predicted of an elevated region exposed to such a climate. The only animals which thrive are camels, although hardy breeds of sheep and goats subsist.

Old travellers have given accounts of ruins and other traces of magnificence, but few now remain, and the city is little better than a large and squalid village. There are, however, some architectural remains of interest, and some slight vestiges of "the palace of

felicity," where kings held sway, and of the mosque once called the "Celestial Bride." The tomb of Mahmoud still exists. He was the conqueror of India, and the founder of the Ghuznee dominion. This tomb is about three miles from the existing city—a spacious but not magnificent building, covered with a cupola. The tombstone is of white marble, bearing sculptured verses of the Koran. At its head lies the mace which the deceased monarch is said to have wielded. It is plain, with a heavy head of metal; few men could use it with effect from its great weight. There are thrones also placed within the tomb, said to have been used by the monarch; they are not remarkable, except for being beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The gates of this tomb were splendid pieces of sandal-wood, which had been brought from Somnauth, in the Gujerat peninsula. After the lapse of seven centuries, these gates were borne away by the British army, in 1842, by command of the governor-general of India, Lord Ellenborough, and restored to Somnauth. His lordship was much censured, and even abused, for this act in England; it was regarded as an indication of his indifference to Christianity, and his desire to foster the prejudices and bigotry of the people of India as a matter of unprincipled expediency. His lordship did not deserve these censures; he removed the gates on a principle that was as clear and politic as it was just. It was to restore to the people of India what once was theirs, which they prized, he being their governor, and they having vanquished under his orders the enemy whose ancestors had made a trophy of these costly doors. The act was also politic towards the Affghans, as leaving them a lasting lesson that their country was not inaccessible to British arms. It was not his aim to conciliate the Affghans at that juncture, but to impress them with the power of the Indian government—the best mode at the juncture of dealing with them. There was one light in which the act of the governor-general might be viewed as of questionable prudence. The gates were taken from a Mohammedan city, and a spot held sacred by Mohammedan feeling; it might offend the disciples of "the Prophet" in India, and shake their loyalty. That people care little for country where creed is concerned. A foreign Mohammedan invader would be more welcome who came with despotism and the Koran than the most tolerant native prince of any other persuasion, although he governed with moderation and justice, and secured the peace and prosperity of the people. Lord Ellenborough took pains to show that the act was performed on his part



without any reference to the religion of the people of Gujerat or of Ghuznee, but solely as a matter of political justice.

There is a small tomb remaining built in honour of Hakim Sunai, a poet, which shows that the ancient Affghans of Ghuznee honoured literature, and blended the tombs of their poets with those of their holy men and kings.

Candahar is on the site of one of the cities founded by Alexander the Great, and is now one of the chief commercial marts for the productions of India and Persia. It has become well known in England in connection with the operations of Generals Nott and England in the great Affghan war. It is fortified after the rude manner of the wild people of these regions. It is situated in latitude  $36^{\circ} 11'$  north, and longitude  $66^{\circ} 28'$  east. "The heat is very severe, and the cold temperate, except in the months of December and January, when water freezes. Here are flowers and fruits in abundance."\* This account of the climate, given more than three hundred years ago, is strictly applicable now. It was once the capital of the Douranee empire, before the son of Timour transferred the seat of power and regal honour to Cabul. The population is an assemblage of very various tribes and nations, each occupying a separate quarter of the city. The entire number of the inhabitants was in 1820† more than a hundred thousand; there has not since been made a more accurate or careful computation, and it is probable that no great change has in this respect taken place. The Douranee Affghans constitute more than half the number of residents.‡ Jews form a more respectable portion of the citizens than they do of any other Affghan city.§ The Armenians, although not as numerous as at Cabul, are respectable in numbers as well as in position. The bankers and brokers are chiefly Hindoos. The city is as well regulated as most towns of the European continent, and it is better laid out than probably any other in Asia. There are many excellent houses occupied by Douranee chiefs and wealthy Hindoos and Persians. The public buildings are not characterised by originality or beauty, but they are respectable, especially the palace, the tomb of Ahmed Shah, and one of the mosques.||

The neighbourhood, like Cabul, is planted with orchards, which extend to a great distance around the city, and add beauty to the otherwise very pleasant character of the scenery, which, being level and fertile, yields freely to the hand of the cultivator. Madder,

asafœtida, bicerne, and clover, are reared in great quantities, but the chief object of culture is tobacco, which finds a ready sale in Affghanistan, the tobacco of Candahar having an extensive reputation.

The whole province has a high character for the value and variety of its productions. At the close of the last century a native traveller\* published a minute account of its people and productions, and he stated that the province of Candahar was rich in "wheat, rice, jouree, grain, peas, dates, almonds, saffron, and flowers." The wheat is called white wheat, and is eagerly purchased throughout Affghanistan, and in contiguous countries. Mosques abound all over the province. The Brahminical Hindoos who settle there frequently conform to the religion of Mohammed. According to the native traveller before quoted, the domestic animals are camels and dogs, the latter of peculiarly fine breeds. The province is thinly inhabited, and contains very wild districts, where tigers, buffaloes, deer, and antelopes, abound.

Karabaugh (*ksharabag*, the salt garden) stands in latitude  $33^{\circ} 4'$  north, and longitude  $71^{\circ} 17'$  east. The Indus is here compressed by the mountains into a channel only three hundred and fifty yards broad, but very deep. The best account of this neighbourhood is that of Elphinstone, who represents the mountains descending abruptly to the river, a road cut along their base, and stretching away beyond the town, hewn out of the solid salt rock. The first part of the pass is literally overhung by the town, which rises street above street on terraces of giddy elevation. The variety of colours presented to the eye is very striking in the town and neighbourhood, the clear beautiful shining crystal of the salt contrasting with the deep blue waters of the Indus, and the colour of the earth around is nearly of a blood-red.†

Bameean is situated in a region of mountain grandeur, where the climate is pleasant in summer but severe in winter. It may be called a trogloditic city, the neighbourhood being remarkable for excavations in the hills, the people in considerable numbers living in these caves.‡

The policy which our Indian government should pursue in the affairs of Affghanistan is a *vexata quæstio*. Frequently the necessity of active alliance with the Douranee chief, or active war against him, has pressed itself upon the attention of the government of England. In 1809 it was discovered that the French were endeavouring to form a confederacy with Persia for the invasion of Aff-

\* Abul Fazel.

§ Seid Mustapha.

‡ Forster.

† Hamilton.

‡ Elphinstone

\* Seid Mustapha.

† Elphinstone.

‡ Milner.



ghanistan, and thence of British India. The Hon. Mr. Elphinstone was accordingly sent as ambassador to the court of Cabul to offer alliance. Shah Shujah, the sovereign, entered into arrangements with Lord Minto, the governor-general, for a plan of co-operation and mutual aid.\* This circumstance was supposed to deter the Persian shah, and obstruct the French government. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone negotiated with ability and frankness the treaties which bound the two governments.

When the Russians revealed their designs upon Central Asia, directing an army against Khiva and Bokhara, and successfully intriguing with Persia and the Affghan chiefs, the British sent an expedition to Cabul, which, although successful, experienced terrible disasters at the close of 1841, which were avenged in 1842 by another and more formidable army.

Herat is situated in the north-west, in the midst of a fertile district, and is a considerable emporium. The town is fortified strongly, and has been frequently held against the Persians with very inferior forces. It has been the policy of Persia to gain this city, in order to improve their position in reference to the British power in India, and to facilitate their long cherished designs on Candahar. These views of the Persians have been encouraged by Russia, that she might through them menace British India. In 1832 a series of intrigues were commenced by the Russian government, which were avowed by the Russian agents at Teheran to have for their object the conquest of Affghanistan by Persia, with the ulterior hope of facilitating a Mohammedan revolt in India. The Persian government simultaneously prosecuted a war against Herat with the same design. The policy of the British government on that occasion was timid and vacillating. Mr. M'Neill, the English envoy, and Lord Palmerston, the foreign minister, moved by a desire for peace, procrastinated when none but a daring and a dashing policy could be of any avail. The result of this cause, so usual with the English ministers since the reform bill, was the emboldenment of the Persian potentate and the Russian agents, and an ultimate expense of blood and treasure to England, which a prompt keen policy would have certainly averted. Never in history were faithlessness and duplicity more disgracefully displayed than by the Russian government and the Czar Nicholas on that occasion. While that government was solemnly disavowing to Lord Durham at St. Petersburg all intention of encouraging the aggressions of Persia against

\* Treaties.

Herat, Russian agents and high officials were promising that power military co-operation, and affording them aid in money. The tameness of the English, and their inexpertness to fathom oriental character, were themes of derision and humiliating caricature at Teheran, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. Since that time the city of Herat and the district around it have been of deeper interest than ever to British politicians. An independence has been guaranteed to Herat, by a very imperfect treaty, in which Colonel Sheil, our agent, either acted very foolishly, or followed very foolish instructions. A determination that Herat shall not be occupied by the Persians has since become a more fixed policy of the English, and they have even lately demonstrated this purpose by arms in a manner to impress the lesson upon the Persian government and people. The policy of the English court and cabinet, and the spirit and deportment of the English minister, who had the chief conduct of affairs on both the occasions when England had by military demonstration to save Herat, has been admirably expressed in the following words:—"Fully alive to our interests in the East, and suspicious from the origin of the designs of Russia, our cabinet seems somewhat liable to the imputation of having exceeded the common bounds of patience and of forbearance to a degree scarcely *compatible* with national dignity. An anxious desire to avoid collision, a nervous apprehension of war, are the leading features of almost every despatch from the Foreign-office. Praiseworthy in the beginning, this feeling predominates over so long a period of time, as to become irksome and disgusting to the reader,—fully conscious of the futility of perseverance in a course which had obviously failed in its object, and seemed calculated to promote the very measures it was meant to deprecate. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, in reference to the Foreign-office, that when every art of conciliation had been fairly exhausted, the energetic measures resorted to were skilfully contrived, and manfully put in practice; nor is Lord Palmerston open to the accusation of having proceeded from the extreme of indolent forbearance to the opposite extreme of insolent menace or a hasty resolution to resist. Consistent throughout in his desire to obtain his object by persuasion, he resorts to a demonstration of force with professed reluctance, yet with a determination to assume all the responsibility of his actions."\* French mediation induced the English to accept, in 1857, less favourable terms than they had a right to impose.

\* *Analysis of the Diplomatic Correspondence concerning Herat.*



## BELOOCHISTAN.

Neither by the character of the country, nor the number of its people, does this region require an extended notice. In 1839 its capital was stormed by the British, and throughout the war with the ameers of Scinde, and during the subsequent settlement of that province, the Beloochees kept up a harassing frontier warfare. Several of the hill tribes along the Scinde and Punjaub frontier have been brought under British authority, which is now enforced along that mountain boundary of Beloochistan.

The region receiving this designation is extensive, being equal in area to that of the whole of the British Isles. On the north it is bounded by Seistan and Affghanistan along a line of frontier more than three hundred miles inland from the sea boundary, which stretches from Persia in the west to the basin of the Indus on the east. On the western boundary are the Persian provinces of Laristan and Kerman; on the east the British provinces of Scinde and the Punjaub.

The central and northern portions of the country are for the most part desert; the southern, called Mekran, is more fertile, but the heat is excessive, parching up the soil of the country. In the highlands, especially of the west, there are four seasons, similar to those of Europe, but warmer, except for a short time in winter, and at considerable elevations.

The products of Beloochistan are much more valuable than is generally supposed, for, as if by common consent, most writers of geography represent the country as little better than a desert. Hamilton declares that an army of twenty-five thousand men could nowhere be supported. The sandy soil, mixed with pebbles, stimulates production, a circumstance well known to cultivators in the west of Ireland, where the corn crops thrive better when the stones are left in considerable proportions amongst the productive soil. In Beloochistan fine crops of wheat and other grain are grown on stony lands, the personal labour of the cultivator in breaking up the soil having an effect similar to that of the spade husbandry of western Ireland.

The country is almost destitute of water, which is the chief impediment to successful farming. Nevertheless, "flocks of sheep and herds of cattle are numerous in every part of the country."\* There are other domestic animals of great value, such as horses, mules, asses, camels, dromedaries, buffaloes, goats, dogs, cats, and several varieties of fowl, such as the common hen, and pigeons.

\* Pottinger

Wild animals are of numerous species, if not of great numbers of each species. There are of quadrupeds lions, tigers, leopards, hyenas, wolves, jackals, tiger cats, dogs, foxes, hares, mongooses, mountain goats, antelopes, elks, red and mouse deer, asses, &c. Of birds there are eagles, kites, vultures, magpies, crows, hawks, flamingoes, herons, bustards, floricans, rock pigeons, lapwings, plovers, snipes, quails. There are also wild geese, ducks, and turkeys—birds which the Beloochees do not possess in a tame state. There are few species of small birds in either Asia or Europe which may not be found somewhere within the limits of Beloochistan. Reptile life is not active there, although some species exist in small numbers. On the sea-coast fish is found, but the Beloochees seem to prefer it dried or salted, for they seldom use it except in these forms even at moderate distances from the coasts.

In most works on Indian commerce the exports from Beloochistan are ignored, while India is represented as sending thither many important articles—such as iron, tin, lead, steel, copper, indigo, betel-nut, cochineal, sugar, spices, silks, gold cloth, chintzes, coarse woollen, and jewellery. The Beloochees, in exchange for these valuable commodities, export the staple productions of their country. Hares, camels, asses, dogs, buffaloes, sheep, black cattle, and other animals, are sent into India, and also wheat and barley. Besides these there are various mineral productions which are exported from Beloochistan, such as rock-salt,—the red aperient salt,—which is found in the hills between Kelat and Cutch Gundava; also alum and sulphur. White and grey marble are taken from the rock to the westward of Nooshbeg. Antimony, brimstone, saltpetre, and sal-ammoniac, are sent into India. Various mineral salts are sent by sea to the nearest ports in the Arabian Gulf. Even the commodities for which Beloochistan is represented by so many writers as being indebted to India—iron, copper, tin, and lead—are found in her own hills, and gold and silver in several places. Cheese and ghee are bought by the Hindoos in the Beloochistan lowlands, and coarse blankets, carpets, and felts, are bought there by the Hindoo traders to send to distant places.

The religion of the whole people is Mohammedan, although among some of the hill tribes there are pagan rites and observances. They are generally fierce fanatics. The people are not of one race. The Beloochees most prevail on the western side, and their language is peculiar to themselves. On the eastern side the Brahooees, who also receive



the generic appellation of Beloochees, are the most prevalent.

Major-general Jacob, on the Scinde frontier, has at once awed and reconciled various tribes of the Brahooees; and those whom the firmness and policy of Sir John and Sir Henry Lawrence have quieted on the lower part of the Punjaub frontiers, and whom they call Beloochees (to distinguish them from the Affghan borderers), are of the same race. Describing the Punjaub frontier of Beloochistan, Sir Henry Lawrence thus writes:—"Lawless Belooch tribes cluster thick in the hills opposite Dera Ghazee Khan. In the Sunghur division of this district the Kusranees reappear, but the most powerful tribe are the Bozdars. Under the Sikh rule the fort of Mungrota was erected to check their depredations. Sawun Mull and General Ventura were obliged to purchase peace from them. Hurrund is infested by Ghoorchanees: one of them having been insulted by a Hindoo kardar of Sawun Mull, the whole body besieged the official's house, and murdered him. After that the government built a fort there. South of Dera Ghazee Khan, the Boogties and Murrees carried their arms up to the very walls of Rajhan. The desolate state of the country in that vicinity is chiefly attributable to their depredations. Since annexation, however, they have been partially awed by the British force, and partly conciliated by Mr. Cortlandt, the deputy-commissioner of Dera Ghazee Khan. But as thieves they are still daring and expert. They are favoured not only by the mountain defiles, but also by the hill-skirts, which have been already described as swampy, and overgrown by sedge and brushwood. But it is hoped that order may be introduced by police organization, by the location of an European officer at Mithunkote, and by concert with the Scinde authorities. The country inhabited by these Belooch tribes closely resembles that described by Sir Charles Napier in his Trukkee campaign. Indeed, that locality cannot be more than fifty miles from Rajhan, and the tribes which the Scinde horse hold in check are brethren of those that occupy the Dera Ghazee Khan border."

Of late years considerable attention has been paid to the languages of Beloochistan. That of the Brahooees is of Sanscrit origin, resembling the Punjaabee. Although the Beloochees proper are supposed to have sprung from the Seljukian Turks, but little progress has been made in the study of their language. It possesses no literature, and might be described as unwritten, had not the Serampore missionaries translated into it portions of the Scriptures. From specimens of the Lord's Prayer examined by these reve-

rend persons very few words could be selected which had any Sanscrit affinity.

The capital is Kelat (*killat*, the fortress), which is situated in latitude  $29^{\circ} 8'$  north, and longitude  $65^{\circ} 50'$  east. This city has a very small population, scarcely exceeding twenty thousand. The site is elevated, overlooking a fertile and beautiful valley, about eight miles long, and two and a half broad. This valley is well cultivated, its entire extent being laid out in gardens. Although the name of the city means "the fortress," the defences are utterly contemptible. The king's palace is the citadel, the position of which is strong, affords good cover for musketeers, and would prove with a brave garrison very defensible in an assault, but it could offer no resistance to European guns. Small as the population is, it is composed of various nationalities; Beloochees and Brahooees are the most numerous, but Hindoos, Affghans, Punjaubees, Dehwas, and Rajpoots, also have each a proportion somewhat considerable.

CUTCH GUNDAVA is a large division of Beloochistan, situated between the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth degree of north latitude. It is bounded on the north by Servistan; on the south, by Scinde proper: to the west it is limited by the Brahooick Mountains; and to the east it is separated from the river Indus by a desert. The length of the country from north to south is a hundred and twenty miles. The plain contains many villages, but the only town of any importance is Gundava, although Dudar, Bhag, and Sheree each contain from a thousand to fifteen hundred houses. The people of this district are chiefly Jats, but many Hindoos mingle among them. The Jats have traces in their person, language, and manner, of a Hindoo origin, yet their religion has for ages ceased to be Brahminical. The soil is loamy, and yields good cereal crops, and nourishes large fields of vegetables. It is remarkable that rice will not grow anywhere in this extensive district. The climate is peculiar, by the prevalence of a simoom, which blows during the hot months, when few Europeans could inhabit the country, and the natives suffer from pestilence.

The Beloochees are very patriotic, and jealous of any infraction of their territorial limits. Their hostility to the British during 1839, and throughout the war with the ameers of Scinde, was very decided, and their bearing valiant. They now seem to be convinced that the near neighbourhood of the British is a guarantee for their prosperity; and the policy pursued on their borders by Sir Charles Napier, Major-general Jacob, Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence, has divested



them, to all appearance, of every vestige of their former animosity. Beloochee troops are enlisted in the service of the Honourable East India Company. During the war with Persia, under Lieutenant-general Outram, they behaved gallantly, and also served well, and displayed a hearty loyalty during the sepoy revolt of 1857-8. The country is not one likely to tempt the cupidity of the possessors of India, whatever power might rule in that rich realm; but its possession by the British, or the active sympathy of its people with them, would be regarded very jealously by Persia, to which power it might prove seriously injurious in case of war with England.

#### PERSIA.

This is the last country it falls within the province of this work to notice as one which has been made by the British a theatre of war during their career of arms in the East. It cannot but strike the student of history as remarkable, that, taking Calcutta as the centre, the sword of England has swept around the Asiatic world. From the eastern sea limits of China to the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea the stroke of battle has been dealt by her victorious arm. Around the confines of India, from east to west, from the headlands of the Indo-Chinese peninsula through Bhotia, Nepaul, the frontiers of Thibet, Affghanistan, Beloochistan, even to Mohammerah, the ensign of England has fluttered in the breeze, the bugle of her light infantry has echoed through a thousand hills, and the wild horsemen of her Indian empire swept a thousand plains. In vain have mighty hosts mustered, and the grandest phalanxes of war been presented against her—they were shattered by the thunder of her artillery, and the flash of her steel, as the trees of the forest broken by the lightning storm. The gorgeous city has opened its gates to her viceroys; the desolate plain has been swept by her cohorts, as by the wind of the sahara; the fertile valley has offered to her its teeming riches as a tribute; the mountain fastness has been penetrated by her resistless soldiery; and the flag which has so long floated over every sea is now the banner of invincibility and renown over the fairest realms of the Asiatic world. Never have the stories of conquest been so picturesque, the events of battle so varied, subjugated races bowing to a single sceptre so numerous, or the moral ascendancy and prestige of victors so complete. When Europe heaved with the throes of revolution, and thrones were shaken, until their occupants fell from the pinnacle of their glory, or thrones and monarchs perished in a common overthrow,—when the peoples of con-

tinental Europe shrunk, abashed and broken, before the terrible career of the mightiest military genius born out of the British Isles,—England founded a new empire in the East, as well as chained upon the wildest rock in the ocean the conqueror and despot of the West; and beyond the range of realm over which her sceptre is swayed its shadows fall, and its authority and power are feared. Persia, one of the greatest empires of antiquity, has again and again witnessed the war-ships of England in her waters, and seen “the red soldiers” of England on her shores, and amongst the most recent and glorious combats of English troops have been those fought upon the soil of Iran. These circumstances, the relations of Persia to Russia, Turkey, and our Indian empire, and the importance her relations to the first two powers gives to her proximity to India, must attract the attention of all intelligent Englishmen to her position, resources, and policy.

The boundaries of Persia have fluctuated probably as frequently as those of any country in the world. In her turn she has subjugated nations and been subjugated. At a very early period we find her a great kingdom, when the Jewish prophets record her grandeur and her glory. It was in the days of Cyrus that she reached the acme of her warlike splendour, although her riches and the numbers of her armies were more remarkable at a later period, when she summoned the resources of her vassal nations to the wars against Greece, in which her barbaric strength was broken by Grecian skill and heroism. Greek, Parthian, Roman, Saracen, Tartar, and Affghan, have harried and devastated her, yet she still exists in considerable power and affluence for a modern Asiatic kingdom. The present inhabitants of Persia dwell upon the same territory which was regarded as the parent and central land of the ancient Persian empire, although only a small portion of that country was occupied by the race of shepherds from which the Persian conquerors sprung.\* Ancient Persia was bounded on the north by the Great Desert and the Caspian Sea; on the south, by the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean; on the east, by the rivers Indus and Oxus; and on the west, by the Euphrates and Media. Modern Persia lies within limits which have been shorn of various provinces which the old empire contained. The Russians have encroached upon its northern limits, robbing it of large and famous provinces. The area over which the shah now reigns is supposed to comprise five hundred thousand square miles, and extends about seven hundred miles

\* Herodotus, ix. p. 122; Plato, the Laws, iii. c. 12.



from north to south, following the meridian of  $54^{\circ}$  east, or from the Bay of Astrabad, on the Caspian, to the south of Laristan, on the Persian Gulf; and eight hundred and fifty miles from east to west, following the parallel of  $34^{\circ}$  north, a line passing about equi-distant from Teheran and Isbahan.

The physical characteristics of the country are interesting to Great Britain in a political point of view, as the designs of Russia upon that country, and, through her, upon India, open up discussions which are important as to the resources of Persia, and the practicability of attacking it from India and the Persian Gulf.

A large area of Persia consists of a plateau, varying in height from three to four thousand feet above the level of the sea. From this vast plain chains of mountains rise, amidst which are sterile valleys, salt lakes, and salt and sand deserts. Elbruz is the chief mountain range, which runs parallel to the Caspian. Between this range and the great inland sea lies one of the loveliest countries in the world as to scenery and luxuriance of vegetation, but swampy and miasmatic. In the province of Khuzistan, in consequence of the numerous streams flowing to the Shat-el-Arab, or the Tigris, the country is beautiful and luxuriant, yielding the fruits both of Europe and the tropics. This region is one of those magnificent flower lands which are found in so many parts of Asia. It is almost, if not quite, as famed for its roses as Cashmere, and is more famed for its tulips than any other place in Asia. Violets, jasmines, pinks, ranunculuses, hyacinths, and anemones, bloom in the gardens, and even in the fields.

The general aspect of the country is barren and waste, and has always been so, notwithstanding the glowing language of Persian song and fable as to its beauties. Some portions of the country deserve even those eulogies for their riches and beauty.

The mineral resources of the country in some of its most rocky and desert districts is alleged by mineralogists and geologists to be vast, but no efforts are made to obtain those treasures, except in a few places, and the jealousy of both the people and the government deter European enterprise. Some courageous and scientific Frenchmen have made attempts to work mines with a success which promised much, but the religion, laws, government, and habits of the people, proved insurmountable barriers to success.

"The valleys of the centre provinces of Persia abound with all the rarest and most valuable vegetable productions, and might be cultivated to any extent. The pasture grounds of that country are not surpassed by any in

the world. Trees are seldom found, except near the towns or villages, but the luxuriance with which they grow, wherever planted, shows that the climate is quite congenial to them."\*

The animals are as various as the characteristics of the country. On the rich pasture lands superior cattle and sheep are to be seen in large herds and flocks; in the sandy and rocky districts the animals common to similar Asiatic regions are found. The dogs of Persia, like those of Affghanistan, are remarkable for strength, beauty, and docility. Horses are the finest animals of Persia; they are of various breeds—some renowned for their strength, others for fleetness and beauty. For military purposes they are especially well adapted.

Much depends as to either vegetable or animal life in Persia upon the supply of water. Persia is deficient in rivers. The Tigris and the Euphrates are by some called Persian rivers; these are navigable, and the streams which feed them irrigate the lands through which they flow. The Karoon, in Khuzistan, the Arras, or Araxes, in Aderbajan, and the Heirmund, which flows through the province of Seistan, are the largest rivers within the proper boundaries of Persia.

The climate of course influences the character of the productions, and is itself influenced by the qualities of the soil. Elevation determines quite as much as latitude the variety of climate in Persia. Sir John Malcolm pronounced it healthy; more modern travellers do not give quite so favourable an account of it, but admit that it is on the whole favourable to health.

The sea boundaries of the empire are not made available for an extensive commerce, or the acquisition of maritime power. The Persian Gulf stretches from the Straits of Ormuz six hundred miles, in a direction north-west. Its breadth varies from a hundred miles to more than twice that distance, but at the narrowest portions of the entrance is not more than twenty-five miles. It is remarkable for the great pearl fishery, which employs about thirty thousand persons. At the entrance of the gulf is the Island of Ormuz, situated about ten miles from the Persian coast. This island was the depot of the Portuguese for their oriental trade. It seems to have been a place of reputed commercial wealth in remote times; hence the allusion of Milton:—

"The wealth of Ormuz or of Ind,  
Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,  
Showers on her kings barbaric gold and pearls."

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\* Sir John Malcolm.



The land on both sides of the Persian Gulf presents a most dreary appearance, precipitous cliffs of brownish grey colour rising high from the edge of the water, or a desolate waste stretching away far as the eye can see. The shores resemble those of the Red Sea. The coasts are studded with rocky islands.

The operations of the British forces in 1857 gives a particular interest to this portion of Persia, the commercial places, Bushire and Mohammerah, having been occupied by our troops. Bushire is regarded by the Persians as of great importance, but its defences were found by our troops inconsiderable. Captain G. H. Hunt, of the 78th Highlanders, says of it, that as a commercial town it has been oftener attacked than any other in the world. A British resident represents his country there. The town is situated on a sandy spit, the sea washing two faces, and a swampy creek a third. From the harbour it appears well built, but it is a wretched place, filthy, and irregularly constructed. "The Armenian church within its walls is worth a visit, as also the bazaar, and a very extraordinary water reservoir opposite to the residency. The Hablah Peak, and ranges of hills in the background, are very abrupt and bold, the higher ridges at this season capped with snow. The climate is most delightful, but the nights are bitterly cold."\*

In the British campaign of 1857 an expedition was made from Bushire into the interior as far as Brasjore, a distance of about fifty miles. "Part of the road traversed lay round the head of the Bushire creek, and was alternately hard and loose sand and reedy swamp, a small fortified tower near some walls and a few date-trees being the only objects of interest passed upon the march."† In that part of the country which lies between Bushire and Char-kota sand-storms are common, resembling the *shimauls* of Aden, which darken the air with clouds of light sand. The cold nights also severely try the few travellers who encounter them, and severely tested the endurance of the British campaigners. From Char-kota to Brasjore the country a little improves, as there are occasional patches of date and palm-trees, and a few cultivated spots, where cereal crops are gathered. The mountain scenery is noble, but the lowlands are desert and sandy with rare exceptions.

Mohammerah is a town of some importance for Persia, situated at the junction of the Karoon River with the Shat-el-Arab. This was one of the places upon which the arms of the British were directed in the Persian war of 1857. The branch of the

\* Captain Hunt.

† Townsend.

Euphrates known as the Shat-el-Arab flows through a country in the neighbourhood of Mohammerah which is peculiarly dreary. The banks are flat and swampy; date groves and miserable villages, although frequently occurring, do not relieve the general monotony. The water is muddy, and rolls its gloomy current heavily along. The banks are unhealthy, the malaria for some portions of the year being very fatal, yet a miserable population finds subsistence, and preserves itself: the delicate and weak die off. The strong only surviving, causes the personal appearance of the people to be better than that of most of the neighbouring inland tribes, notwithstanding the wretchedness of their abodes and their general destitution. The local influences there are deadly to Europeans.

The town of Mohammerah is a collection of wretched huts and buildings of mud, yet it is the depot for merchandise to or from India for the upper Persian provinces, for Bussorah and Bagdad. The governor's house is a good building, and the garden attached to it beautiful. A bazaar of very great extent for the place, but badly preserved, was well stocked with commodities when the British forces were there.

Akwaz is situated one hundred miles from Mohammerah up the Karoon River. The scenery is dreary and monotonous; plains of sand, with occasional patches of coarse grass, stretch away in seemingly boundless expanse. On the banks, by the water's edge, jungle grows thickly in many places, and is the haunt of the lion and other beasts of prey. Flocks of wild duck and teal abound. At Kootul-el-Abd the river bends gracefully, and its banks are richer and softer, the willow growing by the water, and the poplar extending some distance inland. Game of various kinds is plentiful in that neighbourhood.

The town is nearly surrounded by low sand-hills, and the plain is well covered with bushes. The place is even more miserable than Mohammerah: it is inhabited by a fine tribe of Arabs. The cultivation of the neighbourhood is very limited and imperfect, and almost the only pleasant spot is a pretty wooded island in the river. A reef of rocks impedes the navigation below the town, creating dangerous rapids. On this reef are the ruins of a bridge. "A few small arches still remaining are of very singular construction, the bricks used being exceedingly small and hard, and shining like porcelain. Tradition dates this back to Alexander the Great. The rapids once passed, the navigation of the river is unimpeded, and with moderately deep



water up to Shuster, a city of some importance." \* Commander Selby, of the Indian navy, made some years ago a survey of the Karoon from Mohanmerah to the rapids of Akwaz. The Bactdyari Mountains, one hundred miles distant, covered with perpetual snow, afford some relief in the far distance as the eye roams over the dark desert.

The Persian Gulf must, from its position, be the scene of war in a conflict between India and Persia; and it is of the utmost importance that surveys be repeated, and an accurate knowledge maintained of the wandering tribes on its shores. A quarter of a century ago, and even less, the gulf was infested by pirates, who were effectually dispersed by the Indian navy. The execution of the task engendered hostility in the minds of the natives, † which has never been removed, and which, although much mitigated by the moderation of the British during the late operations in the gulf, yet is far from being removed, and must be taken into account in any future demonstration. One of the chief hindrances to British influence has been the fierce fanaticism of the Mohammedans on both shores, but, according to the evidence of very high authorities, prejudices of this kind are greatly giving way. ‡ From other as well as political considerations attention to the waters and shores of this gulf is important to English interests. "Commerce, the most powerful link to connect nations of widely different character, is now carried on without hindrance, the Persian Gulf is yearly assuming a more important character with reference to European politics, and the gulf is probably destined to become the highway between India and London." § The following is as brief and accurate a general description as for popular purposes could be presented to the reader; it is written by a naval officer, who, from the love of scientific research, has spent much time in exploring these waters:—"The Persian Gulf is entered by a narrow strait, called by the Arabs 'the Lion's Mouth,' where from either side the opposite coast is visible. After passing these, the shores of Persia and Arabia receding, we find ourselves in a great inland sea, up to the head of which the distance is five hundred miles; its general width is a hundred and twenty miles. This, unlike the Red Sea, which is in a deep narrow bed, is shallow. The only deep part of the gulf is at the entrance, and here there is a

hundred fathoms of water; but this depth is only found close to the rocks of Cape Moosendom—it becomes less deep as you go out from the cape. Within the gulf fifty fathoms is about the deepest water, and the upper portion is much shoaler. A peculiar feature of the gulf is that there is scarcely a good harbour in it. The Persian coast is often mountainous; the opposite, or Arabian coast, is mostly a low sandy desert shore. The former coast is the one most navigated, and is the safer of the two. The great gulf or estuary outside the straits, leaving the Meknar coast on the north, and the shores of Oman on the south, is called the Gulf of Oman; it is, most strictly speaking, part of the Persian Gulf." \* "On this coast, as well as on the south-east coast of Arabia, it may be taken as a rule—that wherever the coast is low the sea is shallow, and where the coast is high the sea is deep." † The depth of the gulf and of the Euphrates is perpetually changing, from causes thus described:—"This phenomenon is attributable to the immense volume of mud and sand, carried down by the Euphrates and its associated streams, being deposited in so landlocked a body of water as the Persian Gulf, in which, aided by the inset of the tide, the sediment is poured back instead of being swept out by a boisterous open sea." ‡

The Island of Karrack will, in all hostile expeditions of the navy of Bombay, be used as a depot. There is an admirable survey of this island, made on the scale of six inches and a half to a mile, upon which every nullah and the large fissures of the rocks may be traced. This survey was made by Mr. Anderson, the officer who, with Mr. Agnew, was murdered at Mooltan by the soldiery of Moolraj.

Although the shores of the gulf are now so desolate, they were once studded by great cities, the remains of which may still be observed. One of the most famous ports of antiquity was Gerrha. The ruins of this city may still be seen at the recess of a narrow bay near the Island of Bahreyn. Within a few miles of Bushire extensive ruins attest that a city once stood there. Tahrie, on the Persian coast, is supposed by some antiquaries to be the ruins of Siraf. There are several other traces of ancient grandeur of more or less interest on the coasts, and some a short way inland, where now all is desolation.

\* *Outram and Havelock's Persian Campaign.*

† *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.*

‡ *Papers of the Bombay Geographical Society*, February, 1856.

§ Lieutenant Charles G. Constable, of the Indian navy.

\* *Memoir relative to the Hydrography of the Persian Gulf.*

† *Geography of the Coast of Arabia between Aden and Muskat.* Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii.

‡ Sir Roderick Murchison, at the sitting of the Royal Geographical Society, 1851.



The political importance to England of preserving the prestige of her power in the Persian Gulf was probably never better expressed than by Sir William Fenwick Williams, Bart. (the hero of Kars), in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, when the policy of the late Persian war was under discussion:—"For ten years he had been employed in a public capacity in various parts of the East. He was engaged for five years in negotiations at Erzeroum relative to its affairs with Turkey, and for five years subsequently he travelled in all parts of the Persian territory. He had therefore many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the opinions of almost all classes of the people, and he could assure the house that, in his communications with Persian princes, Turkish dignitaries, and the peasantry of the country, the relative position of Russia and England was the constant theme of conversation among them. They weighed the military power of Russia with the naval power of England, and they talked almost continually of the possibility of Russia going to India. That idea was also inculcated on the minds of the people by every Russian agent who visited their territory, and it was said by those emissaries that Russia would establish herself in India step by step, and that one of those steps would be the capture of Herat. That being the case, he thought the house might safely affirm the policy of the war with Persia. When they looked at the position of Herat, they could have no doubt that that was the direction in which the finger of Russia pointed; and that being so, he contended that the results of the war with Persia proved that it was the very best move that England ever made. He said, then, that as the finger of Russia was seen at Herat, so the finger of England had been seen at Mohammerah, and for centuries to come we should see the good effects of the invasion of Persia."

Having described the general character of the country and its coasts, it is only necessary to state the provincial divisions and chief cities, a more minute account not being pertinent to the objects of this History.

PROVINCES.	CHIEF TOWNS.
Fars . . . . .	Shiraz, Bushire.
Laristan . . . . .	Lar.
Khuzistan . . . . .	Shuster.
Irak Ajemi . . . . .	Teheran, Ispahan, Hamadan, Casbin.
Ardelau . . . . .	Kermanshah, Senna.
Azerbaijan . . . . .	Tabreez, Urumiah.
Ghilan . . . . .	Reshd.
Mazunderan . . . . .	Saree.
Astrabad . . . . .	Astrabad.*
Khorassan . . . . .	Mushed, Yezd.
Kerman . . . . .	Kerman, Gombroon.

\* The Russians have pushed their frontier to this place.

The largest and most commercial cities are—Tabreez, thirty miles east of the Lake of Urumiah; Khoi, eighty miles north-west of Tabreez; Reshd and Balfroosh, on the southern shores of the Caspian; Yezd, occupying an oasis in the vast salt desert of Khorassan; Casbin, north-west of Teheran, surrounded by a vast extent of orchards and vineyards; Hamadan, at the foot of the snowy peak of Elwund, on the supposed site of the ancient Ecbatana; Kermanshah, on an affluent of the Tigris; Kerman, in the centre of the province of that name; and Mushed, towards the deserts of Turkistan. Yezd is one of the great *entrepôts* between Central and Western Asia, where the caravans from Cabul, Cashmere, Herat, and Bokhara are met by merchants from the west, and an immense interchange of commodities takes place. Shiraz, once so famous, is now a decayed city, largely in ruins, but derives interest from the tombs of its two natives—Sadi, the moral philosopher, and Hafiz, the lyric poet.

The remarkable ancient sites are Persepolis, on the plain of Merdusht, thirty-five miles north-east of Shiraz, a royal city of the Medo-Persian kings, of which there are stately vestiges; Pasargadæ, built by Cyrus to commemorate his victory over the Medes, identified generally with ruins on the plain of Mourgaub, north-east of Persepolis; Ecbatana, the old capital of the Medes, and the Achmetha of the book of Ezra, now supposed to be represented by Hamadan, where the reputed sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai is shown; Susa, the Shushan of the books of Esther and Daniel, an uncertain site, either at Shus, on the Kerrah, or at Susan, on the Karoon, in Khuzistan, at both of which there are the relics of a great city; and Rhages, connected with the captivity of the Jews, afterwards a capital of the Parthian kings, and the birthplace of Haroun-al-Reshid, now a heap of ruins, five miles south-east of Teheran. The modern Khuzistan is the ancient Susiana, and the Elam of Scripture. The Persis of the Greeks and Romans, and the Paras of the Old Testament, is now represented by the province of Fars. This is Persia proper, and the present is an obvious derivation from the ancient name, Paras or Pharas, abbreviated into Phars, or Fars.\*

The people of the kingdom or empire may be divided into two distinctive classes, one of which is fixed, residing in the cities, or cultivating the soil of the more fertile provinces; the other comprises various wandering tribes, who reside in tents, and are often dangerous to the throne, yet also frequently its bravest

\* Rev. T. Milner.



defenders. The first class are commonly called the Persians proper, but known in the East under the designation of Tanjiks. They have been termed the French of the East, from their vivacity and politeness, although probably the modern French are their inferiors in the latter particular. The people of all tribes, but more especially the Persians proper, give to their country the name of Iran. The wandering tribes are called *Illyotts*,\* although a considerable number of these wild races, having taken to live in cities in later times, are distinguished by the name of *Sher-nishin*:† the wanderers choosing, in contradistinction, to call themselves *Sahara-nishin*.‡

The reigning family is one of the tribes which has adopted city life, and settled in Teheran and its neighbourhood; and it is upon the loyalty of these tribes, especially in the direction of the Russian frontier, that the monarch relies against the encroachments of that power. The erratic tribes comprise a population of about two millions and a half, and, while recognising the sovereignty of the shah, are governed by their own customs, and are under the immediate control of their own chiefs. The government of the shah is one of the purest despotisms in the world, the only form of government for which the people would have any respect. The administration is oppressive and unjust.

The old capital is Ispahan, which is situated in an extensive and fertile vale, renowned for its beauty. It was once populous, and its public buildings and delightful gardens were the theme of Persian song and story: it is now desolate, yet less than a century and a half ago it was a city of great opulence, and the seat of government. In the autumn of 1715 an ambassador of Peter the Great of Russia visited Ispahan; an English gentleman happened to be in his suite, who recorded his impressions of the place, and published them in 1762. Although so many years elapsed between his visit and the publication of his book, it appears to be his impression that the Persian capital was, at the latter period, a place of eminence. He described the English and Dutch factories as prosperous, especially the former; and the English factory as situated in the midst of the city, and separated from it by a wall. The following brief account of its site and condition, as it appeared at his visit, shows, when compared with the present ruined and depopulated condition of the same place, how rapidly an oriental, and especially a Persian city, may decay:—

\* "Families," or "tribes."

† Dwellers in cities.

‡ Dwellers in the field.

"Ispahan is situated nearly in thirty-two degrees north latitude, on a fruitful plain, in the province of Hierack, anciently the kingdom of the Parthians. About three or four English miles distant from the city, to the south, runs a high ridge of mountains from east to west. Shah Abbass the Great transferred the seat of the Persian government from Casbin to this place. Ispahan is plentifully supplied with water from the river Schenderoo, which runs between the city and the suburbs, keeping its course to the north. It rises near the city, and is fordable almost everywhere, unless during great rains, which seldom happen. After passing this place, its course is but short, for it soon loses itself in dry parched plains. Over the Schenderoo there are three stately stone bridges in sight of one another; but the one in the middle, betwixt the city and that part of the suburbs called Julpha, which terminates the spacious street Czar-bach, far exceeds any structure of that kind I ever saw. It is broad enough for two carriages and a horseman to pass abreast, and has galleries on each side, which are covered, for the convenience of people on foot; and watchmen are stationed at each end to prevent disorders. There are few houses in the town which have not their *chauses*, i.e., cisterns of water, conveyed in pipes from the river—a most salutary and refreshing circumstance in such a dry and sultry climate.

"The city is populous, and, as I have already observed, very extensive. As most of the inhabitants have their houses apart, surrounded with gardens, planted with fruit and other trees, at a distance it appears like a city in a forest, and affords a very agreeable prospect. The streets are generally very narrow and irregular, except that leading to the great bridge already mentioned. This noble street is very broad and straight, and near an English mile in length. On each side are the king's palaces, courts of justice, and the academies for the education of youth, with two rows of tall chinár-trees, which afford a fine shade. These trees have a smooth whitish bark, and a broad leaf, like the plane-tree. At certain distances, there are fountains of water that play continually, round which are spread carpets; and thither the Persians resort to drink coffee, smoke tobacco, and hear news, which, I must confess, is very agreeable in hot weather.

"At Ispahan are many manufactories of silk and cotton, and a great many silkworms in the neighbourhood. As the consumption of silk is very considerable in this place, little of it is exported. The making carpets, however, employs the greatest number of hands, for which the demand is great, as they are



preferable in quality, design, and colour, to any made elsewhere.

"The fields about the city are very fertile, and produce plentiful crops of excellent wheat and barley; but then they must all be watered, on account of the dryness of the soil, which is a work of labour and expense. Besides these, I saw no other grain. Provisions of all kinds are very dear at Ispahan, which is sufficiently apparent from the number of poor that go about the streets. Nothing, however, is so extravagantly high as firewood.

"The Roman Catholics have three convents in the city, viz., those of the Carmelites, Capuchins, and Augustins. The Jesuits and Dominicans have their separate convents in the suburbs of Julpha, which is inhabited by Armenians, who are allowed the free exercise of their religion. There is a considerable number of Jews in the city, who are either merchants or mechanics."\*

The present capital is Teheran, in latitude 35° 40' north, longitude 51° 30' east, built on a sterile plain, near the southern base of Elbruz. It is about four miles in circumference, and contains probably one hundred and fifty thousand persons; but the population fluctuates in the hot season, many of the citizens removing to cooler situations. In summer the heat of the place is intense. The country is naked and savage, presenting the wildest aspect of plain and mountain—

"Rough quarries, rocks, and hills, whose heads touch heaven."

The religion of the state, and of nearly the whole of the people, is Mohammedan. There are now but few of the Parsees (Ghebers, or fire-worshippers) remaining, after the exterminating persecutions to which they have been exposed. Sofeeism, or scepticism, prevails very extensively; this system is suitable to the volatile Persians, and it is steadily displacing Mohammedanism: yet the Sofeeists enter into the spirit of the national religion so far as to espouse its persecutions, and its quarrels with the rival sect of Mohammedanism professed by the Turks.

The religious history of Persia is interesting. "The primeval religion of Iran, if we may rely on the authorities adduced by Mohsan Fani, was that which Newton calls the oldest of all religions—a firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species; and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation."†

\* Bell.

† Sir William Jones.

The earliest religion of the people soon became corrupted there as elsewhere, and by the same processes. The works of nature became objects of awe, fear, veneration, and were also made types of good or evil ideas. The unseen world was peopled with heroes, demi-gods, and demons, who were worshipped either from fear or admiration, and with homage, relative or direct. Persia, indeed, or Iran, from the earliest times, seems to have been the great classic ground of oriental mythology and romance, which diverged and spread from thence with its roving tribes, the Pali and Pelasgi, &c., to almost every surrounding and distant country, both of the East and of the West. The fabled wars of the gods and giants, which pervade the Greek and Latin classics, most probably originated from the wars of their heroes, or ancient kings, with the *dives*, or rebellious demons, in which they were supposed to be assisted by the *peris*, or fairies, the good demons and guardian angels of mankind; both acting under the control of the Supreme Being.

The sacred books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther depict the ancient power and splendour of the Persian court, and the absolute will of the monarchs at that early age. They also present a true account of the ethical and religious notions and character of the court and people. During the time of Esther and Mordecai, the monarch, and through him the court, were brought under the influence of the monotheism of revelation. Cyrus, the founder of this great empire, which included Babylon, Media, and Persia, was also much influenced by Jewish opinion, as the book of Daniel reveals. The religion of Zoroaster (fire or sun worship) described in a previous chapter, supplanted all other systems, and obtained an early and universal recognition among the Persian tribes. "That people rejects the use of temples, of altars, and of statues, and smiles at the folly of those nations who imagine that the gods are sprung from, or bear any affinity with, the human nature. The tops of the highest mountains are the places chosen for sacrifices. Hymns and prayers are the principal worship; the Supreme God, who fills the wide circle of heaven, is the object to whom they are addressed."\*

At an early period Christianity was introduced by the Syrian Church, but was opposed by the Magi. The Nestorians, however, long maintained a position in Persia, and to this day some of them are to be found in the cities and hill countries. The near neighbourhood of Persia to Arabia brought her

\* Herodotus.



early under the yoke of the Saracens, and the religion of Mohammed was established, as usual, by the sword.

The moral character of the people is such as is formed by the Mohammedan religion everywhere; but while the Persians cherish its sanguinary doctrines, and are, as the followers of the Prophet elsewhere, opposed to all science which is not found in the Koran, the polite and volatile character of the people, and the influence of Sofeeism, cause the Mohammedan temper and tone to be less obvious. There is very little sincerity or truth in the Persians of this day, while their arrogance and self-esteem pass the bounds probably of all other people. "The Persian character, throughout all its shades, has one predominating feature—an overweening vanity distinguishes the whole nation." \* The policy of the court is utterly faithless, as the British government has frequently experienced.

The languages of Persia are various: Turkish, Arabic, and Pushtoo, are spoken by different tribes, according to their origin, but the Persian is the prevailing tongue. It has been called the Italian of Asia, because of its softness and fluency. It is the polite language of a large portion of Western, Central, and Southern Asia. Its antiquity is very great. Sir William Jones considered the ancient Persian to be identical with the Chaldee, or immediately derived from it. The Chevalier Bunsen regards the ancient Persian, or Iran, as the fount of the Indo-European family of languages.

The literature of Persia is various and refined, the language being especially adapted to poetry and romance: much of the literature it contains is in these forms.

The commerce of Persia is in a very low condition, and shows symptoms of still further decay. The pearl fishery furnishes an article highly prized everywhere, but especially in the East. The caravans convey various ar-

ticles of commerce to or from Russia, Turkey, Independent Tartary, Beloochistan, Affghanistan, and Cashmere. Trade, by way of the Persian Gulf, is carried on with Kurrachee and Bombay, and, in a less degree, with the eastern ports of India and China.

The Persians still retain some celebrity in the East for light and tasteful manufactures, such as jewellery, in which, however, they are inferior both to the Bengalese and Chinese; sword blades, in which they are rivalled in India; pottery, which is much surpassed by the Chinese manufacturers; gold and silver brocade, in which the Chinese also excel them, as they do in plain silks. The Persians are famous for their manufacture of shawls, which are made from the products of Thibet and Cashmere, brought into Persia by the caravans. The Persian carpets have long maintained a merited celebrity. Mohair, known in Britain as a product of Asia Minor, and now brought into such extensive use in English manufactures, is derived in considerable quantities from Persia. It is the woolly hair or fleece of the Angora goat (*Capra Angorensis*), which is a native of a small district; but the breed has extended to Persia, and the hair become an article of commerce for the Persian caravans. Horses, hare-skins, and horsehair are also articles of export.

There is an exportation of silk to England, but it is very fluctuating, in some years being under a thousand bales, in others reaching four thousand, and occasionally six thousand. It arrives in small bales, or ballots, of seventy-five pounds net. Black lamb-skins are much valued in Persia, and, being abundant, are exported. Isinglass, obtained from the sturgeon fisheries of the Caspian Sea, is in high repute in Asia Minor, Turkey, Russia, and England. There are few countries, of equal area and resources, for which commerce has done so much in increasing its opulence and civilization.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE.

A BRIEF and popular *exposé* of the system of government of British India is a desideratum. Acts of parliament, and the archives of the India-House, reveal to the student the intricacies of the constitution of the company, its relation to the Board of Control, the regulations which govern its civil and military services, the collection of its revenue, and the

\* Sir John Malcolm.

administration of its law and police. Digests of law, abstracts of parliamentary papers, and the acts of the governor-general and council of India have been published, but they are crude and dry, and therefore not adapted for popular perusal. This chapter will present such a general view of the subject, as will enable the reader to peruse, in future chapters, the history of Indian conquest, and



of the incorporation of Indian territory, with greater clearness, and also to enter into the political discussions of the day, popular and parliamentary, in reference to Indian topics. Aid will be afforded to the student of this History by presenting some account of the forms of government which prevailed in times antecedent to the British dominion. By this means a comparative view can be taken of those forms, and the constitution and functions of the government of the East India Company.

The earliest accounts of Indian government are those handed down in the Institutes of Menu. The basis of rule was then laid down in a recognition of caste, and of the relations which existed among the four great orders into which society was divided, and which, in describing the religion of India, were sufficiently explained. The earliest form of government of which we have any knowledge was that which the words superior chieftainship, rather than absolute monarchy, would express. The king was supreme; he was assisted by councils, civil and military, who had no other power than that which he assigned to them. Yet this king or chief is described as amenable to law, as subject in certain cases to fine, but no provision seems to have been made for his arraignment, nor was the tribunal defined to which he was amenable. The inference is that the church was the grand court of appeal. When the people became dissatisfied with the sovereign's conduct, the priesthood was expected to enforce their will; the monarch would be powerless before the combined priests and people, unless at rare conjunctures, when the military class sided with the monarch against both. A struggle of such sort was frequently maintained. The process which an eloquent ethical philosopher of our times represents as having marked the progress of early society in Persia, scarcely less strikingly marked it in India, which derived thence many of its doctrines, political, social, and religious. "The Cyropædia, and the testimonies of Herodotus respecting the feelings of the Persians towards their king, and his inseparable connection with their worship, fully confirm another most important inference which we shall deduce from the legends respecting Zerduscht.\* The Magian, officially, was his antagonist; some *monarch* was always the ally in his reforms. To exalt the royal above the sacerdotal function, to prevent the kings from being the servants of the priests, was unquestionably a great part of his work. Herein he was probably acting out a faith which was far older in Persia than himself. It is difficult not to trace—most

modern historians have traced—an opposition between the Persian and Median tribes (an opposition not preventing but necessitating an attempt at union between them) which points to more than the strife of mere personal feelings and interests. The Median predominance seems always to indicate the triumph of a priestly order and of priestly habits: the Persian prevalence shows that a king is ruling who knows that he is a king, and is determined to maintain his authority against all opposers, by whatever visible or invisible instruments they may work. The nobler kings—such as were Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes—do not merely proclaim their own tyranny: they assert that Ormusd\* is king; they are as entirely religious as those who are leagued against them; their faith is the ground of all their acts; in the strength of it they decree justice, organize satrapies, improve the tillage of the land, and constitute one of those mighty monarchies in which we recognise the character, strength, and spirit of Asia. In these monarchies everything depends upon the central power, or rather upon the earnestness with which the central power confesses its subjection to a gracious and beneficent Power, in whose name it rules and fights. The inscriptions which Major Rawlinson† has recently interpreted, show how remarkably this was the case with Darius Hystaspes: they embody the very spirit of the Zerduscht reformation, and might almost tempt us to the notion—a favourite with some German critics (not, however, it seems to us, compatible with any of the popular traditions)—that he was identical with the Prophet. He no doubt realised the conception of the teacher much more than any mere teacher could have realised it. His order was that attempt to imitate the order of the heavenly bodies, the calmness and regularity of nature, which one who looked upon light as the centre of the outward universe, and the king as the centre of the human society, would especially have admired and rejoiced in."‡ Thus the influence of the sacerdotal order was apparently opposed to the throne, while in reality supporting it; or in appearance upholding its despotism without limitation, but really restraining it. There was natural opposition, yet necessary union. The operation of these relations upon the government, and the condition of the mass of the people, was to consolidate a despotism tempered by moral influence and by an ecclesi-

\* The good god of ancient Persian mythology.

† Now Lieutenant-colonel Sir Henry Creswick Rawlinson, K.C.B.

‡ The Rev. F. D. Maurice's *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*.

\* A reformer of the system of the ancient Persian Magi.



astical *imperium in imperio*. One of the statutes of the code, recognised as of divine authority, ordained that the monarch should always have a priest as a member of his household. Indeed, the laws laid down as necessary for the government of the monarch were as extensive, stringent, and minute, as those which regulated the lives and allegiance of the people. Yet from the strictness of the laws, and their number, ensuring the protection of the monarch's person against poison, the knife, strangulation, &c., it may be inferred that, while the theory of his absolutism was not perhaps ostensibly questioned, it was not considered too sacred for those of his subjects who were aggrieved by it to defy it, and assail the person of the king himself.

Local peculiarities, great natural divisions, and causes which can now be but imperfectly traced, separated the inhabitants of India into different communities, under different chiefs; but the relations of the monarch, the warriors, the priesthood, and the people, remained everywhere essentially the same, and the policy, domestic and foreign, of all the different courts was identical. The Institutes of Menu were respected by all; and before the principles of law that book afterwards contained were codified, they were the vital elements in the political life of all the states of India. Among the political lessons given to the sovereigns from the sacred book was that of endeavouring to sow dissensions among their enemies in their foreign policy. This injunction of course received a very wide construction. If one prince desired the territories of another, the latter was accounted an enemy, and the aggrandizer most religiously set to work to obey the counsel of the sacred book, by carrying intrigue and dissension into the court and country of his peaceful neighbour, perhaps his ally; or it might be that this *finesse* was practised against one who was employing the like against him. Hence the foreign policy of the native rulers has in all ages been utterly profligate. The enjoined principles of negotiation are not so corrupt in "the book" as in the interpretation given; but so universal has this loose interpretation been, that the diplomacy of the native princes has been without faith—for even when engagements have been kept, convenience, not loyalty, regulated the procedure.

Among what may be called the curiosities of ancient Indian government are the directions which the sacred laws unfold for the employment of spies, whether for governmental or military purposes. They were to be chiefly chosen from artful youths, degraded anchorites, needy husbandmen, ruined merchants, and fictitious penitents. These direc-

tions have been but too faithfully followed in India ever since.

As general rules of policy, kings were enjoined to regard all neighbouring princes as enemies, but those whose territory lay beyond that of a neighbouring prince as a natural ally, and others as probable neutrals. Hence the protection of the second class of princes was often sought against the first, on terms ruinous to the independence of the state which sought it. Intrigue, chicanery, faithless cunning, disgraceful servility, the most perfidious treachery, and undying suspicion, resulted from this religiously enjoined policy.

Some of the early institutions of India resembled those of the feudal system in Europe. There were lords who rendered service to the supreme sovereign, but who held a species of limited sovereignty themselves. The lords of a single town, or of ten towns, or of one hundred towns, took rank accordingly, and held a position of relative importance and power.

It would appear that in the earliest times there existed municipal institutions in India, bearing some resemblance in their government and customs to those of the Basque provinces in Spain. A considerable amount of personal freedom, local order, and security to property, was maintained by the old Indian municipalities, the remains of which exist in India to this day.

When the Mohammedans conquered India, they introduced various alterations more in harmony with their own religious system. In the villages, and the remoter parts of the country, the old municipal system was respected by the conquerors, but in the large cities the will of the monarch more directly influenced the administration of affairs. Centralization, as opposed to local government, became the rule.

The Mohammedan rulers originated the class known as *zemindars*. These are now a sort of feudatory landholders under the government, possessing the right to sub-let. Under the Mohammedan dominion they were merely superintendents of districts, called *pergunnahs*.

The government of the Mussulman dynasties was in India, as it has been elsewhere, absolute. It has been described as "a despotism tempered by fanaticism;" and again as "a despotism held in check by conspiracy and assassination."

The fiscal system of the Hindoos was very simple. Their sources of revenue were few. The produce of the land was the chief subject of taxation; commerce was also taxed; various trades paid imposts; and every mechanic rendered twelve days' service to the state.



The levy upon agricultural produce was graduated; grain sustained an impost of from one-twelfth to one-sixth, according to circumstances, which were equitably taken into consideration: on rare occasions—such as war, or for some great public work—one-fourth of the grain produce was taken by the state. One-sixth of all other products of the fields was the highest amount exacted, and the same rate was demanded from manufacturers on the results of their skill. One-fifth of all sales was payable to the crown. Estates for which there were no heirs, and all other property remaining unclaimed for three years, were escheated to the monarch. One-half of the mineral wealth yielded in his dominions was forfeited to the king.

The laws relating to proprietary in land and tenure were complicated and obscure. Custom and arbitrary power must have determined many questions which were sure to arise in connection with this description of property. The townships, municipalities, and villages held the land in many places,—as these communities were little commonwealths, with the local government of which the crown seldom interfered, so long as the revenue was collected, for the payment of which the municipal officers were themselves responsible. The mayor, or head man, especially bore this responsibility. In the earliest ages this person was elected; subsequently the appointment depended upon the sovereign; and, finally, as it became the custom to confer it upon the son, or adopted son, of the person who died in the office, it became hereditary. The post was deemed honourable, and the emolument was considerable, derived partly by royal stipend, and partly by municipal fees. The collection of revenue was rendered the more easy in the townships by the association of two officers—one called the accountant, answering pretty well to our English town clerks, as he was supposed to be conversant with the laws of revenue; the other was called the watchman, whose office nearly corresponded to our chiefs of civic police.

Although this was the usual style of village communities, and their mode of land occupancy and revenue, there were in some places two separate classes in the communal circle. One of these was the owners of the land; the other included cultivators, labourers, shopkeepers, and various descriptions of temporary servants. The rights of the landholders were *collective*, and the distribution of proceeds was always so ordered as to preserve the recognition of this. In all villages there were two descriptions of tenants, who rented the land from the community of village proprietors, or from the crown, where the former

class did not exist. Both classes were called *ryots*; one was temporary, the other permanent. The latter bequeathed their interest in the tenancy; they held a species of “tenant right.” The former held his land by lease, or was a “tenant-at-will.” Persons who, by caste prerogative, could not work, were allowed land on comparatively easy conditions, so that they might employ others. In certain portions of Southern India—such as Canara, Malabar, and Travancore—individuals held the “fee simple,” or were subject to a certain fixed payment to the crown, but acted otherwise with their land as they thought proper. The zemindars originally derived their lands by grants from the king for military, political, or other services. Ecclesiastical lands were set apart for religious purposes, and were under the control of the confraternity of the temple or mosque to which the property appertained. It must be obvious from all these arrangements that the machinery of taxation was effective, and the expense of collecting the revenue comparatively little.

The Tartar conquerors of Hindoostan introduced various innovations, which tended to oppress the people both as to the tenure, assessment, and modes of collection, but chiefly as to the amounts levied, which were in many cases exorbitant; and also in selecting new objects of assessment—such as ploughs, music in ceremonies, marriages, &c. The result of these measures was to render the amount of revenue less certain, and ultimately less in value, for the people resisted the oppressions by cunning, evasion, abstraction of crops, falsification of accounts, and the bribery of municipal officers. The distinguished monarch Akbar Khan remedied many of these evils, and the meliorations he produced remained in more or less force until the power of England was established.

The general effects of the political and fiscal systems were unfavourable, although the evils were somewhat mitigated by the municipalities; yet even these narrowed the sympathies of the Hindoos, and were morally injurious in some respects, though they favoured morality in others. The municipal institutions have been very much overpraised by a certain class of writers, who are zealous to exalt everything native in India, at the expense of everything British; and to commend everything heathen and Hindoo, in comparison with what is Christian.

After two thousand years of bad government and oppression, of intestine strife and foreign invasion, European nations began to set up factories on the Indian peninsula for the purpose of trade. The English were not



first in these enterprises, but they were the most resolute and persistent. During the whole of the sixteenth century the English made efforts more or less successful to open up a trade with India. On the last day of the sixteenth century Queen Elizabeth signed a charter, constituting a number of gentlemen, associated for the purpose of trade with India, "one body, corporate and politique." The title given to this association was, "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter was granted for fifteen years, unless in the meantime two years' notice was given of her majesty's intention to revoke it. Delays and impediments arose, and the funds of the company proved to be inadequate, so that it became necessary to form an auxiliary association, which was ultimately absorbed in the former, with the consent of the crown. The charter accorded powers to a governor and twenty-four directors to govern the new company. At first these officials were nominated by the crown, but afterwards they were elected by the body of the proprietors, which originally numbered two hundred and twenty persons, principally merchants. The charter vested in them, their sons, servants, apprentices, and factors, the exclusive privilege of trading "into the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands, ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza or the Straits of Magellan, where any traffic may be used, and to and from every of them." The general assemblies of the company were empowered to make laws and regulations, not only for carrying on their commerce, but also to inflict punishments, provided they were not at variance with the laws of the realm. They were allowed to purchase lands without limitation, and for four years to export goods free of duty.

When the first fleets that conveyed merchandise, supercargoes, and servants of the company arrived in India, they found the impediments to successful commerce very great. They had no land on which to erect stores, nor means to protect themselves and their servants from peculation, plunder, or violence. Agents were sent to Delhi to negotiate for land, and privileges necessary for such purposes, which were all that the company then contemplated. The result was permission to establish factories at Surat, Cambay, &c., under circumstances which enabled the company to possess lands, and raise defences for their protection.

In 1609 the charter was renewed. In 1613 the imperial firman for the establish-

ment of a factory at Surat was obtained. Sir Thomas Rowe, by his skill in the embassy to Ajmeer, obtained liberty of trade throughout the empire.

In 1634 a competitive company, called "The Assada Merchants," obtained from the Mogul liberty to trade at the port of Piplee, in Orissa. In 1644 this new association was amalgamated with the original company. In 1640 the rajah ruling that portion of the Coromandel coast permitted the erection of Fort St. George.

Some years afterwards an English physician named Broughton having cured the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, that munificent prince conceded to the English liberty to erect a factory on the Hoogly, which became the foundation of their subsequent dominion in Bengal. In 1650 the factory was built at Calcutta.

Cromwell, in 1657, abolished the company's exclusive privileges.

Charles II. renewed the charter in 1661, and confirmed to the company the Island of St. Helena, of which they had taken possession ten years before. The same year Charles married the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, and received as a part of her dower the Island of Bombay, which he made over to the company in 1668. The company began to fortify the island on taking possession of it.

In 1693 the charter was again renewed, after a formidable opposition in the House of Commons, which affirmed by vote the right of "every Englishman" to trade with the East.

A competitive company received a charter in 1698, under the title of "The General Society trading to the East Indies." Mr. Anderson, in his *History of Commerce*, represents the competition between the two companies as most disastrous, involving both in ruin. This state of things led to a coalition in 1702, under the title of "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." The amalgamation of the two associations did not take place, however, until five years later.

In 1711 a statute of Queen Anne recognised the corporate capacity of the East India Company, and continued their privileges of trade. The managing committee in London at this juncture took the title of "Court of Directors." The government in India was conducted by a president and council at each of the stations. The civil functionaries were sent out under what was called covenanted service, the terms of which were, that they should obey all orders, discharge all debts, and treat the natives well. The presidents were commanders-in-chief at their respective



stations The garrisons were composed of recruits enlisted in England, deserters from the Dutch and Portuguese, half-castes, enlisted in India, and natives, chiefly Rajpoots, who were called *sipahies* (soldiers), a name which eventually was changed into one of easier pronunciation by English tongues—*sepoys*.

The character and progress of the company hitherto prepared the way for the vast territorial and political power which they were destined to assume. The great modern historian of Persia, who is also a great authority on Indian affairs, appropriately described the company's career up to this point:—"While we find in the first century of the history of the East India Company abundant proofs of their misconduct, we also discover a spirit of bold enterprise and determined perseverance, which no losses could impede, and no dangers subdue. To this spirit, which was created and nourished by their exclusive privileges, they owed their ultimate success. It caused them, under all reverses, to look forward with ardent hopes to future gains; and if it occasionally led them to stain their fame by acts of violence and injustice towards the assailants of their monopoly, it stimulated them to efforts, both in commerce and in war, that were honourable to the character of the British nation."

A new career of government and influence now opened upon the honourable company. In 1716 Mr. Hamilton, a British surgeon, who had been sent on a commercial and political mission to Delhi, obtained "a firman of privileges" from the Mogul:—

1. That the passport of the company's president should exempt all British goods from examination by the Mogul's government officers.

2. That the officers of the mint at Moorshedabad should give three days a week for the coinage of the company's money there.

3. That all debtors of the company should be delivered up on demand.

4. That the company might purchase the lordships of thirty-eight towns in Bengal, with certain specified immunities.

In 1744 George II. continued the privileges of the company. In two years after that the war with the French began, which lasted until 1761, and issued in the triumph of the company, the increase of its territory, and of its power and influence at home.

The conquests of Clive having still further increased the company's territory, George III., in 1767, by statute (7, cap. 57), guaranteed these territories for two years to the company upon their payment of £400,000. In 1769 this act was confirmed for five years.

The company having, in 1772, assumed the entire control of Bengal, a committee of

the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of India. Nothing of a practical nature issued that session from the inquiry, which was renewed the next year. In that year the first provision was made for the government of India by the imperial parliament—statute 13 George III., cap. 63. Hitherto the election of the directors of the East India Company had been annual, but by this new act they were to be elected for certain terms of years. A governor-general and four councillors were appointed to conduct affairs in India, Fort William, at Calcutta, being made the seat of government. The act empowered the governor-general to frame ordinances and regulations, which, in order to have force, were to be registered in a supreme court constituted by the act, and holding its sessions at Calcutta. In the same year another act (13 George III., cap. 64) was passed, regulating the financial relations of the company and the government. This act also bound the company to export annually £380,837 worth of merchandise, exclusive of naval and military stores, but this obligation was only to last for two years. In consequence of these acts of the British legislature, Warren Hastings was appointed governor-general.

In 1781 (21 George III., cap. 65) the company's privileges were confirmed and continued for ten years, determinable thence after a three years' notice. The financial decrees of the English legislature were at the same time grasping, and unjust towards the company, which was to pay £400,000 per annum, their dividends to be limited to eight per cent., and after payment of it three-fourths of their surplus receipts were to be paid into the exchequer.

This settlement did not give satisfaction, and in 1782 a select committee of the commons sat on Indian affairs. In the result of that session, the year 1783 was made notable in the concerns of the East India Company by the celebrated bills of Mr. Fox. Only two years previously he was instrumental in breaking up "the board of plantations" and "the colonial department." It was near the close of the year that Fox introduced his measures: the first was for vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of seven directors, aided by nine proprietors. The board was to have the disposal of all patronage. The second bill was for the better government of the territorial possessions in India, the regulation of land tenures, and the abolition of monopolies. Neither of these bills passed, but their discussion prepared the way for the adoption of a policy towards the company by the imperial govern-



ment which was destined to prevail, under various modifications, for three-quarters of a century. Pitt really derived his suggestions from Fox in the plans which he afterwards perfected. There can be no doubt that both these statesmen were influenced by a desire to frame a government for India the most likely to secure patronage and power for their respective parties; and that jealousy of the Whigs, and of liberal notions in general, moved both Pitt and his master, George III., to the opposition which the measures of Fox encountered from them.

In 1784 parliament again took up the question of Indian government. By 24 George III., cap. 25, the crown was authorised to appoint six privy councillors as commissioners for the affairs of India; three to form a quorum, and either the chancellor of the exchequer, or one of the secretaries of state, to be president. The power of the directors was increased in certain directions, and better defined in all respects. The right to fill up vacancies in the offices of governors at Fort St. George and Bombay, and in that of governor-general, was conceded to them. They were also empowered to recall the governor-general, to declare war, and to make peace. A secret committee was selected from the body of the directors, endowed with peculiar prerogatives. The supreme council at Calcutta, as constituted by the bill, was to consist of the governor-general and three councillors, the commander-in-chief to rank next in authority to his excellency. The commissioners appointed by the act were, in their collective capacity, called "the Board of Control." This was the *chef-d'œuvre* of Pitt's bill, and the scheme has never worked well. Mr. Washington Wilks, the editor of a journal in the north of England, well expressed the relation of "the board" to the company when he said, "The Board of Control never compelled the directors to do right, but often compelled them to do wrong when they would not." If this sentence is only to be received with some qualification, it is nevertheless a correct general description of the fact.

In the years 1786, 1813, 1833, and 1853, "Pitt's Act" received modifications, but the principles of the measure have remained as constituting the Anglo-Indian political system. The legislative power remained with the court of directors, who were the source of all civil, political, and military authority, and ostensibly held the right of dismissing governors, governors-general, commanders-in-chief, and all officers civil or military, of whatsoever grade, and exercising whatsoever functions. Still all these prerogatives were subject to the

consent of the crown, given through the Board of Control, which revised all decisions and elections. The body of proprietors were consulted on all financial changes, and their suffrages were necessary in such matters, although it was a nominal rather than a real power which the proprietary exercised.

In 1793, by 33 George III., cap. 52, the territorial possessions of India, with their revenues, and the commercial privileges of the company, were continued for twenty years. The powers of the Board of Control were renewed, increased, and defined. The governor-general was invested with enlarged, and, in some cases, with even absolute powers. New enactments were also made for the regulation of the presidential governments.

The year 1813 was a year of great importance in the relations of the crown and company. Again for the space of twenty years the possessions of the company were continued, the expenses of their military establishments to be defrayed from their land revenue. Their exclusive trade with China for tea was also confirmed. As will be seen by the reader in an early chapter on the religions of India, provision was made in that year for an ecclesiastical establishment. The lease of twenty years held by the company from the crown expired in 1833, and another renewal for the same period was obtained. Various modifications of the company's charter were, however, insisted upon on the part of parliament and the crown. The trading privileges were abolished, in consequence of the outcry raised, especially against the monopoly of the China tea-trade, throughout the British Isles. A fixed dividend of ten and a half per cent. per annum was guaranteed to their stockholders, on condition of the company paying two millions sterling for the reduction of the national debt. The dividend, however, was subject to a redemption by parliament after April, 1784, on payment of £200 for every £100 of stock. Or if the company should be deprived of the government of India previously, then three years' notice made any time after the year 1854 would entitle the government to redeem the guarantee on the terms specified. The board of commissioners for the affairs of India (Board of Control) was remodelled—seven cabinet ministers were made *ex-officio* members. The authority of the board was also increased: it was empowered to demand copies of minutes of courts of proprietors and directors, and of all letters and despatches of importance which the directors proposed to send to India. Should the company refuse to give copies, or delay their transmission to



the Board of Control for fourteen days, then the latter was authorised to frame despatches on the matter in question, whatever it might be, and the company was bound to send them to India. A still more important right was given to "the board," one which the company regarded as an unjustifiable encroachment; this was the power to alter and reduce the annual estimates for the company's home establishment. The board was also empowered to send despatches to India in the name of the directors, with the concurrence of any three members of "the secret committee."

The act of 1833 also modified the local government of India, which was vested in the governor-general and a council of four, three of them to be persons who had been in the civil or military service ten years, and one who had never been before in the service. This council should assemble whenever the governor-general might appoint, and pass such "acts" as they deemed proper for the welfare of India, subject to the sanction of the court of directors. Governors and councils of three were to administer affairs in the Bombay and Madras presidencies, without the power of making laws or granting money. These changes stung the court of proprietary and the directors to the quick, but their acquiescence was obtained, which was rendered possible by the patronage which the act conceded. All offices, from that of the governor-general to the lowest clerk or military cadet, were placed in the hands of the directors, except a certain reserve, as to cadets, held by the Board of Control. The crown, however, retained the right of confirming the choice in the higher appointments; and if the directors allowed any office to be vacant for more than two months, the Board of Control was entitled to fill it up. This bill was very particular in expressing the right of the imperial parliament to legislate for India, and it enacted that a statement of the company's finance should be annually laid before the houses of the legislature. Various important changes in the judicial arrangements of the company's courts, and in the rights of British-born subjects to purchase land and reside in India, were comprised in this bill. An important act was passed in 1835, giving power to the directors to suspend the operation of the bill of 1833, so far as related to the government of Agra; and the governor-general in council was enjoined to appoint in such case a lieutenant-governor for that province.

When the lease of power given to the company in 1833 expired in 1853, considerable agitation was raised in the country against the renewal of their charter. The

constitutional jealousy of the English people led them to regard any corporate body with suspicion, which seemed to exercise powers that belonged only to the queen, lords, and commons in parliament assembled. Much of this feeling, as directed against the East India Company, arose from an imperfect acquaintance with the merits of the case, the history of the company's Indian affairs having previously excited very little attention, even amongst members of parliament and professed politicians. The existence of this jealous state of mind towards the company, which was very much fostered by the merchant class, was taken advantage of by the government of the day, which was anxious, as every preceding government had been, to acquire the patronage of India as a means of preserving office; and from the aristocratic sympathies of all cabinets, Whig and Tory, they were desirous to disperse the civil and military gifts among their own class, hitherto so largely bestowed by the company upon the middle ranks of British society.

Victoria 16, 17, cap. 95 confirmed all previous acts, except where they might prove inconsistent with its own enactments. No new lease was, however, extended to the company; their territorial jurisdiction, and all other rights and privileges held under the act of 1853 were to remain until parliament should provide otherwise. The constitution of the court of directors was remodelled; instead of twenty-four members it should consist of only eighteen, ten of whom to form a quorum. Of the eighteen directors, fifteen were to be chosen out of the then existing body by themselves; three were to be appointed by the crown. It was also provided that the crown nominees should gradually increase until the governing body should consist of six such, with twelve elected members, the whole of the former, and half of the latter to consist of persons who should have resided ten years in India. No person to sit as a director unless he possessed £1000 East India stock. Each director was to receive a salary of £500 per annum, and the chairman and deputy-chairman £1000 each. These sums were ridiculously small, some of the officials in the India-house having larger salaries, and rendering services which deserved such a requital. The directors, if made stipendiaries at all, should have been paid on a scale of remuneration adequate to their vast responsibility and labour. The quorum of the general court of proprietors was fixed at twenty.

This act also instituted changes in the council of India. The fourth member of council was placed on the same footing as



the three colleagues who had necessarily served in India in some other capacity. Previously this officer had no vote: by the new act his authority was made identical with that of his fellow-members. There were added to the council four new members, entitled to sit and vote only when laws and regulations were made. These officers were thus selected: the chief-justice of the supreme court of India, *ex officio*; one of the judges of that court; and a civil officer of ten years' standing in each of the presidencies of Bombay and Madras. In addition to these especial members of council taking part only in matters of law, the governor-general had power himself to appoint two company's servants being of ten years' standing. All these appointments subject to the approbation of her majesty, that is, to the Board of Control.

Previous to the act of 1853, the commander-in-chief of the queen's army in India was not necessarily commander-in-chief of the company's army: by this statute he became *ex officio* invested with that authority. The number of European troops which the company was to be permitted to employ was fixed at twenty thousand as a maximum. The crown was authorised to appoint law commissioners to report on legal reforms. The directors received power to enlarge the limits of presidencies, to create a new presidency, and appoint a lieutenant-governor. The latter provision pointed to the north-west provinces, or "Agra government." Very important alterations were made in the company's patronage; the civil service, and the posts of assistant-surgeons to the forces, were thrown open to competition. The Board of Control was invested with the right of making regulations in reference to all parts of the service, as to admission and age of candidates at Haileybury and Addiscomb, the civil and military colleges of the company in England. It was provided that the Board of Control should not ostensibly alter or regulate matters connected with the colleges; all arrangements made by it were to be laid before parliament. The action of the Board of Control in reference to Haileybury soon assumed an adverse character, for in 1855 a bill was brought into parliament, under the auspices of the president, entitled "An Act to relieve the East India Company from the obligation to maintain the college of Haileybury." It was provided that no students should be admitted after the 1st of January, 1856, and that it should be closed on January 30th, 1858.

It will enable the reader fully to comprehend, and easily to remember, the progress of imperial legislation in reference to the con-

stitution of the company, to place before him the leading articles of the act of 1793, with notes of the addenda, or alterations made by subsequent acts. The act of 1793 is known as 33 George III., cap. 52, and is called, "An Act for continuing in the East India Company, for a further term, the Possession of the British Territories in India, together with their exclusive Trade, under certain limitations; for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories, and the better Administration of Justice within the same; for appropriating to certain uses the Revenues and Profits of the said Company; and for making provision for the good Order and Government of the Towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay." The name of the act sufficiently indicates its object, so as to render the preamble unnecessary. The second section of the act was of great importance:

§ II.—And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs or successors, by any letters patent, or by any commission or commissions to be issued under the Great Seal of Great Britain, from time to time to nominate, constitute, and appoint, during his or their pleasure, such members of the privy council (of whom the two principal secretaries of state, and the chancellor of the exchequer for the time being, shall always be three), and such other two persons as his majesty, his heirs or successors, shall think fit to be, and who shall accordingly be and be styled commissioners for the affairs in India.

This was the basis of the Board of Control; but by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, secs. 19 and 20, the constitution of the board is in some respects varied. The office of commissioner is not restricted to members of the privy council, and the following great officers of state are to be *ex officio* commissioners:—the lord president of the council, the lord privy seal, the first lord of the treasury, the principal secretaries of state (then three, now four), and the chancellor of the exchequer. The act of 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, was passed on the 28th of August, 1833, and was entitled, "An Act for effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of His Majesty's Indian Territories till the 30th day of April, 1854."

§ III.—And be it further enacted, that any three or more of the said commissioners shall and may form a board, for executing the several powers which by this act, or by any other act or acts, are or shall be given to or vested in the said commissioners; and that the first-named commissioner in any such letters patent or commission for the time being shall be the president of the said board; and that when any board shall be formed in the absence of the president, the commissioner whose name shall stand next in the order of their nomination in the said commission, of those who shall be present, shall for that turn preside at the said board.



This provision was subsequently altered, for by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 21, two commissioners are sufficient to constitute a board.

§ IV.—The president to have the casting vote.

§ V.—The board to appoint officers; their salaries to be fixed by his majesty. The whole of the salaries, charges, and expenses of the board, exclusive of the salaries of the members of the board, not to exceed the sum of eleven thousand pounds in any one year.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 23, it is enacted, that no commissioner as such, except the president, shall receive a salary; and by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 33, the salary of the president is in no case to be less than that paid to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 90, the total amount of salaries and charges is fixed at twenty-six thousand pounds, exclusive, however, of superannuations granted under section 91 of that act. Provision is made by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 6, for extraordinary charges arising out of the cessation of the company's trade; but by section 110 the sum payable by the company on account of the board is not to be increased beyond the fixed amount, except for defraying those charges. The act 53 George III., cap. 155, was passed on the 21st of July, 1813, and was entitled, "An Act for continuing in the East India Company for a further Term the British Territories in India, together with certain exclusive Privileges; for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories, and the better Administration of Justice within the same; and for regulating the Trade to and from the Places within the limits of the said Company's Charter." The act 16 & 17, Victoria, cap. 95, was passed on the 20th of August, 1853, and was entitled, "An Act for the better Government of India."

§ VI.—Commissioners to take the following oath:—

"I, *A. B.*, do faithfully promise and swear that, "as a commissioner or member of the board for "the affairs of India, I will give my best advice and "assistance for the good government of the British "possessions in the East Indies, and the due administration of the revenues of the same, according "to law, and will execute the several powers and "trusts reposed in me according to the best of my "skill and judgment, without favour or affection, "prejudice or malice, to any person whatever."

Which oath any two of the said commissioners shall and are hereby empowered to administer to the others of them, or any of them; and the said oath shall be entered by their chief secretary amongst the acts of the board, and be duly ascribed and attested by the said commissioners, at the time of their taking and administering the same to each other respectively

§ VII.—And be it further enacted, that the several secretaries and other officers of the said board shall also take and subscribe before the said board such oath of secrecy, and for the execution of the duties of their respective stations, as the said board shall direct.

In 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 24, this section is modified, the commissioners being empowered to administer such oath only in case of its being necessary.

§ VIII.—Appointments of commissioner or chief secretary not to disqualify from being elected to parliament.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 23, the board was to appoint two secretaries, each of whom was to have the same powers, rights, and privileges as were previously vested in the chief secretary; but by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 33, one only of the said secretaries is to be capable of sitting in parliament.

§ IX.—Board to superintend all concerns relating to the civil or military government or revenues in the East Indies.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 6, the power of control is extended to all acts connected with the sale of the company's commercial property.

§ X.—Commissioners, or their officers, to have access to the books of the company.

This provision was subsequently enlarged, for by 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 78, the board may direct the preparation of such accounts, statements, and abstracts, as they may think fit.

§ XI.—Court of Directors to deliver to the board copies of all proceedings, and of despatches relating to the civil or military government or revenues.

This provision was extended by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 29, to all documents which shall be material, or which the board may require.

§ XII.—Orders relating to the civil or military government or revenues to be submitted to the consideration of the board, who may alter the same, but must return such documents to the court of directors within fourteen days.

By later enactments the power of control is extended to all official communications, except those with the home establishment, and the law advisers of the company. 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, secs. 30 and 34. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 71, and by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 30, the time for returning drafts of despatches, &c., from the board is extended to two months.

§ XIII.—Provided always, and be it further enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to restrict or prohibit the said directors from expressing by representation in writing to the said



board, such remarks, or observations, or explanations as shall occur, or they shall think fit, touching or concerning any letters, orders, or instructions, which shall have been varied in substance, or disapproved by the said board; and that the said board shall, and they are hereby required, to take every such representation, and the several matters therein contained or alleged, into their consideration, and to give such further orders or instructions thereupon as they shall think fit and expedient; which orders or instructions shall be final and conclusive upon the said directors.

By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 32, the time for making such representation is limited to fourteen days; subject, in cases where the legality of the order is disputed, to a reference to three or more judges of the court of the Queen's Bench.

§ XIV.—Provided also, and be it further enacted and declared, that nothing in this act contained shall extend to give to the board of commissioners the power of nominating or appointing any of the servants of the said united company, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

By 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 29, the approbation of the board is made necessary to the validity of the appointment of any advocate-general.

§ XV.—If the directors neglect to frame despatches beyond fourteen days after requisition, the board may prepare instructions, and the directors shall forward them to India.

This provision was extended to all official communications by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 31.

Section 16 restricted the interference of the board to matters of civil or military government and revenue; and where the right should be disputed, authorised an application to the king in council. Neither of these provisions is now in force.

§ XVII.—The board not to direct the increase of established salaries, unless proposed by the directors, and laid before parliament.

This provision is taken from 28 George III., cap. 8, sec. 3, and in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 110. An exception was made for servants employed in winding up the commercial business of the company.

§ XVIII.—The board not to direct any gratuity but such as shall be proposed by the directors.

In 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 110, the same exception as in the previous section of this act is made.

§ XIX.—The board may send orders to secret committee of directors, who shall transmit the same to India.

§ XX.—And be it further enacted, that the said court of directors shall from time to time appoint a secret committee, to consist of any number not exceeding three of the said directors, for the particular purposes in this act specified; which said directors so appointed shall, before

they or any of them shall act in the execution of the powers and trusts hereby reposed in them, take an oath of the tenor following. . . . Which said oath shall and may be administered by the several and respective members of the said secret committee to each other; and, being so by them taken and subscribed, the same shall be recorded by the secretary of the said court of directors for the time being amongst the acts of the said court.

The prescribed oath is here omitted, having been replaced by others in 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 74, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 84, sec. 35. The latter is merely an abbreviation of the former, and thus runs:

"I, *A. B.*, do swear that I will, according to my  
"best skill and judgment, faithfully execute the several  
"trusts and powers reposed in me as a member  
"of the secret committee of the India Company; I  
"will not disclose or make known any of the secret  
"orders, instructions, despatches, official letters, or  
"communications, which shall be sent or given to  
"me by the commissioners for the affairs of India,  
"save only to the other members of the said secret  
"committee, or to the person or persons who shall  
"be duly nominated or employed in transcribing or  
"preparing the same respectively, unless I shall be  
"authorised by the said commissioners to make  
"known the same."

The directions for the appointment of a secret committee, and the administration of an oath to its members, are repeated in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 35, where also it is provided that the record may be made either by the secretary or the deputy-secretary.

§ XXI.—Despatches of the secret committee to be prepared only by the secretary or examiner of Indian correspondence, who shall take an oath of secrecy.

§ XXII.—Presidencies in India may send despatches to the secret committee, who shall deliver them to the board.

By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 73, the rule of secrecy with respect to despatches addressed by order of the board to the governments of India is applied to the contents of despatches received by the secret committee from those governments.

§ XXIII.—And be it further enacted, that no order or resolution of the court of directors of the said company, touching or concerning the civil or military government or revenues of the said territories and acquisitions in India, after the same shall have received the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall be liable to be rescinded, suspended, revoked, or varied, by any general court of proprietors of the said company.

Section 24 contains provisions for the constitution of the governments of the three presidencies, which are superseded by the later provisions contained in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85. These will be noticed on another page.

§ XXV.—And be it further enacted, that all vacancies happening in the office of governor-general of Fort



William, in Bengal, or of any members of the council there, or of governor of either of the company's presidencies or settlements of Fort St. George or Bombay, or of any of the members of the council of the same respectively, or of governor of the forts and garrisons at Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of commander-in-chief of all the forces in India, or of any provincial commander-in-chief of the forces there, all and every of such vacancies shall be filled up and supplied by the court of directors of the said united company, the vacancies of any of the said members of council being always supplied from amongst the list of senior merchants of the said company, who shall have respectively resided twelve years in India in their service, and not otherwise, except as is hereinafter otherwise provided.

The approbation of the crown is now necessary to the appointment of governor-general, governors of subordinate presidencies, members of council, whether of the council of India, or of any subordinate presidency. Changes to this effect were made by 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 80, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, secs. 42, 58, and 61, in reference to governor-generals and governors. As to the appointment of the fourth ordinary member of the council of India, by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40; as to members of council generally, by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 20. By 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 30, any person appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the crown in India is, by virtue of such appointment, to be commander-in-chief of all the company's forces in India, and the commander-in-chief of the royal forces in any presidency is to be commander-in-chief of the company's forces in such presidency. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 82, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40, the twelve years' residence required as a qualification for councillor is reduced to ten. Under the same section of the act last mentioned, military officers having completed the required period of service are eligible for appointment to the council of India, and the *fourth* ordinary member of that council is to be a person not previously in the service of the company. In the above section, and in numerous acts antecedent to 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, the functionary holding the chief place of authority in India is named Governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal. By section 39 of the act last mentioned, the office of governor-general of India was created, and by section 52 all powers given to the governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal, in council or alone, by former acts then in force, and not repugnant to 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, were to apply to the governor-general of India in council, and to the governor-general of India alone, respectively.

§ XXVI.—If the directors neglect to fill up vacancies, his majesty may supply them.

In 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 60, this provision is repeated.

§ XXVII.—And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the said court of directors to appoint any person or persons provisionally to succeed to any of the offices aforesaid, for supplying any vacancy or vacancies therein, when the same shall happen by the death or resignation of the person or persons holding the same office or offices respectively, or on his or their departure from India, or on any event or contingency expressed in any such provisional appointment or appointments to the same respectively, and such appointments again to revoke; but that no person so appointed to succeed provisionally to any of the said offices shall be entitled to any authority, salary, or emolument appertaining thereto, until he shall be in the actual possession of such office, any act or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 61, repeats this provision. In 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 20, the appointment of ordinary members of council, whether of India or of the subordinate presidencies, is made subject to the approbation of the crown.

Section 28 provides that nothing in this act shall extend to vacate or disturb any previous appointment, lawfully made.

§ XXIX.—How vacancies are to be supplied when no successors are on the spot.

§ XXX.—The next member of council to the commander-in-chief to succeed to the temporary government of a presidency, unless the commander-in-chief shall have been provisionally appointed.

§ XXXI.—Vacancy of counsellors, when no successors are on the spot, to be supplied by the governor in council from the senior merchants.

§ XXXII.—The commander-in-chief, when not the governor at the presidency, may, by the authority of the directors, be the second member of the council.

This provision was repeated in 45 George III., cap. 36, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40.

§ XXXIII.—The commander-in-chief in India, not being governor-general, while resident at Fort St. George or Bombay, shall be a member of the council.

§ XXXIV.—If any member shall be incapable of attending, the governor of the presidency may call to the council a provisional successor, &c.

§ XXXV.—His majesty, by sign-manual, countersigned by the president of the board, may remove any officer or servant of the company in India.

This enactment was confirmed by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 74.

§ XXXVI.—The act not to preclude the directors from recalling their officers or servants.

The right of the directors in this respect is more fully recognised in 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 80; 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 75; and sec. 60 of 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85.

§ XXXVII.—Departure from India of any governor-general, &c., with intent to return to Europe, to be



deemed a resignation of employment, &c. While at the presidency, no resignation of a governor-general, &c., to be valid, except delivered in writing to the secretary. Regulation respecting salaries.

This provision was amended and extended in the acts of 1813 and 1853.

§ XXXVIII.—Councils, in the first place, to consider matters proposed by the governor, who may postpone any matters proposed by councillors.

§ XXXIX.—Proceedings to be expressed to be made by the governor and council, and signed by the secretary.

Repeated in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 57.

§ XL.—The governor-general in council at Fort William empowered to superintend the other presidencies.

This provision was repeated in 13 George III., cap. 63, sec. 9. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 39, the superintendence, direction, and control of the whole civil and military government of India is vested in the governor-general in council; by section 59 of that act the subordinate governments are not to make or suspend laws excepting under urgent necessity, and then only provisionally; nor to create any new office, nor to grant any salary, allowance, or gratuity, without the sanction of the governor-general in council; by section 65 they are bound to obey the instructions and orders of the governor-general in council in all cases whatsoever.

§ XLI.—The other presidencies to obey the orders of the governor-general in council at Fort William, if not repugnant to instructions from England. Governor-general to send dates, &c., of despatches from England, on points contained in instructions to presidencies, &c., who shall transmit to him copies of any orders they deem repugnant thereto.

The next section discloses the policy of the East India Company in the days of Pitt, and this policy was recognised by every board of control and every board of direction since. It was in the personal dispositions of governors-general, and the necessities of the case, that the causes of war in India, issuing in the increase of territory, are to be sought.

§ XLII.—And forasmuch as to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation, be it further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for the governor-general in council of Fort William, without the express command and authority of the court of directors, or of the secret committee by the authority of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, in any case (except where hostilities have actually been commenced, or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities, against the British nation in India, or against some of the princes or states dependent thereon, or whose territories the said united company shall be at such time engaged by any subsisting treaty to defend or guarantee), either to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war against any of the country princes or states in India, or any treaty for guaranteeing

the possessions of any country princes or states; and that in any such case it shall not be lawful for the governor-general and council to declare war or to commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any other prince or state, than such as shall be actually committing hostilities, or making preparations, or to make such treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any prince or state, but upon the consideration of such prince or state actually engaging to assist the company against such hostilities commenced, or preparations made as aforesaid; and in all cases where hostilities shall be commenced, or treaty made, the governor-general and council shall, by the most expeditious means they can devise, communicate the same unto the said court of directors, or to the said secret committee, together with a full state of the information and intelligence upon which they shall have commenced such hostilities, or made such treaties, and their motives and reasons for the same at large.

§ XLIII.—The governments of Fort St. George or Bombay not to declare war, &c., but by orders from Fort William or the directors, &c. The penalty on the governors, &c., of Fort St. George and Bombay for neglect of orders from Fort William to be suspension or dismissal from their posts.

§ XLIV.—The Presidencies of Fort St. George, &c., to send to Fort William copies of all their orders, &c.

This enactment was renewed in 13 George III., cap. 63, sec. 9, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 68.

§ XLV.—The governor-general of Fort William may issue warrants for securing suspected persons as to any treasonable acts or correspondence. Proceedings to be had where reasonable grounds for the charge shall appear against such persons, or they shall be held in custody until convenient opportunity is found for sending them to India.

§ XLVI.—The governors of Fort St. George and Bombay to have the like powers with respect to suspected persons as the governor-general.

§ XLVII.—The governor-general or governors may order measures proposed in council about which they differ from the other members to be adopted or suspended, &c.

3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 49. This measure was ostensibly passed to give "energy, vigour, and despatch to the measures and proceedings of the executive government."

§ XLVIII.—The governor-general, &c., making any order without the council, responsible for the same.

§ XLIX.—The governor-general, &c., not to make any order which could not have been made with the consent of the council.

§ L.—No person to act without the concurrence of the council, on whom the office of governor-general or governor shall devolve by death, unless provisionally appointed.

Renewed by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 62.

§ LI.—Provided also, and be it further enacted, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to give power or authority to the governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal, or either of the governors of Fort St. George or Bombay respectively, to make or carry into execution any order or resolution against the opinion or concurrence of



the counsellors of their respective governments, in any matter which shall come under the consideration of the said governor-general, and governors in council respectively, in their judicial capacity; or to make, repeal, or suspend any general rule, order, or regulation for the good order and civil government of the said united company's settlements; or to impose, of his own authority, any tax or duty within the said respective governments or presidencies.

With regard to the subordinate presidencies, it must be recollected that the governments of those presidencies have no longer the power of legislation.

Section 52 provided that when the governor-general should visit either of the subordinate presidencies, the powers of the governor of such subordinate presidency should for the time be suspended. But by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 67, it is enacted that those powers should not, by reason of such visit, be suspended.

Section 53 provides that, when the governor-general should be absent from his own government of Bengal, a member of the council of that presidency, nominated by the governor-general, should be vice-president and deputy-governor of Fort William. This it has been thought unnecessary to insert, inasmuch as by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 70, the governor-general of India in council may nominate some member of the council of India to exercise the powers of the governor-general in assemblies of the said council during his absence, under the title of president; and by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 16, power is given to the court of directors to declare that the governor-general of India shall not be governor of Fort William, and thereupon a governor of that presidency is to be appointed in the usual way; or authority may be given to the governor-general in council to appoint a servant of ten years' standing to be lieutenant-governor of such part of the presidency of Fort William as may not at the time be under the lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces. The latter measure has been carried out.

§ LIV.—The governor-general, while absent, may issue orders to the officers and servants of the other presidencies, &c.

§ LV.—The directors, with the approbation of the board, may suspend the powers of the governor-general to act upon his own authority.

§ LVI.—No civil servants under the rank of member of council to be promoted but by seniority.

§ LVII.—If the salary of a vacant post exceeds five hundred pounds per annum, the candidate cannot be promoted unless he has resided three years in India.

The period of qualification for the higher salaries has been varied by more recent legislation. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec.

82, it is fixed at four years for a salary exceeding £1500; at seven years for a salary exceeding £3000; at ten years for a salary exceeding £4000; which last term (ten years) in service, either civil or military, also forms the qualification for a seat in council, by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40; for the appointment of lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, by 5 & 6 William IV., cap. 52; for that of lieutenant-governor of Fort William, by 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 16; and by section 22 of the act last quoted for the office of legislative councillor, thereby created. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 40, no previous service is required from the fourth ordinary member of the council of India, but it is expressly required that he shall be selected from persons not servants of the company. By 47 George III., cap. 68, sec. 7, and 10 George IV., cap. 16, sec. 2, the time spent at Haileybury is, under certain circumstances, to be reckoned as time spent in India with reference to eligibility to office or salary.

§ LVIII.—No person to hold two offices, the salaries of which amount to more than the prescribed sum.

§ LIX.—The directors not to send out more persons than necessary to supply the complement of the establishment.

Also 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 103.

§ LX.—No person shall be capable of acting, or being appointed or sent to India, in the capacity of writer or cadet, whose age shall be under fifteen years, or shall exceed twenty-two years, nor until the person proposed, or intended to be so appointed, shall have delivered to the said court of directors a certificate of his age, under the hand of the minister of the parish in which he was baptised, or keeper of the registry of baptism of such parish; and if no such registry can be found, an affidavit of that circumstance shall be made by the party himself, with his information and belief that his age is not under fifteen years, and doth not exceed twenty-two years; provided, nevertheless, that the said restriction shall not extend to prevent the said court of directors from appointing any person to be a cadet who shall have been for the space of one year at least a commissioned officer in his majesty's service, or in the militia or fencible men when embodied, and hath been called into actual service, or from the company of cadets in the royal regiment of artillery, and whose age shall not exceed twenty-five years.

The age has been extended, as to writers, to twenty-three years, by 7 William IV. and 1 Victoria, cap. 70, secs. 4 and 5.

§ LXI.—British-born subjects appointed to receive rents, &c., to take an oath.

The object of this section was to prevent servants of the company receiving bribes.

§ LXII.—Receiving gifts to be deemed a misdemeanour.



Repeated in 13 George III., cap. 63, secs. 23 and 24, and 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 76.

§ LXIII.—The court may order gifts to be restored, and fines to be given to the prosecutor.

§ LXIV.—Counsellors at law, &c., may take fees in their professions.

Renewed by 13 George III., cap. 63, sec. 25.

§ LXV.—Neglect to execute the orders of the directors, &c., to be deemed a misdemeanour.

Recited in 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 80.

§ LXVI.—Making any corrupt bargain for giving up or obtaining any employment also to be deemed a misdemeanour.

§ LXVII.—His majesty's subjects amenable to courts of justice in India and Great Britain for offences in the territories of native princes.

§ LXVIII.—No action to be stayed without the approbation of the board.

§ LXIX.—The company not to release sentences, or restore servants dismissed by sentences.

By 51 George III., cap. 75, secs. 4 and 5, it is declared that the above does not extend to the case of military officers dismissed or suspended from the service by sentence of court-martial, but that such may, with the approbation of the board, be restored.

§ LXX.—No person under the degree of a member of council or commander-in-chief, who shall not return to India within five years from his leave to depart, shall be entitled to rank, unless in the case of any civil servant of the company it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the court of directors that such absence was occasioned by sickness or infirmity, or unless such person be permitted to return with his rank to India by a vote or resolution passed by way of ballot by three parts in four of the proprietors assembled in general court, especially convened for that purpose, whereof eight days' previous notice of the time and purpose of such meeting shall be given in the *London Gazette*, or unless in the case of any military officer, it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the said court of directors, and the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, that such absence was occasioned by sickness or infirmity, or by some inevitable accident.

Section 71 secures to the company the exclusive trade, subject to a subsequent proviso for its determination.

Section 72 provided that the company should at all times thereafter, subject as above, enjoy all the benefits of previous acts and charters, except as by this act repealed, varied, and altered.

Section 73 contains a proviso for the termination of the exclusive trade, upon three years' notice.

Section 74 provided that after the termination of the exclusive trade the corporation

should have the right to trade in common with other subjects of the crown; but the exercise of its trade is suspended by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85. Section 75 regulates the mode of parliamentary notice to the company. Sections 76 to 106 relate to trade; sections 107 to 122 to financial matters of temporary interest. Section 123 provides that the appropriations made by this act (33 George III., cap. 52) shall not affect the rights of the company or the public as to the territory or the revenue beyond the term of the exclusive trade granted by the act. Section 124 relates to the appropriation of certain monies, and has at this time no interest or importance. It may here be observed that the latest enactments for the disposition of the revenues of India will be found in the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, to be noticed on another page.

§ CXXV.—No grant of salaries, &c., above two hundred pounds to be good, unless confirmed by the board.

This provision depended upon the continuance of the company's right to exclusive trade. The exclusive trade with India terminated in 1814; that with China in 1834; but the 53 George III., cap. 155 (sec. 2), continued for the term thereby granted, all enactments, provisions, matters, and things, contained in the 33 George III., cap. 52, and in any other acts limited to the term granted by the said act of the 33 George III., so far as they were in force, and not repealed by or repugnant to the act 53 George III., cap. 155; and by the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 2, all enactments, &c., of former acts limited to the term granted by 53 George III., cap. 155, are continued, so far as they were in force at the time of passing the new act (3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85), and were not repealed thereby or repugnant thereto. By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 88, and 55 George III., cap. 64, the approval of the board is required to give effect to gratuities exceeding £600. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 37, it is enacted that an estimate is to be submitted to the board of the sum required for the home establishment, and incidental expenses of the East India Company, which sum, when approved in the gross, is to be applied at the discretion of the court of directors, free from any interference of the board. All expenditure beyond this sum, including salaries, gratuities, and allowances, is subject to the general rule of superintendence by the board. See section 25 of the above act, 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85.

§ CXXVI.—The directors to lay revenue accounts before parliament within the first fourteen sitting days of March in every year.



By 54 George III., cap. 36, sec. 55, the accounts were to be made up to the 1st of May, and presented to parliament within the first fourteen sitting days after that period. By 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 116, the accounts are to be presented within the first fourteen sitting days after the 1st of May, and to be made up according to the latest advices. By that act also some changes are made in the particulars of the required accounts, adapting them to the altered circumstances of the company, all relating to trade being omitted. Section 127 provides for the reciprocal discharge of the crown and the company in respect of certain accounts between them, up to the 24th of December, 1792. A similar arrangement to a later date was effected by 3 George IV., cap. 93.

Among other matters in the settlement above referred to was that of military charges. The subsequent provision for these is the subject of the following section:—

§ CXXVIII.—From the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, the expenses of troops to be repaid by the company.

Sections 129 to 136 contained penal enactments against persons trading, and provisions for the confiscation of their ships and goods.

§ CXXXVII.—No governor-general, &c., to trade, except on account of the company. No judge to be concerned in any trade. No person whatever to be concerned in the inland trade in salt, &c., except with the company's permission.

By act of government of India, No. 15 of 1848, no officer of any court established by royal charter within the territories of the East India Company is to be concerned in any dealings as a banker, trader, agent, factor, or broker, except such as may be part of the duty of his office.

Sections 138 and 139 relate to trade.

Section 140 relates to the prosecution of offences against this act.

Section 141 enacts how actions shall be laid, and states the limitation of actions, and process.

Sections 142 to 145 referred to legal proceedings against clandestine traders. By section 146 the following enactments of earlier date are repealed:—So much of 9 & 10 William III., cap. 44, as inflicts penalty or forfeiture for illegally trading to the East Indies; the whole of the 5 George I., cap. 21, intended for the protection of the company's trade, and all enactments continuing the same; so much of the 7 George I., cap. 21, as relates to the punishment of persons illegally trading to the East Indies; the whole of the 9 George I., cap. 26, for preventing a subscription for an East India Company in the Austrian Netherlands,

and for protection of the lawful trade of his majesty's subjects; so much of the 3 George II., cap. 14, and so much of 27 George II., cap. 17, as creates any penalty with reference to 7 George I., cap. 21, for the mode of suing, distributing, and recovering such penalty; so much of 10 George III., cap. 47, as subjects persons concerned in illicit trade to penalties; so much of 13 George III., cap. 53, as provides for delivery by the company of letters of advice to the secretaries of state, makes it unlawful for the governor-general, the members of council of Bengal, the chief justice or judges of the supreme court there, or revenue officers, to carry on trade, or prohibits dealing in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, or rice, or restrains from trading free merchants, free mariners, or others whose covenant shall be expired; and so much of 21 George III., cap. 65, as prohibits lending money to foreign companies, or restrains the court of directors from stopping suits for penalties thereby incurred; the whole of the 24 George III., sess. 2, cap. 25, excepting so much as relates to the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, redress to native landholders, and such parts as remained in force for the establishment of a court of judicature; the whole of 26 George III., cap. 16, excepting the repealing clauses; and so much of 26 George III., cap. 57, as makes offences against the law for securing the exclusive trade of the company enforceable in the East Indies. It will be observed that the subjects of several of the repealed enactments form the matter of new enactments in this act—as the interdiction of trade to the governor-general, governors, members of council, judges of the supreme court, and revenue officers, and the limitation of the trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, &c. See section 137. Section 147 provides that the repeal shall not extend to offences committed before the passing of this act; section 148, that it should not affect the powers of the board previously in existence till a new board should be appointed; section 149, that it should not affect the powers given by 28 George III., cap. 8, and 31 George III., cap. 10, concerning expenses of additional forces in the East Indies; section 150, that should not bar actions.

§ CLI.—Power given to the governor-general in council of Fort William, &c., to appoint justices of the peace, which said justices not to sit in courts of Oyer and Terminer unless called upon.

The 47 George III., sess. 2, cap. 68, sec. 6, repeals so much of the above as authorizes the governor-general in council to appoint justices of the peace for Fort St. George or Bombay, that authority being given by section 5 to the governor in council of the



respective presidencies. The 2 & 3 William IV., cap. 117, sec. 1, removes the restriction as to British inhabitants, and renders eligible all persons not subjects of a foreign state. By act of government of India, No. 6 of 1845, the power of issuing separate commissions is given.

§ CLII.—No person capable of acting as a justice of the peace till he has taken the requisite oaths.

The remaining sections, up to 160, are of limited interest, referring to rights and prerogatives of justice and civic regulations of the presidential capitals, and acts of the government of India unnecessary to introduce here.

§ CLX.—And be it further enacted, that every person who shall hereafter be elected a director of the said company shall, within ten days next after his election, and before he shall take that office upon him (save only the administering the oath hereinafter mentioned, instead of the oath now prescribed to be taken by persons elected directors of the said company), take the following oath (that is say); . . . which said oath shall be signed by the person or persons taking the same, and shall be administered by any two of the directors of the said company, who also shall sign and attest the same; and in case any person so to be elected a director of the said company shall refuse or neglect to take the said oath within the time aforesaid, his office or place as a director of the said company shall become void.

By 53 George III., cap. 155, sec. 76, the year and title of *that* act were to be inserted instead of the year and title of the act by which the oath is prescribed; but the 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, sec. 13, directs another form of oath *instead* of that previously taken; and the form given in this act is consequently omitted. That in the act of Victoria is as follows:—

"I, *A. B.*, do swear that I will be faithful to her  
"majesty Queen Victoria, and will, to the best of  
"my ability, perform the duty assigned to me as a  
"director of the East India Company, in the admin-  
"istration of the government of India in trust for  
"the crown."

Section 161 related to deposits on teas bought at the company's sales; section 162 limited the time for the commencement of proceedings under this act; and section 163 fixed the date of the commencement of the act.

Having given a general outline of the acts which have regulated the constitution of the East India Company, the Board of Control, the governor-general and council in India, and all of these in relation to each other, it remains to show the actual working of the system. In doing so the provisions of the statutes not necessarily brought into notice in the review just given, will be referred to as occasion arises.

#### THE HOME GOVERNMENT.

The constitution of the board of directors has been shown in the foregoing pages. The practice, as to the chairman and deputy-chairman, is for the directors to elect such annually from their own body, but the deputy-chairman of one year is generally the chairman of the next, in which capacity he also serves for one year. The directors, until 1853, had the power vested in them of all ecclesiastical, legal, naval, and military appointments. In that year, by the act 16 & 17 Victoria, the appointments to the civil service were thrown open to public competition. The directors still have authority to originate all measures for the government of India, all grants of money at home and in India, also the patronage of all ecclesiastical, naval, and military appointments. The mode of distributing the patronage, is for each director to have an equal share, except the chairman and deputy-chairman, whose proportions are greater. The Board of Control has unconstitutionally intruded into this department, and what was originally asked as a courtesy, has for some time been looked upon as a right. The directors nominate general officers, as the staff of the company's army; the superintendent of the Indian navy, the master attendant in Bengal and in Madras, and volunteers (who are appointed in rotation by the directors) for the pilot service; officers of the mint, such as assay masters; the law officers of the presidencies, and the members of the general and presidential councils, except the fourth member of the general council, who must have the sanction of the Board of Control. The patronage of appointment to the great offices has been shown in the abstracts of the different acts relating to Indian government already given. The court of directors meet weekly (usually on the Wednesday) for the transaction of business, the details of which are conducted by committees. There are four of these committees,—the secret; the finance and home; the political and military; the revenue, judicial, and legislative.

The functions of the secret committee have been indicated in the abstracts already given of the different acts legislating for India. It is the medium of communication with the government in India, and with the Board of Control, especially in relation to peace or war, the acquisition of territory, and transactions with native princes. The committee consists of three members, who are supposed to be elected by the rest of the directors, but are generally taken *ex officio*, the chairman, deputy-chairman, and senior director, being the persons to whom the important trust is committed. It is questionable whether this



plan is wise, for although the chairman and deputy-chairman have the general confidence of the committee, and the senior director will be, of course, a man of very great experience, yet the nomination to such an important trust by any routine process has its dangers, when election by ballot, on the ground of capacity alone, ought to determine who should hold a charge so responsible. The papers of the secret committee are in charge of the examiner at the India-house, who is also clerk to the committee. The other committees superintend the departments of government to which they are specifically designated.

The general court, or court of proprietors, consists of holders of East India stock. All holders of £500 stock are entitled to attend the court and speak; all who hold £1000 stock have the additional right of voting. The latter class now number about eighteen hundred persons. The general court assembles quarterly. Its powers were once equal to those now held by the court of directors, but at present they are limited to the following:—

1. The election of twelve persons out of the eighteen who constitute the court of directors.
2. Of making bye-laws.
3. Of making money grants, and of controlling those proposed by the directors if exceeding £600 in one sum to one person, or £200 per annum.
4. Of calling for the production of all despatches which are not in the custody of the secret committee.

The East India-house is situated in Leadenhall Street, in the city of London, a building inferior in architectural pretension, and calculated by its long and gloomy corridors to give a mean idea of a place eminent in its associations, and as the seat of a power which has decided the destinies of so many oriental nations, and bid defiance to the greatest states of Europe. The company's establishment in the East India-house consists of four departments: the secretary's, the examiner's, the military, and the statistical. These are maintained at what must appear to be a very small cost compared with the vast amount of duties performed, and efficient agencies employed. The sum thus expended, exclusive of charities, pensioners, and annuities, in connection with them, does not exceed £120,000 per annum.

The Board of Control has its office in Cannon Row: its constitution has been already shown. None of the officers of the board ever attend except "the president," who presides over nothing, the real purport of his appointment being to secure to the party holding the reins of government for the time being a portion of the rich patronage connected with India. One of the members of the board is expected to sign papers along

with "the president." The real work belongs to the directors of the East India Company, and the effective hindrance to their measures has been in "the president" or in the governor-general of India, appointed for the most part for the purpose of gratifying a titled and powerful partizan of the existing cabinet. Any business done at the board is performed by the secretaries, one of whom is necessarily a member of parliament, and loses his office with the retirement from power of the cabinet which confers his appointment. The other is a permanent government official, who does whatever real work may have to be performed, which chiefly consists in routine records and letters. Each secretary, however, professes to attend to three departments of the control, and each has a staff of clerks at his disposal. The president conducts the "secret" business in person or by letter with the secret committee of the board of directors. The cost of the inefficient Board of Control has been at least one fourth that of the conduct of the vast transactions at the India-house. The system of check and counter-check in the business transacted between the two boards is most complicated, and the general mode of conducting business is rendered, by the spirit of routine pervading the Board of Control, tedious and injurious to the public service.

#### GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

The synopsis already given of the different statutes contained in Pitt's bill, or since, in acts of George III., William IV., and Victoria, based upon it, have already made the reader acquainted with the principles of local government in India. In 16 & 17 Victoria cap. 95, sec. 22, the governor-general was empowered to add two additional members of council to the four already composing that council, according to the statute, but the right has never been exercised. The patronage of the governor-general of India is exceedingly extensive, important, and valuable. He appoints the lieutenant-governor of Bengal and of the north-western provinces; all the military nominations in Bengal and the north-western provinces; the judges of the "sudder" courts; the commissioners in the non-regulation provinces; and the political residents in native states. The official staff of the governor-general consists of a political secretary to conduct business with native and foreign states; a home secretary, who manages judicial and revenue affairs; a financial secretary for the conduct of government finance; and a military secretary. The secretaries for politics and finance constitute a secret committee, to which all despatches are trans-



mitted, and in whose custody all despatches remain of a secret nature. The council meets at the government-house at Calcutta at least once a week. The governor and council send a quarterly general letter to the court of directors in London, but when important business requires, special letters are transmitted. Correspondence between the presidential governments and the court of directors is to be forwarded to the governor-general in council, but not *in extenso*—abstracts only are necessary. No new office can be established without the permission of the court of directors in London. Military expenditure can only be incurred in case of emergency, without the consent of the committee of the India-house. The governor-general, if not recalled, holds office for five years, and receives £25,000 per annum. Each member of the council receives £10,000 per annum. The presidencies of Madras and Bombay are each under governors and councils of three members. These derive their authority from the court of directors; but the lieutenant-governors of Bengal and of the north-west provinces, derive theirs from the governor-general of India. This may be seen in previous pages, but is here stated to keep before the reader a clear and general view of Indian government.

The provisions shown in the acts of parliament referred to for the government of the presidencies prohibit their governors and councils appointing any officers. This law was found impracticable. Reference could not be made from Madras and Bombay for every appointment to offices of customs or excise, and various other services of necessity arising from time to time. It became necessary to make an arrangement in India which would practically relax the stringency of the law. Periodical returns are made to Calcutta from Madras and Bombay of all appointments made in the interim, and these receive formal sanction at government-house. The governors and councils of the presidencies usually meet weekly, and have secretaries corresponding to those of the general government at Calcutta. The mode of transacting business at the chief seat of authority is more uniform than at Bombay or Madras. The lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces exercises a patronage similar to that of the governors and councils in Bombay and Madras. If a servant is suspended or dismissed by the presidential governments, such dismissal is subject to appeal to the directors. A certain amount of military patronage in India is also divided between the governor and the commander-in-chief. The former appoints to such offices as are connected with finance and

have civil relations—such as the military auditor-general, the military accountant, the paymasters and commissaries; the commander-in-chief appoints the adjutant-general, the quarter-master-general, and minor officers of a strictly military nature. The presidential governors and commanders-in-chief exercise their patronage respectively and relatively upon the model of that of the governor-general and general commanding-in-chief.

#### THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The collection of the revenue, and the administration of justice, are committed to the civil servants. Sometimes judicial and fiscal functions are united in the duties of the same official. The covenant made by the civil servants has been given in a former page; also the class from which the covenanted servants are selected. These civil servants—who may be either European or native, who have undergone no previous training, and who form no covenant with the company, but are employed as ordinary officials are usually employed by all public bodies—are called “uncovenanted servants.” Public competition determines who shall be in the company’s covenanted service since the act\* passed for the dissolution of the company’s civil college at Haileybury. The examiners of candidates for the covenanted department of the civil service are appointed by the Board of Control, under the act 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95. In 1855 regulations were promulgated by the board to the effect that two examinations of candidates should take place. The first in ancient and modern languages, mathematics, Arabic, and Sanscrit; the second in law, Indian history, and political economy. An interval of a year to take place between the two examinations. Various causes have contributed to prevent the operations of these regulations so far as the second examination is concerned. The following regulations are issued by the board:—

#### REGULATIONS FOR THE EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE.

1. Any natural-born subject of her majesty who shall be desirous of entering the civil service of the company, will be entitled to be examined at such examination, provided he shall, on or before the 1st of May, 1855, have transmitted to the board of commissioners:—

- (a) A certificate of his age being above eighteen years and under twenty-three years.
- (b) A certificate, signed by a physician or surgeon, of his having no disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity, unfitting him for the civil service of the company.
- (c) A certificate of good moral character, signed by the head of the school or college at which he has last received his education; or, if he has not received



education at any school or college since the year 1852, then such proof of good moral character as may be satisfactory to the board of commissioners.

(d) A statement of those branches of knowledge herein-after enumerated, in which he desires to be examined.

2. The examination will take place in the following branches of knowledge:—

English Language and Literature:—	MARKS.
Composition . . . . .	500
English Literature and History, including that of the Laws and Constitution . . . .	1000
	1500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece .	750
“ “ “ Rome .	750
“ “ “ France .	375
“ “ “ Germany .	375
“ “ “ Italy . .	375
Mathematics, pure and mixed . . . . .	1000
Natural Science, that is, Chemistry, Electricity, and Magnetism, Natural History, Geology, and Mineralogy . . . . .	500
Moral Sciences, that is, Logic, Mental, Moral, and Political Philosophy . . . . .	500
Sanscrit Language and Literature . . . . .	375
Arabic Language and Literature . . . . .	375
	6875

3. The merit of the persons examined will be estimated by marks, according to the ordinary system in use at several of the universities, and the numbers set opposite to each branch in the preceding paragraph denote the greatest number of marks that can be obtained in respect of it.

4. No candidate will be allowed any marks in respect of any subject of examination unless he shall, in the opinion of the examiners, possess a competent knowledge of that subject.

5. The examination will be conducted by means of printed questions and written answers, and by *viva voce* examination, as the examiners may deem necessary.

6. After the examination shall have been completed, the examiners shall add up the marks obtained by each candidate in respect of each of the subjects in which he shall have been examined, and shall set forth, in order of merit, the names of the twenty candidates who shall have obtained a greater number of marks than any of the remaining candidates; and such twenty candidates shall be deemed to be selected candidates for the civil service of the East India Company. Their choice of the presidency in India to which they shall be appointed shall be determined by the order in which they stand on such list.

7. In August, 1856, and August, 1857, further examinations of the selected candidates will take place by examiners appointed by the board of commissioners for the affairs of India in the following subjects:—

	MARKS.
Law, including the ordinary rules of taking Evidence, and the Mode of conducting civil and criminal trials . . . . .	1000
The History of India . . . . .	400
Political Economy . . . . .	400
Any Language of India in which the selected candidate shall have given notice of his desire to be examined . . . . .	200

and such further examinations will be conducted in the same manner as that above described. (The numbers set opposite to each subject denote the greatest number of marks which can be obtained in respect of such subjects.)

8. Each selected candidate, desirous of being examined

at either of the further examinations of 1856 and 1857, shall, two months previously to such examination, transmit to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India a statement mentioning the language or languages of India in which he is desirous of being examined.

9. Any selected candidate who, having been examined at the further examination of 1856, shall not have passed, may, nevertheless, be again examined at the further examination of 1857.

10. Any selected candidate who shall not have passed at one or the other of the further examinations of 1856 and 1857, shall be struck off the list of selected candidates.

11. The selected candidates, who, at either of such further examinations shall be deemed by the examiners to have a competent knowledge of law, the history of India, political economy, and at least one language of India, shall be adjudged to have passed, and to be entitled to be appointed to the civil service of the East India Company; and the names of the selected candidates who shall have so passed shall be placed in a list in the order of their merit in such examinations, estimated as above by the total number of marks which they shall have obtained in respect of all the subjects in which they shall have been examined at such examination.

12. The seniority in the civil service of the East India Company of the selected candidates, shall be determined by the date of the further examination at which they shall be judged to have passed; and so between those who have passed at the same further examination, their security in such civil service shall be determined according to the order in which they stand on the list, resulting from such examinations.

13. No person will ever after such examinations be allowed to proceed to India until he shall comply with the regulations in force at the time for the civil service of the East India Company, and shall be of sound bodily health, and good moral character.

INDIA BOARD,  
26th January, 1855.

When the single examination (now made to suffice, contrary to the promulgated regulations) has taken place, the young men are sent out, as fast as they are required, to the respective governments for which it is presumed they are best adapted, or which is in the greatest need of their services. Those intended for Bengal, the north-west provinces, and other districts under the general government, are sent to Calcutta, where they are subjected to a further course of study, after which an examination takes place as to their progress in the native languages. The college at Fort William is the place where these additional preparations for official life are made. At Bombay and Madras there are no colleges for preparing the civil servants in the native languages. There are, however, certain teachers appointed for the purpose. Every successful candidate is entitled to some office, although not immediately nominated. After they arrive in India, and while pursuing the preparatory studies which are conducted there, the candidates receive a certain stipend, called “out-of-employ allowance,” amounting to £400 a-year. When the examinations have terminated at Calcutta, the



candidates are nominated as assistants to magistrates and collectors, and are sent into "the Mofussil." \* Before the assistants can enter the regular grades of the service, they must submit to two examinations: the first in the vernacular languages, or chiefly in those; the second in criminal and fiscal law, super-added to which is another examination in the vernacular tongues. When recognised as having entered the regular service, the civil officer is engaged in fiscal and magisterial duties, in a subordinate manner, and in such cases as superior officers may prescribe.

The regulations of the company's college at Calcutta have been unsparingly censured by various writers—such as Capper, in his work entitled *The Three Presidencies of India*, and Campbell, in his *Modern British India*. According to these and other authors who have written with less impartiality than zeal against the government of India, the students spend several years of idleness at Calcutta, spending at a rate far beyond their incomes, and burdening themselves for many subsequent years with the payment of heavy instalments of their debts. It is alleged that these young men bear themselves haughtily to their superiors, relying on their interest at home to uphold their position. The amount of testimony against the proficiency of the young men at Calcutta, and indeed at Bombay and Madras, is too extensive and respectable to be overlooked. It is alleged, on the other hand, that men of great attainments themselves, expect too much from these young men, and that while stricter regulations and examinations ought to ensure proficiency before the student receives the office of "writer," yet, on the whole, the attainments made are respectable, and the general career of those who serve the company is creditable.

After several years, during which every facility is afforded to the civilian to become experienced in office, and well acquainted with the people, he is recognised as a candidate for promotion. A fresh examination must be passed in the languages and institutions of the country. If this issue in a satisfactory manner, he is qualified for the offices of magistrate or collector.

The magistrates attend to police and the cognizance of whatever relates to criminals. Appeals from their decisions may be made to the judges of sessions. The collector takes charge of the district treasury, and collects the revenue, having large powers for enforcing his legal demands. Certain magisterial and judicial powers are entrusted to the collector; he settles by summary process disputes about rent and landed property among

\* The country as distinct from the capital.

the agricultural community. The different presidencies have different rules of procedure, as well as different regulations of official rank and functions. In Bengal the office of judge, magistrate, and collector, are held by three distinct persons. In the north-west provinces, Bombay, and Madras, officers of one class are both magistrates and collectors; those of another class are judges. In the non-regulation provinces civil officers of one class hold all three offices.

Promotion goes generally by seniority; but when the secretary reports that a vacant office requires peculiar fitness in the occupant, he also names those among the legal claimants whom he considers in possession of the qualifications, and the governor usually selects that person, but may of his own knowledge fix upon some one else more adapted in his opinion to the post. This plan is calculated to ensure the promotion of talent, but it also opens up the way to interest and favouritism. Selection, in contradistinction to seniority, does not often prevail, except in the very highest offices.

Lord Cornwallis introduced a practice which is radically at variance with the constitution of the civil service, but which has prevailed ever since the governor-generalship of that nobleman. This practice is the employment of military men in civil offices. They are especially selected for their real or ostensible adaptation to the discharge of particular duties. They are chiefly employed as political agents in foreign courts, or the administration of police and magisterial affairs in unsettled districts. When civil servants properly qualified could not be obtained, military men have been appointed to the ordinary civil offices even in the regulation provinces. The proportion of military to civil officers employed in diplomatic situations is as one to two; but taking all classes of situations and all parts of our Indian empire into account, the proportion of military to civilians is probably three to two. This fashion of employing military men in civil offices has been of great detriment to the military service, although probably of no disadvantage generally, and of great advantage in many cases to the civil administration. It is not improbable that the mutiny of 1857 would not have been attempted had not this predominating influence of the military over the civilians grown to such a head in the civil department. The regiments were denuded of experienced and efficient officers. The "pick and cull" of the army was withdrawn for civil services. Knowledge of the native languages constituting one of the chief qualifications for the office of a civilian, officers



thus endowed were withdrawn from their regiments, leaving those behind them least qualified to communicate with the men. Besides, the number of officers generally in regiments was extremely deficient from this cause. The covenanted civil officers receive salaries varying from £40 per month to more than twenty times that amount, paid in rupees.

The duties of a collector are very numerous, and the sphere of his supervision very extensive. An area equal to two average English counties may be considered the ordinary "beat" of a collector. Over this during many months of the year he passes on his duties, in which he superintends the work performed by his assistants, the uncovenanted servants. Business in the early part of the day is often very severe upon the collector, as the crafty natives then press upon him with their claims, complaints, and references, in the hope that he will be more placable just as he begins his day than when his wearied mind and body have passed through the greater portion of his diurnal toil. The salary of a collector is about £233 per month.

At the end of ten years the civilian is entitled to a three years' furlough; but if he makes this available, he will, on his return, find his post filled, and he must await his turn to procure another. During his absence in Europe he is allowed £500 a year. He may obtain leave to Ceylon, the Cape, Australia, the Mauritius, and some other places, and retain one-third of his pay, and without resigning his appointment. At the end of twenty-two years' service he may retire upon £1000 a year, having subscribed four per cent. upon his income in the meantime to the annuity fund, and a further small per-centage to the widow and orphan fund.

By very many writers the average ability of the collector and magistrates is represented as below mediocrity; and that although men of great ability have been numbered among them, yet the vast majority lose in their isolated positions that stimulus for the acquisition of knowledge which competition in the crowd of European life supplies. It is alleged that the zeal at first shown to master the details of their own duties gradually passes away, and the collector does little, leaving to his subordinates all real labour, until he becomes unacquainted with the state of his district, and imperfectly versed in the application of the principles of administration. There can, however, be no doubt that within the last few years a more general tone of efficiency has sprung up, and that in the north-west, and throughout the non-regulation pro-

vinces, a vigorous administration has been carried out.

The uncovenanted civil servants are composed of both Europeans and natives. The Europeans are chiefly selected from those who have gone out to India in some other calling, and the sons of commissioned officers. They do not generally attain to the higher offices, and are not entitled to the furlough after ten years' service; but sometimes high interest, or peculiar qualifications, lead to their advancement, and furloughs have been granted as an especial mark of favour. They are not, according to the rule, entitled to pensions, but have sometimes received them. There are many half-caste men among the uncovenanted servants. These, with the Europeans employed, according to Capper, amounted, in 1853, to nearly three thousand persons.

Lord William Bentinck conceived the idea of employing the natives as uncovenanted servants; and his lordship contemplated it on a scale of magnitude and liberality that would have introduced great numbers of this class to the offices for which they might be deemed eligible. So far as his scheme has been carried out, it has promoted the convenience of magistrates and collectors, but has not conducted to the better government of India, the better administration of local affairs, the impartial administration of justice, or the welfare of the people. Abuses, which have furnished a theme for agitation against the company, have grown up under this system. The native is ever ready to wrong the native. He will do so to please his employer, to exact a bribe, to gratify his personal animosity, or to show his distaste to a rival religion or race. The hardships inflicted by native agents of all classes everywhere in India, but more especially in Madras, are numerous, often appalling, and generally beyond the correction or prevention of the European officers. The system of torture practised in Madras by these native officers has brought much opprobrium on the government, which never countenanced the crime, and did its best to prevent it. Frequently where the European officer supposed the evil suppressed it was still continued. The native officers will lie, commit perjury, cheat, accept bribes, inflict the grossest injustice, and the most brutal cruelties, in the name of the company. The scheme of Lord William Bentinck, however, met the approbation of the government and parliament at home, and their sanction was given to it by 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, sec. 85. The result of this statute has been that nearly all the inferior offices of justice are in the hands of the natives. There



are seven hundred native judges in India.\* The decisions of many of these inflict great injury upon the cause of justice and discredit upon the company. The collectors in several departments of the revenue are frequently natives, numbering altogether twelve hundred persons.†

It may surprise most readers of this History to learn that the most useful class of native *employés* is that of medical assistants. The sub-assistant surgeon of districts, and the "native doctor" in regiments, are very useful persons, showing a practical aptitude for detecting diseases, which experience supplies where scientific diagnosis is not possible. As *helpers* to the British medical officers they are invaluable; but the directors claim for them a higher position, as appears from the following statement of the court, laid before parliament:—"In addition to the institutions for giving a general education to the different classes of the community, either through English or the vernacular, colleges or schools for several branches of professional education are maintained at the different presidencies (of the engineering colleges mention has already been made). Medical schools had from an early period been maintained at all the presidencies, to train persons for employment in the subordinate branches of the medical service—as compounders, dressers, native doctors, &c. These institutions were gradually raised in character, and for many years past have held the rank of colleges, in which medical education of a first-class character is afforded. They have, in consequence, received the 'recognition' of the College of Surgeons in London; and the graduates of these colleges are entitled to all privileges which are conferred by the College of Surgeons on the members of the colonial medical institutions recognized by them. The graduates almost invariably enter the service of government, though some few, especially at Bombay, prefer private practice. To afford encouragement to the graduates of the colleges, and meet the want of well-qualified medical officers for the service of government, a special native medical service has been created, under the title of sub-assistant surgeons, for which a degree in one of the medical colleges of India is a necessary qualification. These officers are divided into three grades, promotion being regulated by the joint consideration of length of service and professional qualification, as ascertained by special examination. The principal use which has been made of this class has been in connection with the government dispensaries; but some few have been appointed to the

\* Mills.

† Ibid.

charge of the smaller stations. Their professional qualifications are, in many cases, of a high order; and the triumph which has been effected over the religious prejudices of the natives, in popularizing the dissection of dead bodies, is a proof that this indirect mode of correcting their superstitions, by the influence of useful knowledge, is a highly effectual one."

In humble offices—such as police agents and inferior servants of revenue—the number of natives is very great. Forty thousand, according to Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P., were thus employed in Bengal alone in 1853, their average pay being the small sum of twenty rupees per month, which, however, is, in the esteem of a native, a considerable amount. According to the same authority, there were a hundred and seventy thousand watchmen in the lower provinces.

The salaries paid to the better classes of the uncovenanted servants range from £100 per annum up to £900. A native who lately presided in the "small-cause court" in Calcutta received £1560 per annum.\* The Mohammedans are most patronised by the Indian authorities, but Hindoos also, in an inferior degree, hold important posts. A Parsee presides over the factory at Bombay, and has Europeans serving under him.† It is surprising that the Parsees are not more frequently employed; they are the most upright among the natives, have most real respect for Europeans, united with more dignity, probity, independence, loyalty, and intelligence.

It is alleged that there are now in Calcutta many natives who have risen from the meanest officers of police by money-lending, the money having been obtained by speculation and bribery, and that these persons not unfrequently have their former masters as their debtors. Extortion and oppression prevail everywhere, through the instrumentality of the native *employés*, in spite of the company and its European officers, who are gradually becoming simply the supervisors of the native officials, upon whom devolve all the labour, and who are almost solely brought into close contact with the native population.

The constitution and history of the government of India were well described by an eminent statesman as "a great empire carrying on subordinately a great commerce—a state in the disguise of a merchant."‡

While these sheets are going through the press the country is agitated by a discussion of the question—"How shall India in future be governed?" The commons of England has affirmed the extinction of the East India

\* Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P.

† Ibid.

‡ Edmund Burke.



Company, but has not yet agreed upon any other form of government as a substitute. Lord Palmerston, as head of the government dissolved in the beginning of this year, brought forward a measure which received a large support, and provoked an extensive opposition, especially beyond the walls of parliament. The government of the Earl of Derby, which succeeded that of Lord Palmerston, brought forward another measure, more complicated, but more popular, or, at least, more specious in a popular sense. These two measures are still before the legislature and the country, and the issue of the discussion must be reserved for another chapter.

It is impossible not to concur with a statement made by Mr. Mangles in the house, that the company have rendered great services to the country, and, on the whole, governed India well. Nor is it possible to refuse concurrence to the statement of Colonel Sykes, also made from his place in the legislature, that the company have maintained in India a better government than that of any continental power in Europe. The language of Henry Thoby Prinsep, Esq., one of the ablest of the present directors, is just:—"We have kept the country, and governed it for a hundred years, with honour to England, and benefit to India." Such facts ought not, and must not, be lost sight of in any new arrangements, nor in the estimate which the country forms of the character and history of the East India Company. The improvements demanded for India by this country have in some instances been anticipated by the directors or the local government of India, and in other cases responded to by a prompt adoption of what general opinion declared necessary. In some instances the company have yielded to the public voice what, if better instructed on Indian affairs, the people of England would not have desired. Difficulties in India, arising from concessions upon which the will of England was strongly set, but which, in themselves, were unwise or inopportune, and in some cases unjust, have undoubtedly arisen. Within the last few years great strides in the direction of improvement have been made. The settlement of the Punjaub has assumed a most satisfactory issue. Scinde presents an aspect of good government, pleasing as it is instructive. As shown on a former page, the native tribes along the whole line of the Affghan and Beloochee frontiers of the Punjaub and Scinde have been tamed down by the justice, wisdom, firmness, and administrative aptitude, happily blended in the policy and mental qualities of the men to whom the directors wisely committed the task. In the hill countries of Central India, along the

ranges of ghauts, and in those wild jungles or desert districts on the frontiers of independent states, lawless hordes have been trained to industry, and hands which had been expert only in wielding the weapons of hostility, have already become skilful in the use of the implements of peace. It would be no exaggeration, and scarcely a figure of speech, to say that the spear has been turned into the pruning-hook, and the sword converted to the ploughshare. That such results have not been everywhere accomplished is not more true than that everywhere some progress is made towards their realization. The great mutiny has not at all obstructed this process over a large area of country, and it will ultimately even open up facilities for the speedier achievement of civilization, by the new instrumentalities which it will certainly call into life, and the more vivid impression of the prestige of British power which victory will create. "The general result of all these improvements in administration, combined with the security which our rule has for the first time given to property against the ravages of war and fiscal rapacity, has been a great and rapid growth of general prosperity."\* Whatever be the issue of the discussion now penetrating the country, it is certain, that in any scheme for the future, "an intermediate, non-political, and perfectly independent body, in concurrence with her majesty's government, is an indispensable necessity, without which there can be no absolute security for good government."†

No circumstance in the history of the company has perhaps given so much offence to the English people as the alleged disposition to discourage native Christians, and debar them from office. During the recent parliamentary and public discussions on this subject papers were moved for in the commons in reference to a Hindoo convert to Christianity in a native regiment at Meerut, an event which occurred a considerable number of years ago. The correspondence discloses the spirit of the government at that time, and which has too much characterised it since. A Major Boye, who commanded the battalion in which the occurrence of the conversion took place, made a formal complaint that the clergyman baptised the convert *without his* (the major's) *consent!* The man was removed from the regiment *by order of the governor in council*, the event having filled the council with "consternation." The whole tone of the correspondence, with many other incidents, show that no efforts were

\* *Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India.*

† *Address of the Court of Directors to Lord Palmerston.*



made to accustom the soldiery to the idea that they had a right to become what they pleased as to religious profession, without fear of molestation or disfavour; there was no effort made to lead the men to regard it *as a right*, that they ought jealously to claim.

Another of the most fertile causes of dissatisfaction with the company in England has been the prohibition of Europeans from holding land on any account whatever. It is not here necessary to review this fact as a feature of policy. The company was undoubtedly jealous of the energy, enterprise, and independence which English settlers would display, and the intrusion into the government of India which a considerable British population, having a permanent interest in the country, would be sure to make. At the same time it was the belief of "the old Indians," that the settlement of foreigners would arouse the prejudices and nationality of the natives, and provoke insurrection. It is passing strange that if the natives have learned submission to Europeans as conquerors, bowing to their authority, and surrendering revenues from the land, that the people would be less willing to offer homage when the European element in the country was strengthened. The company discouraged the colonization of India, from the belief that it was impracticable, the characteristics of the climate being unfavourable. A few elevated situations would furnish opportunities for English culture, but, except as planters of indigo, sugar, and rice, by the sole instrumentality of native labour, the settlement of Europeans as agriculturists is generally impossible. Even in the hill districts "the hill fever," and other diseases, would sweep away Europeans who ventured to locate themselves.

This chapter cannot be more appropriately closed than by a list of the governors-general of India, and of the presidents of the Board of Control, brought down to the present time. These lists will be useful for reference in other portions of the History. The following are the names of those who have held office as governors-general and administrators of India, with the dates of their appointment: those prior to the act of 1773 having been styled "administrators;" those between 1773 and the act of 1833, "governors-general of Fort William;" those from 1833 to the present time, "governors-general of India in council."

Alexander Dawson, January 27, 1748.  
William Fytche, January 8, 1752.  
Roger Drake, August 8, 1752.  
Colonel Robert Clive, March 25, 1758.  
Henry Vansittart, November 23, 1759.  
John Spencer, November 26, 1764.  
Lord Clive (second time), June 1, 1764.

Harry Verelst, January 26, 1767.  
John Cartier, December 16, 1769.  
Warren Hastings, April 25, 1771.  
John Macpherson (provisionally), February 1, 1785.  
Lord Macartney, July, 1785 (declined office).  
Lord Cornwallis, February 24, 1786.  
Major-general W. Meadows, April 28, 1790.  
Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), September 19, 1792.  
Sir Alured Clarke (provisionally), September 20, 1797.  
Lord Mornington (Marquis of Wellesley), October 4, 1797.  
Marquis Cornwallis (second time), January 9, 1805.  
Died October 6.  
Sir George H. Barlow (appointment revoked by his majesty), February 19, 1806.  
Lord Minto, July 9, 1806.  
Earl of Moira (Marquis of Hastings), November 18, 1812.  
George Canning, March 27, 1822 (declined office).  
William, Lord Amherst, October 23, 1822.  
W. B. Bayley (provisionally), March 23, 1828.  
Lord William Bentinck, March 13, 1828.  
William, Lord Heytesbury (appointment revoked by his majesty), January 28, 1835.  
Sir Charles Metcalfe (provisionally), March 20, 1835.  
George, Lord Auckland, August 12, 1836.  
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (revoked by court of directors, May 1, 1844), October 20, 1841.  
W. W. Bird (provisionally), 1844.  
Sir Henry Hardinge (Viscount Hardinge), May 6, 1844.  
James Andrew, Marquis of Dalhousie, August 4, 1847.  
Charles John, Viscount Canning, July, 1855.

The following are the names of those who have held the office of president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India since its constitution in 1784:—

Thomas, Lord Sydney, September 3, 1784.  
Right Hon. W. Wyndham Grenville, March 12, 1790.  
Right Hon. Henry Dundas, June 28, 1793.  
George, Viscount Lewisham, May 19, 1801.  
Robert, Viscount Castlereagh, July 12, 1802.  
Gilbert, Lord Minto, February 12, 1806.  
Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, July 16, 1806.  
Right Hon. George Tierney, October 1, 1806.  
Right Hon. Robert Dundas, April 6, 1807.  
Dudley, Earl of Harrowby, July 16, 1807.  
Right Hon. Robert Dundas (second time), November 13, 1809.  
Robert, Earl of Buckinghamshire, April 7, 1812.  
Right Hon. George Canning, June 20, 1816.  
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst, July 16, 1821.  
Right Hon. C. Watkin Williams Wynn, July 8, 1822.  
Robert Dundas, Viscount Melville, February 7, 1828.  
Edward, Lord Ellenborough, April 24, 1828.  
Right Hon. Charles Grant, December 6, 1830.  
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (second time), December 20, 1834.  
Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart., April 29, 1835.  
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (third time), April 9, 1841.  
W. F. Fitzgerald, Lord Fitzgerald and Vescei, October 28, 1841.  
Frederic J., Earl of Ripon, May 23, 1843.  
Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Lord Broughton (second time), July 10, 1846.  
Right Hon. Fox Maule, February 5, 1852.  
Right Hon. J. C. Herries, February 27, 1852.  
Right Hon. Sir Charles Wood, Bart., December 28, 1852.  
Right Hon. R. Vernon Smith, 1855.  
Edward, Lord Ellenborough (fourth time), February, 1858.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (Continued).

REVENUE.

ONE of the most important subjects connected with government must of course be revenue; it is not only "the sinews of war," but the sinews of peace. The mode in which the revenue of a government is obtained is a test of its civilization.

The principles of taxation adopted in India are of Hindoo origin, although most writers attribute them to the Mohammedan conquerors. They systematized, but nearly all their schemes were based on the ancient customs which they found in existence. Various modifications have been introduced by the British, as circumstances arose to require them, and the result is the existing systems of the Honourable East India Company.

The taxation of the people of British India is computed at about five shillings per head, while in the British Isles more than ten times that amount is paid. In India about seventy per cent. of the entire taxation falls upon the agricultural portion of the community.

There are three chief boards of revenue—those of Bengal, the north-western provinces, and Madras. In Bombay there is a revenue commission. The country is divided into revenue divisions, which are under the charge of officers, whose chief, and sometimes exclusive, functions, are the collection and regulation of the revenue.

The revenue year ends on the 30th of April, and therefore the amount received in 1857–8 is not yet reported in detail. For 1856–7 it was as follows:—

Land revenue . . . . .	£16,682,908
Opium . . . . .	4,487,269
Salt . . . . .	2,362,308
Customs . . . . .	2,029,270
All other sources of revenue, comprising stamps, post-office, sayer, abkaree, mint, marine, pilotage, judicial electric telegraph receipts, subsidies from native states, and miscellaneous . . . . .	3,605,702
Total . . . . .	£29,167,457

When the vast area of territory, and the great resources of the country, are considered, this sum is beneath what ought to be derived, without hardship to the population, if the scheme adopted was in harmony with economical science.

A comparative view of the revenue of the

past fiscal year with that of 1852–3 will throw additional light on the subject.

Source of revenue.	Gross revenue.	Net revenue.	Cost of collecting per cent.	Per-centage on total revenue.
Land revenue . . . . .	£ 15,178,676	} 13,551,752	10½	58½
Excise and moturpha . . . . .	1,088,254			
Opium . . . . .	4,562,586	3,358,684	26½	14½
Salt . . . . .	3,189,214	2,703,752	15	11½
Customs . . . . .	946,561	816,074	13½	3½
Stamps, fees, and fines.	593,982	590,169	4	2½
Tobacco . . . . .	115,000	88,448	23	¾
Post-office, mint, and other sources . . . . .	1,979,041*	1,979,041	†	8½
Total . . . . .	27,753,314	23,067,920		

The three principal sources of finance upon which the government draws are land, opium, and salt. Land is the greatest of all, and shall therefore receive notice first.

Before giving a general view of the system of land revenue, it is necessary to explain the meaning of some terms.

The word *zemindar* is Persian, and means "landholder." It was originally given to the Hindoo chiefs, who held hereditary possession. The Moguls applied the name to officers appointed to collect revenue, and to receive for themselves a certain per-centage. When land in British India is said to be held under the *zemindar system*, it is intended to be understood that tenants cultivate it under a landlord who stands between them and the government. The landlord may be a hereditary chief, or a village corporation, or a district officer, but he is a middleman between the people and the government.

The *ryot system* expresses the fact that the cultivator is the proprietor; he is immediately the tenant of the government.

The middlemen of India are found under various designations—*polygars* and *mootadars* of Madras; the *dessayes* and *mozumdars* of Gujerat; the *deshmooks* of the Deccan and Bombay; the *talookdars* of the Moguls, &c.

Proprietors and headmen are variously called—*zemindars* in Bengal and the north-western provinces; *bhumyas* in Rajpootana; *potails* in Malwa, Gujerat, and the Deccan; *merrassidars* in the Carnatic; *vellalers* in

\* Of this sum £566,694 are receipts from native states towards the support of British troops for their protection.

† Cost of collection charged against general revenues, and said to be equal to the gross amount collected; actual net revenue from these would therefore be *nil*.



the southern peninsula; and *patteedars* in the Punjaub.

The security and contentment of the people of India mainly depend upon the administration of justice and the regulation of the revenue. "The manner in which the entire economical condition of nearly the whole population is determined by the management of the revenue department cannot, by persons unacquainted with India, be understood without especial explanation."\* Throughout the greater part of India there is no intermediate landlord between the cultivator and the government. The rent is not paid to a landlord who has no claim upon the taxes. The rent and taxes are identical, or at all events the assessment of the one regulates the other, the government being the possessor of the estate in its fee simple. "The history of the revenue administration of India is the history of landed property, and of the economical condition of the whole agricultural population."† It is computed that on an average of the cultivated lands throughout India a tax of 3s. 6d. per acre is levied. This is alleged to be equal to one-fourth of the gross produce.

In 1765, when the Mogul granted Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa to the company, the subject of revenue necessarily arose for consideration. During the first four years of the English possession the native officers previously engaged in collecting the revenue were retained in their offices, and the system previously in existence continued to be worked. The system was then termed *pattendaree*, the zemindars and district registrars contracting for the revenues with the company.

The history of the English revenue since then has been condensed and summed up by Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P., in the following form:—

In 1769 supervisors, being covenanted servants of the company, were appointed in each district to report on the existing revenue system, with a view to its amendment.

In 1772, by proclamation, dated the 11th of May, the company asserted their authority under the Mogul's grant to the *dewanee*, or civil government, and, by regulations dated the 14th of May, a system of lease for five years to the highest bidder was inaugurated.

In 1776 instructions were issued by the directors, authorizing the sale of lands in default of payment on the part of the zemindars or landholders with whom the government contracts were made.

\* *Memorial of the Honourable East India Company.*

† *Ibid.*

In 1781 regulations were framed and passed by the governor in council, establishing a plan of annual leases; preference to be given in all cases to the zemindars.

In 1789, by a minute of the governor-general (Lord Cornwallis), a settlement, involving a fixed payment of revenue for ten years, was announced.

In 1793, by proclamation, dated the 22nd of March, the decennial settlement was declared to be permanent and irrevocable for ever, and regulations were framed for carrying it out.

In 1799 an act was passed relaxing the stringent power of sale given theretofore to the government over the estates of defaulting zemindars.

In 1802 the permanent revenue system of Bengal was extended to a portion of the Madras presidency, in which, under the auspices of Munro, a system had been established of direct dealing with individual cultivators, on yearly agreements, with allowances for irrigation or other improvements, and providing also for the liability of villages for individual defaults.

In 1803—5 the district called the Bahrahmal, in Madras, was mapped out into zemindarries, and disposed of on fixed permanent terms.\* After many changes and modifications of system, we find—

In 1817 three different systems existing in different parts of Madras:—1. The Cornwallis, or zemindarry system; 2. The ryotwar, or Munro system, above described; and 3. The village system of leases for years of all the lands comprised in the village, together with all the profits; the liability for rent, and the duty of internal management, being committed to the leaseholders collectively.†

In 1820 the ryotwar system was made general through all parts of the Madras presidency not already permanently assessed.

In 1821 a commission was appointed to investigate and report upon alleged abuses in the revenue system of the north-west provinces, and in 1822, by Regulation VII., a system, of which Mr. Holt Mackenzie was the author, was promulgated, the leading object of which was to combine the advantages

\* A full account of the land revenue system, as it existed in 1812, will be found in the fifth report of the House of Commons of that year.

† The first of these systems, the zemindarry, prevailed in Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Guntore, Salem, Chingleput, Cuddalore, and the Pollams.

The second, or ryotwar—in Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Madura, and Dindigul.

The third, or village system—in the ceded districts, Nellore, Arcot, Palnaud, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely, and Tanjore.



of the ryotwar system with that of village leases.

In 1827, by the Bombay code of regulations, the work of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, a system was established, which, with subsequent modifications, still exists.

In 1833, by Regulation IX. (under Lord William Bentinck), the settlement of the north-west provinces was further carried out, and in 1842 it was completed. In the working of this system native functionaries were largely employed. In the north-west provinces, Madras, and Bombay, the offices of collector and magistrate were at this time united in the same person. In Bengal they were kept distinct.

In 1844 Scinde (in which territory a plan of collecting land revenue under military superintendence had been attempted by Sir Charles Napier) was annexed to Bombay, and partly subjected to the same system with that presidency.

In 1847 a system of thirty years' leases of "fields" (the name given to so much land as one man and a pair of bullocks could cultivate) was established in part of the Bombay presidency—the boundaries of the fields to be marked by stones—portions of the territory being also annually let for grazing grounds. Under this system the dealings of the government were (on the ryotwar plan) with the individual cultivators. The fields were to be sold in default of payment.

In 1849 the Punjaub system of decennial contracts with the village communities was established, at the suggestion of the Lawrences, by Lord Dalhousie.

A paper, "showing under what tenures, and subject to what land-tax, lands are held in the several presidencies of India," was lately returned to parliament. "Returns," illustrating the surveys and assessments in the north-west provinces, Bombay, and Madras, have also been laid before the legislature, and disclose the following condition of revenue affairs.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN BENGAL.—The land is held by zemindars, who pay an annual fixed sum in perpetuity, the estates being liable to be sold on default of payment. The land-tax is supposed to be half the rental. Between the landlords or zemindars, and the cultivators, there are nearly always middlemen, and sometimes several renters between them. This system was instituted by the Marquis Cornwallis, in 1793, with the object of creating a native landed aristocracy: the project was unfortunately approved of in England, so as to blind men to the necessary

results of such a scheme. It has issued most mischievously, both for the government and the people. It is known by the designation of "the permanent settlement." The representations made of this scheme by persons competent to judge of its operations give a picture of oppression and injustice truly terrible. In order to carry out his plan of creating a native aristocracy, it was necessary for Lord Cornwallis to sweep away the rights of the ryots. Multitudes, who from time immemorial had an inheritance in the land, were suddenly dispossessed in favour of Lord Cornwallis's zemindars. These soon made their newly-acquired privileges felt by the victims whom the conceit and ignorance of the governor-general had placed in their power. The ryots were subjected to a series of grinding exactions so utterly merciless, that it is extraordinary how the stereotyped phrases of "the mild and gentle Hindoo" could have ever obtained amongst Europeans, who witnessed the cruel despotism of these avaricious and remorseless tyrants. The cultivators of Bengal are ground down into misery by a horde of merciless native rack-renters, unrighteously created, partly as a better medium of revenue, partly from a weak, vain, and criminal sympathy with aristocratic institutions. "They (the zemindars) take from them (the ryots or cultivators) all they can get; in short, they exact whatever they please. The ryots have no defence whatever but that of removal; they may decline to pay what is exacted, and quit the land."\* The "permanent settlement" has produced more distress and beggary, and a greater change in the landed property of Bengal, than has happened in the same space of time in any age or country by the mere effect of internal regulations. Mr. Piddington, a civilian, in his replies to the queries of the board of revenue, says, in reference to these extortions—"I fear to be discredited when I state, that from twenty to forty per cent. on the actual *jummabundi* (legal rent) is yearly extorted from the poor ryot." It has been the custom to launch angry impeachments against the company for this state of things, both in parliament and throughout the country; and whenever any disappointed person returned from India, the relation of the zemindars and ryots was a fruitful theme of discourse in opposition to the committee in Leadenhall Street.

In a defence of their conduct and policy lately put forth by the East India Company, the evil of this system has been frankly acknowledged, the error of Lord Cornwallis

\* Mill; *Fifth Report of the Finance Committee in Bengal.*



described as such, and the company urges that it had no more power to change the relation of the zemindar or landlord of Bengal with the ryot, than the English government has had the power of altering the relation of the owners and occupiers of the soil in those provinces of Ireland where such has been least satisfactory. It cannot be denied, however, that a long period has elapsed since the government of Cornwallis without adequate endeavours to apply a corrective in Bengal. The company takes credit to itself for not having imitated the Cornwallis system in other portions of India, and for having, by its recent surveys and magisterial regulations, done much to prevent litigation, always in India unfavourable to the poor man, and for defining his rights. The tenacity, however, of old impressions which characterises the Hindoos, has kept alive the idea of a right still existing in the actual cultivator to hold his land at a rent fixed by custom, not by arbitrary will; and this traditionary feeling, from which the landlords themselves are not exempt, must form the basis of anything that can be hereafter done to improve the tenure of the Bengal ryot.\*

**SYSTEM OF LAND REVENUE IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.**—The mode of assessing land in these provinces is much superior to that pursued in Bengal. The plan adopted by Lord Cornwallis was happily avoided in “the settlement” of the territory within the limits of the lieutenant-governorship, when the wars conducted under the government of the Marquis Wellesley led to the acquirement of these districts. At first the arrangements for land taxes were provisional, and this state of things was allowed to continue many years, the company wishing to gain experience, and being warned against precipitancy by the working of the “permanent settlement” in Bengal. After thirty years, during which the company’s officers made themselves acquainted with the capabilities of the country, the settlement of the provinces began, and was completed in 1844. The ancient tenure of those districts was that of “village communities.” The descendants of those who originally conquered or reclaimed the land held it as a community. There were inhabitants of “the village” (or district of territory so called), renting plots from those who descended from the ancient possessors; such tenants were generally removable, but sometimes fixity of tenure had been in particular cases granted. The East India Company determined upon recognising the rights

\* *Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India.*

of the village communes. In order to ensure certainty as to the proper boundaries of properties, and the most equitable assessment, a detailed survey was made of an area of seventy-two thousand square miles, inhabited by a population of nearly twenty-four millions of persons. Settlements were made for twenty and some for thirty years; some of those made in the earlier years of the adjustment are now nearly run out, and the occupancy has been satisfactory alike to the government and the tenant. A revenue of four millions sterling is obtained from the north-west government, the collection being easy, and the people contented. The following account of the survey and assessment of the north-western provinces, issued by the India-house, will explain the whole process of these operations, and enable the student of these pages to enter intelligently into the discussions which are now conducted, not only among politicians and political economists, but by many who have not qualified themselves to pronounce any opinion upon the subject:—

The objects of the survey were, first, to fix on each *mehal* or estate an assessment “calculated so as to leave a fair surplus profit;” and “for the punctual payment of that sum, the land is held to be perpetually hypothecated to the government;” secondly, to determine who are the “person or persons entitled to receive this surplus profit. The right thus determined is declared to be heritable and transferable, and the persons entitled to it are considered the proprietors of the land, from whom the engagements for the annual payment of the sum assessed by government on the mehal are taken.” The proprietors, when there are more than one, being jointly and severally responsible for the sum assessed on each mehal, it also became necessary to determine the rule according to which they should share the profits, or make good the losses on the estate. When the proprietors were numerous, as was generally the case, engagements were taken only from a few of the body (*lumberdars*) who, for themselves and their co-proprietors, undertook to manage the mehal, and pay the sum assessed on it.

The first step in the process was to adjust the boundaries of each *mouzah*,\* or village, and to prepare a map showing each field comprised in the mouzah. This being completed, the settlement officer proceeded to determine the assessment to be fixed on the land, by estimating, with as near an approach to accuracy as the means at his disposal would

\* *Mouzah* does not mean a village in the English sense of the term, but rather a compactly inhabited agricultural district.



permit, what might be expected to be the net produce \* to the proprietor during the period of settlement; and of this amount about two-thirds was fixed as the demand of government. The village was then offered on these terms to the proprietors, and if they considered them too high, and declined to engage, the government either leased the estate to a farmer, or collected the rents direct from the cultivators; the excluded proprietors being entitled to a per-centage (called *malikana*) at not less than five per cent. on the revenue, and also having the right, at the expiration of twelve years, of claiming to be re-admitted to the management.

The fiscal operation of fixing the amount of revenue to be paid by the village being completed, the next process was to ascertain and record the rights possessed by all parties, whether called proprietors or not. When discordant claims were put forward, the question at issue was determined judicially on the spot. Provision is also made for maintaining the "record of rights" in a correct condition, by causing registers of all changes in the village to be kept by the *putwarree*, or village accountant, copies of which are annually forwarded to the collector's office.

A portion of the Bengal province itself has been lately settled on the principles just stated as carried out under the Agra government, adjusted to what is called the ryotwar (the system of the ryot tenure) already explained. The district referred to is Cuttack, to which "the permanent settlement" of Lord Cornwallis was not, from some cause, extended. The assessment is made on the holding of each ryot or tenant, but the collection is committed to a delegation of the ryots upon the village plan, or as close an approximation to it as can be made where the land is held by ryot tenure. So well has this scheme operated in Cuttack, that it has been applied also to the territory lately acquired from the nizâm. It is now only in course of introduction, but, so far, with the same satisfactory results which have been realized in Cuttack. The plan has been much discussed in the India-house, and the directors have already recommended the Madras government, under which the ryotwar is prevalent, to take into consideration its eventual adoption in that presidency.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN THE NON-REGULATION PROVINCES.—The settlement of the various non-regulation provinces has proceeded upon plans satisfactory to the people, and which bear an affinity in their general principles to

\* By net produce is meant the surplus which the estate may yield after deducting the expenses of cultivation, including the profits of stock and wages of labour.

those described as adopted in the government of the north-west. The last experiment of the kind has been the only failure, where, doubtless it would have also succeeded if time for its working had been obtained. This experiment was made in Oude, and was among the circumstances which contributed to the revolt. The editor of a metropolitan journal thus writes:—"Throughout a great portion of Oude we found superior holders—some say proprietors, some say merely hereditary farmers, but at any rate, hereditary middlemen—holding large tracts between government and the cultivating communities, and responsible for the revenue. In Bengal they were generally recognised as proprietors, and the rights of the sub-holders were reduced to *nil*. In the north-west provinces they were generally set aside, but even to the present day there has been no more fertile source of argument and litigation than the rights of the most prominent of these *talookdars*, as we call them. Some have obtained decrees against government in the civil courts, and many receive a per-centage in compromise of their rights, or alleged rights. Now, in Oude this talookdaree system was particularly strong. Almost the whole country was parcelled out amongst great talookdars or zemindars, and, though under a Mohammedan government, these men were almost universally Hindoos—in fact, native chiefs; certainly more than mere farmers—and they had obtained great prescription, exercised great power and authority, and were, in fact, the feudatories (and very often the rebellious feudatories) of the government. They had their own forts, and troops, and guns. Under this system, the village proprietary rights, no doubt, became much more undefined, weak, and uncertain, than where the villagers hold direct of government; and, disused and precarious, those rights were sometimes little remembered or valued. Here, then, when we took possession, was a very puzzling question. With whom was the settlement to be made? The talookdars were strong and in possession the communities dormant, broken, ill-defined. It must take some time to suppress the one, and resuscitate the other. But revenue opinion in the north-west provinces has long run very strongly in favour of village proprietors; still stronger must it be in the Punjaub, where there is no doubt about the matter, and Oude was principally managed by officers from those provinces. The general result of the settlement has been to oust the talookdars, and make direct village settlements. Then immediately followed the rebellion. At first the talookdars behaved well to us personally. They are men of honour in their way; with



the butchery of the rabble they have no sympathy; to protect all who seek their protection is with them a point of honour. By none have so many European lives been saved as by these men. But our government was altogether upset; no time had yet elapsed sufficient to destroy the strength of the talookdars, or to enable the village proprietors to acquire strength in, or probably even any sufficient appreciation of their rights; the talookdars almost universally resumed what they considered to be their own again, and seem to have met with popular support. Thus they became committed against government, and, being committed, our severities at Allahabad and at Cawnpore led them to fear the worst." \*

The Punjaub affords the company gratulation and triumph in the adjustment of its land revenue. When, in 1849, the Sikh territory was acquired, the "settlement" of it was committed to officers who had gained experience under the lieutenant-governorship of Agra. In many respects the government of the Punjaub has been more successfully administered than that of Agra,—the departments of education and public works will exemplify this,—and in revenue a claim to superiority is also well founded. The settlement made more rapid, and, so far at least, more satisfactory progress, than in the north-west. This, however, would naturally arise from the tentative character of the proceedings in the one case, and the assured and bold procedure of experience in a well-proved system in the other. The lettings in the Punjaub are on terms more favourable to the cultivators by twenty-five per cent. The result is universal contentment on the part of the people, and an easily collected and flourishing revenue for the government.† The Punjaub system is in fact the village and ryot systems combined, as in Cuttack. There is, however, diversity. The zemindar system—with some qualification in favour of the tenants, and the ryots, with but little intermixture of the village system—exists in the hills and in some places in the doabs. As far as circumstances and actual proprietary rights allow, the Agra system is introduced in all the non-regulation provinces.

THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN BOMBAY.—In all southern India the ryot tenure is predominant, although in many directions other tenures were found in existence by the British when conquest placed the territory under their

control. The Bombay ryot holds his land at a fixed rate, and as long as he pays it he cannot be dispossessed, but he is at liberty to give up the whole, or a part, whenever he may be so disposed. Until lately the assessments were too heavy, but the company made a considerable sacrifice of revenue to reduce the rate, and the improvement which has followed, both in the personal comfort of the ryot, and the state of the land which he cultivates, is very observable. Here, as in the north-west, the survey has been productive of the greatest benefit. The details of the process by which a better state of things is being produced in the tenures of land in Bombay cannot be so briefly, and at the same time completely, detailed, as in the following extract from a paper, issued by the court of directors, on the survey and assessment of the Bombay territory:—

The first step in the process is to determine the boundaries of the village. The area is then measured and mapped off into survey-fields. If the land is unoccupied, no division of a field is afterwards permitted. When a survey-field actually occupied is owned by several proprietors or sharers, no joint responsibility is admitted, but the sharers of each are separately shown in the map, and the separate proprietorship continues until one of the sharers dies without heirs, or otherwise vacates his share; on which event the vacated share must be taken up by the remaining sharers, or, on their refusal, the whole field must be relinquished. The object of these rules is to consolidate the small holdings, and set limits to the minute subdivision of landed property naturally arising from the Hindoo law of inheritance. But it is believed that, in practice, no difficulty has in such cases been found in inducing the remaining sharers to undertake the responsibility.

The fields of the village being thus measured and mapped, the next process is that of classification, for the purpose of determining the relative value of the fields into which the land is divided. After a minute examination of the physical characters of the soil, its depth, composition, &c., the following considerations are taken into account as regards the fields of the same village—viz., "their natural productive capabilities; their position with respect to the village, as affording facilities or otherwise for agricultural operations; and, in the case of garden or rice-lands, the supply of water for irrigation."

The measurement of the fields having been completed, and their classification determined, the amount of the assessment is next to be fixed. This operation is not performed by inquiring into the actual produce of the fields,

\* The *Sunday Times*, a paper which contains intelligence on the subject of Indian government and policy, showing an extensive acquaintance with the subject.

† *Reports of the Commissioners of the Punjaub*; Parliamentary Blue Books.



but rather by an examination into the previous fiscal history of such groups of villages as are distinguished by similar physical characteristics. The statements of former collections, remissions, and balances, are collated with the existing rates of assessment. The climate, position with respect to markets, agricultural skill, and the actual condition of the cultivators, are taken into account; and from a consideration of these combined circumstances, rates are determined for each class of land; the object being to keep these rates within the limits of the natural rent. The rates being thus fixed, have only to be applied to the surveyed fields. The assessment is not liable to increase for thirty years. No extra levy is made in consequence of improvement raising the value of the tenure.

Scinde is a non-regulation province in connection with the government of Bombay, but the mode of assessment there has been peculiar. Until lately it was collected throughout the province in grain, by division of the crop. The proceeds in the hands of government were afterwards sold by reserve auction at what sometimes amounted to famine prices. Cash assessments are now rapidly superseding such an objectionable levy. Before long Scinde will share with the presidency to which it is attached the advantage of a more equitably measured and distributed rate of taxation.

LAND REVENUE IN MADRAS.—In Madras the three systems already noticed are all found, and a fourth which is peculiar to the presidency, and called *oolungoo*. This last exists only in Tanjore and Tinnevely. It is peculiar in two respects: the rent is dependant upon the price of grain, and a special arrangement, as to profit and loss, exists between the government and the renter. The proportionate grain assessment needs no explanation. The arrangement as to profit and loss provides that if current prices in any year rise more than ten per cent., the government should have all the profit thus accruing; whereas, if prices fall more than five per cent., the government sustains all that loss.

The zemindar system in Madras has a sort of offshoot called *mootahdarry*, from “Mootah,” a name given to a subdivision in the Northern Circars, where the custom prevails which receives its name.

The name of zemindarry is applied to all ancestral estates, while mootahdarry is given to the settlements of 1802.

Ryotwar is, however, the predominating scheme for land arrangements. The general settlements of the presidency have resulted from the labours of Colonel Reade, and Sir

Thomas Munro, whose arrangements received the most marked approval of the company. The assessments were, however, excessive, and the ryots of Southern India were discontented and distressed until the late alterations for the melioration of their condition. The “annual settlement” operates, not as an annual lease, but as a recurring adjustment of the proportion of revenue to be levied.

In a work published a few years ago \* by a gentleman well acquainted with both the Bombay and Madras systems, the ryotwar of the whole Deccan was discussed, and afforded a fair exhibition of the state of things both at Bombay and Madras. The condition of this class of tenants is thus set forth:—“The old plan was, we believe, substantially this:—the government demand was pitched so high, that even in the most favourable seasons a large portion of it always remained unrealized. The cultivator, with an assessment hanging over him which he never could hope to pay, was of course entirely in the hands of the revenue officers. These latter, at the proper season, surveyed his crops, and, from the judgment they formed of them, assessed him for the year. Even this assessment was usually higher than it was found possible to collect, so that large remissions had frequently to be made, and considerable balances were left unrecovered. The faults of such a system as this scarcely need to be pointed out. The constant meddling on the part of government officials—the large number of these which the system rendered it necessary to employ—the slavish dependance in which the ryot was retained—the corruption and petty tyranny on the one hand, and the absence of manly and independent feeling, and, therefore, of energetic and enterprising industry on the other,—were all necessary results of such arrangements. But, in addition to these, the revenue actually taken appears to have been on an average (although the rates in themselves were so small that an English farmer would laugh to hear them announced) decidedly greater than native tenants, with such knowledge, skill, materials, means, and industrial habits as they possessed, were able to pay without slowly diminishing their means for future cultivation.” The new system by which that just described is being displaced is thus described by Mr. Green:—

The principal operations in the Deccan survey and assessment appear to be the following:

I. The surface survey; to determine, and mark permanently, the boundaries of each village and of each field.

\* *The Deccan Ryots and their Land Tenure*. By H. Green, Professor of Literature at Poona College.



II. A survey and estimate of the quality of the soil in each field; and the assignment of a technical value to it per acre in an artificial scale of relative values ranging from an anna and a half to sixteen annas.

III. The division of the districts into groups of villages, such that those of each group may be supposed to possess nearly equal advantages of climate, markets, and convenience of carriage.

IV. The imposition on each group of villages of a total assessment, such as, from the past history of the group, it may fairly be expected to pay, and yet leave a considerable margin for the increase of the peasant's stock, and the consequent extension of cultivation.

V. A merely arithmetical operation—to wit, the assignment to each field of its share of the assessment in proportion to its size and its place in the scale of relative values.

At a time when the grossest misrepresentations of the land tenure of India, and of the exactions of the East India Company are being made for political and party purposes, and for the still more censurable objects of private resentment, by persons who have returned from India disappointed in various ways, it is important to draw attention to the following statement of the easy terms in which land is held in Southern India, and the disinterested and generous treatment the ryots receive from the company under the new system:—"The four Poonah talooks, with all the advantage of the largest market for agricultural produce in the Deccan, pay an average rent, it will be seen, of only seven annas and seven pies, or something less than a shilling an acre! In the Indapore talook the average is 8*d.* an acre! In Dharwar the land of the best class, the famous black soil of India, that on which cotton is grown, pays on an average but 14 annas (1*s.* 9*d.*)—the rate for the most eligible portion of this again being but 1 rupee, 7 annas, and 9 pies, or something less than three shillings! What would an English, or even an Irish, farmer say to such rates as 8*d.* an acre for a whole district, or three shillings per acre for the best land to be had? The bold reduction of their demands to such rates as these reflects certainly the highest credit on the liberality of the government; and one cannot but rejoice to see such a policy rewarded by an extension of agricultural industry, and the gradual restoration of the gross revenue to its former amount. But what volumes does the necessity for such rates tell of the wretched industrial character of the people, and their extreme unproductiveness!"

It is probable that the cultivators of the Deccan, however liberally dealt with as to taxation and rent (which are synonymous with them), will pay very little revenue, and remain miserably poor so long as mere coarse agricultural products are alone the result of their labour. The soil, the climate, the liberal terms on which land is held, the almost nominal amount of taxation, all favour a more enlightened, enlarged, and enterprising use of the land than appears at present likely. If the ryot of the Deccan had land for nothing, he would be ordinarily wretchedly poor, and in adverse seasons destitute. For the sake of the improvement of the people, the attainment of a larger revenue, and the promotion of civilization, means must be tried under the auspices of government for promoting a superior cultivation, the application of capital to husbandry, and a spirit of bolder enterprise in matters connected with the tenure of land.

So far as the revenue derived from the soil in India is concerned, the great majority of the people may be described as almost untaxed. The original right of the state to the land is recognised in India by the natives, and was reserved by the British when they obtained the sovereignty of the country. Wherever the land is let at its fair value,—and we have shown that in many places it is let beneath its fair value,—the people pay no taxes except such as is derived from salt, opium, the post-office, and a few minor sources. The rent they pay to the landlord—the government—is used for the general protection of the country, the administration of justice, and public works. They are, so far as the amount of the rent goes, spared from taxes; and when it is remembered that nearly two-thirds of the whole revenue consists in the rent of land, the people of India are, as a whole, the most lightly taxed in the world. The oppressed state of the Bengal cultivators, as has been shown, is the work of native zemindars, not of the government; but it is sad to reflect that the arrangement which has consigned them to such terrible exaction and injustice was the work of a British governor-general. It cannot be doubted that even in that case Lord Cornwallis intended that the rights of the cultivators should be secured, but they were too poor and too feeble to maintain these rights before unprincipled native judges, in the face of the powerful zemindars; and, as the board of directors admit, little by little, *sub silentio*, their rights as a class have passed away. For this some remedy must be provided, both for the credit of the government and the condition of the people of Bengal.



**REVENUE FROM SALT.**—This may be considered the only tax which the ryot of India really feels. So far as the presidency of Madras is concerned the revenue from salt is obtained by means of a monopoly. The following paper, published by the revenue department of the East India Company, will show at a glance the present condition of the salt duties throughout India:—

*Lower Provinces of Bengal.*—Rate of duty  $2\frac{1}{2}$  rupees per maund of  $82\frac{2}{7}$  lbs. avoirdupois; government salt sold to the people at cost price added to the duty; importation unrestricted, and facilities given to persons willing to manufacture salt under excise regulations.

*North-western Provinces.*—Manufacture (from saliferous earths) prohibited. Duty on passing the frontier line, 2 rupees per maund, and 8 annas additional on crossing the Allahabad special line of chokeys.

*Punjaub.*—Salt-mines worked by the government, and the salt sold at the mines at 2 rupees per maund.

*Fort St. George.*—The manufacture of salt a government monopoly, the price charged to purchasers being a rupee per maund. Importation permitted, on payment of a duty of 14 annas (seven-eighths of a rupee) per maund, supposed to be equivalent to the profit obtained on the monopoly of salt.

*Bombay.*—No manufacture on the part of government. An excise duty of 12 annas per maund levied on home-made salt, and a customs duty of equal amount on imported salt.

In some instances this tax has been levied instead of others which were more likely to be burthensome, and the amount of remission on the whole in consequence of the salt duties has, according to the statements of the government, been greater than the tax thus imposed.

Although the salt tax was in some cases levied by the company where it did not previously exist, yet generally the imposition was one handed down from previous governments. Salt was an ancient source of revenue with most Asiatic sovereigns. At present it is calculated that the government is receiving a revenue from the tax in this commodity amounting to about two and a half millions sterling.

**THE OPIUM REVENUE.**—This is derived in two forms: first, by a monopoly in the cultivation and sale by the government of Bengal, and by opium farms in the Straits' settlements; secondly, by an export duty levied in Bombay on the article grown in the native states of

Malwa, and shipped from the former place. It is grown in Bengal and in the settlements of the Straits entirely on government account, and sold by the company's officers to merchants, British or native. Merchants from Bombay purchase it in the native states in Malwa, and the government of that presidency exacts a transit duty. The effect of this monopoly on the one hand, and heavy transit duty on the other, is greatly to raise the price of the commodity, so that it has been sometimes sold for its weight in silver. The revenue at present being raised from this source is between four and five millions sterling.

Objections have been strongly urged, both on ethical and economical grounds, against this source of revenue. The defence of the company is, that if the government did not take the cultivation under its own control, and tax highly its transit from the native states into their territories, the poppy would be extensively grown on private account, and the drug become so cheap, as to be made an article of commerce by the people of India, to their injury morally and physically. As to selling it to the Chinese, who purchase nearly all that is produced, it is urged, that it is as impossible in commerce to take into account the uses made of articles for which there is an export market, as it would be, in the case of imported commodities, to institute an inquiry as to how they were produced. Such a principle was never established in morals, and would be impracticable if applied to trade. Considered in a fiscal point of view, the company regards it as an advantageous and equitable source of revenue, inasmuch as foreigners voluntarily pay the tax.

Some of these arguments, if good in the case of the opium monopoly, would also have been valid in the instance of the tobacco monopoly, which, nevertheless, was abolished without an equivalent in 1852, although yielding a revenue of £60,000 a year in Malabar. Tobacco seems to be a source of revenue as just as opium, and the company might fairly impose the duty.

**REVENUE FROM CUSTOMS.**—The income of the government from this source is derived in two ways—inland dues and external commerce. The system of transit duties has for some years been gradually waning, except so far as the opium from Malwa is concerned. That source of revenue is likely to increase so long as the Chinese continue to import, and there is a possibility of much larger imports there. The company has removed restrictions from trade, abolished local taxes of all kinds, and influenced the native states



to imitate this example to some extent. All those states promise greater conformity to British example in this matter, but the promises of some are insincere. In the Punjab there are town dues, which are voluntarily submitted to by the people for local purposes, and great advantages have followed this voluntary corporate taxation. In some other places imposts have been laid for the exclusive purpose of local improvement. The government encourages the disposition to self-taxation for civic and local improvement in every possible way. The duties on external commerce have also been undergoing a process of gradual reduction. The import duties levied on British goods is five per cent. *ad valorem*. The total abolition of import duties on British goods has been urged on the government; it would be a boon to commerce, and not seriously affect the revenue. There is an export tax of three per cent. on the manufactures of India. In a despatch from the home government of 1846 this was represented as an impost, to be abolished as soon as the general state of the revenue would allow. It ought at once to be abrogated; it is impolitic, as well as opposed to political economy. It has also been in contemplation to abolish the import duty on British goods—at least, so it is alleged by the friends of the Honourable East India Company.

**POST-OFFICE REVENUE.**—The object of the tax is rather for public convenience than for revenue. The rates should be reduced, and the arrangements much improved, but in both respects the grand difficulties are the peculiarities of the country and the people who inhabit it. A comparatively low rate of uniform postage has been adopted with so much success, as to encourage bolder experiments in the same direction.

**STAMP DUTIES.**—In India stamped paper is required in all judicial proceedings, as well as for bills of exchange, agreements, receipts, and deeds; also for petitions and papers filed in court. About half a million sterling is thus realized, and it is probable that a much larger revenue will be raised in this manner.

**ABKAREE.**—This word signifies a tax on waters ("strong waters" being understood); and the revenue so called is derived from licenses to sell spirits. This tax is much more willingly paid in India than similar imposts in Europe.

**SAYER.**—This word signifies the remainder, and, used in revenue vocabulary, refers to

unclassified taxes. It is levied on drugs of all kinds, except opium, which, as we have already seen, contributes to the revenue in other forms. There is a want of definiteness in the way in which this tax is imposed, and the range of articles subject to it, which gives rise to many complaints.

The abkaree and sayer, taken together, yield £1,000,000. These taxes are likely to be more productive. Peace and security would soon double the revenue thus derived.

The miscellaneous taxes contribute about £1,000,000.

The total revenue of India, exclusive of subsidies from native states, amounted in 1857 to nearly twenty-nine millions sterling. There can be no doubt that, as soon as order is established after the present revolt, taxation in India, wisely distributed, and keeping in view the principles of political economy, will yield many millions sterling more than it at present affords the government.

**SUBSIDIES FROM NATIVE STATES.**—For 1857 the sum of £510,166 is understood to have been collected from the tributaries. They are thus classed:—

#### BENGAL.

Tributes from the under-mentioned states:—	£.	£.
Kotah . . . . .	7,056	
Odeypore . . . . .	18,516	
Mundy . . . . .	9,375	
Jhalwar . . . . .	7,500	
Banswarra . . . . .	2,568	
Doongerpore . . . . .	2,568	
Jeypore . . . . .	37,500	
Serohee . . . . .	1,269	
Various petty states . . . . .	4,320	
Nizams's government on account of Mahratta Choute . . . . .	10,183	
	—	100,805

#### MADRAS.

Peishcush and subsidy:—	
Mysore government . . . . .	229,687
Travancore government . . . . .	74,666
Cochin government . . . . .	18,750
	— 323,103

#### BOMBAY.

Subsidy from the Cutch government . . . . .	15,795
Kattywar tribute . . . . .	56,105
Various petty states . . . . .	3,096
	— 74,996
	498,904

This description of tribute is likely to increase. The tendency of events is to bring the quasi-independent states more and more into reliance upon the government for security, and this will of course involve proportionate increase in tribute.



The detailed items of principal expenditure, on an average of the four years preceding the mutiny of 1857 (which has, of course, considerably increased them), were stated in round numbers as follows:—

Charges incident to the collection of the revenue . . . . .	£. 6,000,000
Military and naval charges . . . . .	11,000,000
Civil, judicial, and police . . . . .	5,000,000
Public works . . . . .	1,500,000
Interest on bond debt in India . . . . .	2,000,000
Charges defrayed in England (including interest on home bond debt, payments on account of her majesty's troops and establishment). Charges of the East India-house and Board of Control . . . . .	2,872,107
Allowances and assignments to native princes under treaties and other engagements . . . . .	1,000,000
Dividends to proprietors of East India stock . . . . .	627,893
Total . . . . .	30,000,000

The expenditure, it will be seen, exceeds the income. To meet that excess money has been raised on bond in England. About a fifth part of the existing debt has been incurred in this manner.

In India money is raised in the following way:—The company advertises that it is ready to receive loans at specified rates, and on specified conditions. "Loan-notes" are given in acknowledgment of the moneys paid into the treasury.

The amount of debt in England and India is now nearly sixty millions sterling.

In the year ending April 30th, 1857, the excess of expenditure over income amounted to £1,981,062.

The accounts for the presidency of Bengal during the last four years have shown a uniform deficit; those for the north-west provinces a uniform surplus.

The returns of the other presidencies as to surplus and deficit varied during that time.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

#### LAW AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

THE state of the law in India must be regarded in two points of view—as it relates to the native population, and in reference to English residents.

It may be laid down as a general principle in the legal government of British India, that the laws and general systems of jurisprudence which the company found in existence upon the acquisition of any province were preserved in force until otherwise determined by new regulations by the new government. These were sometimes instituted by orders in council, and sometimes by act of parliament.

The imperial legislature and the governor-general in council both legislate for India at present, but no act of the latter must contravene or supersede the acts of the former.

The acts passed by the governor-general in council extend to the British as well as to the natives in India, a circumstance which has proved a fruitful source of discontent to independent English residents, although that dissatisfaction was not always founded in justice and reason. The discontent of English residents was formerly sometimes occasioned by the precipitancy with which acts of the governor and council were passed, by which they considered their interests unfavourably affected. The directors accordingly ordered

that before any act was so passed notice should appear in the leading journals of the presidencies for some time (generally a few months) before the measure was passed into a law, so as to give opportunity for such classes as might deem themselves aggrieved by it to state their objections.

When an act is passed, it is always published in the language of the district to which it is intended to apply, and also in English and in Ordo, a dialect of the Hindoostanee supposed to be known by the better informed natives.

The acts of the governor-general in council may be enforced as soon as published, but copies must be laid before the imperial parliament, by which they may be altered or abolished. All acts of the governor-general in council are laws, on the assumption that the imperial government does not disapprove of them.

#### PROVINCE OF THE SUPREME COURTS.

LAW APPLICABLE TO BRITISH-BORN RESIDENTS OF INDIA.—The supreme courts are established in the capitals of the three presidencies. There is a local jurisdiction besides, which the supreme court at Calcutta exercises in that city. This local jurisdiction is civil and criminal, and refers to all persons,



English or natives, within the limits, but its ecclesiastical authority does not extend to Hindoos or Mohammedans, except for granting probates of wills.

The court also exercises authority over all British-born subjects and their descendants, born in India, who are resident in Bengal and the north-west provinces, with the exception of the queen's troops and their families.

It also extends to natives of India, who are under any contract or special legal obligation to any British-born subject, where the cause of action exceeds the sum of five hundred rupees (£50), and so far as the contract is concerned.

All persons who avail themselves of the court's jurisdiction in any matter are held liable to its authority in all other matters affected by the particular case in which they have made it available.

"All persons who, at the time of action brought or cause of action accrued, are or have been employed by, or directly or indirectly in the service of, the East India Company, or any British subject, are liable to the civil jurisdiction of the court in actions for wrongs or trespasses, and also in any civil suit by agreement of parties in writing to submit to the jurisdiction of the said court; and all persons who, at the time of committing any crime, misdemeanour, or oppression, are or have been employed, or directly or indirectly in service as aforesaid, are liable to the criminal jurisdiction of the court."

"The supreme courts at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, have criminal jurisdiction over all British subjects for crimes committed at any place within the limits of the company's charter—that is, any part of Asia, Africa, or America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, or for crimes committed in any of the lands or territories of any native prince or state, in the same way as if the same had been committed within the territories subject to the British government in India."

The admiralty jurisdiction of the court extends over the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and all the adjacent territories and islands; and the criminal authority connected with this jurisdiction extends to all crimes committed on the high seas, in as full a manner as that of any other court of admiralty.

The law administered is as follows:—

First. The common law as it prevailed in England in the year 1726, and which has not subsequently been altered by statutes especially extending to India, or by acts of the legislative council of India.

Secondly The statute law which prevailed

in England in 1726, and which has not subsequently been altered by statute especially extending to India, or by the acts of the legislative council of India.

Thirdly. The statute law expressly extending to India, which has been enacted since 1726, and has not been since repealed, and the statutes which have been extended to India by the acts of the legislative council of India.

Fourthly. The civil law as it obtains in the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts.

Fifthly. Regulations made by the governor-general in council, previously to the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, and registered in the supreme court, and the acts of the legislative council of India made under the 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85.

The exceptions are Hindoos and Mohammedans in the following cases:—

First. Actions regarding inheritance and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party in which both parties are Hindoos. Such cases are to be determined by the laws and usages of Hindoos.

Secondly. Actions of the same kind where both parties are Mohammedans; and in these the case is to be determined by the laws and usages of Mohammedans.

Thirdly. Actions of the same kind where only one of the parties is a Mohammedan or Hindoo; and these are to be determined by the laws and usages of the defendant.

The procedure on the different sides of court is similar to the procedure of the corresponding courts in England, with this difference—that, as directed by the charter, the *viva voce* examinations of witnesses, are taken down in writing, and the depositions are signed by the witnesses themselves. The new rules in law and equity passed from time to time in this country are quickly adopted by the judges in India, as far as circumstances will admit, and applied with the requisite modifications to their own practice.

In all suits where the property in dispute is above the value of ten thousand rupees (£1000) there is a right of appeal to her majesty in council.

The supreme court consists of a chief justice and two other judges. It appoints its own ministerial officers, who are paid by salaries. The court admits and enrolls as many advocates and attorneys as it thinks proper, and none other can plead or in any way act for parties in suits. The qualification of advocates is having been called to the English or Irish bar, or having been entitled to practise as an advocate in Scotland. The



court has, however, the power to admit persons who have not this general qualification. The qualification for admission as an attorney is, that the applicant has been admitted an attorney of one of her majesty's principal courts of record in England or Ireland, or a writer to the signet in Scotland, or a member of the society of solicitors practising before the court of session there, or that he has served a regular clerkship before the court of session there, or that he has served a regular clerkship of five years, under a contract in writing to some attorney practising in the court, or that he is or has been a principal clerk to one of the judges. The advocates and attorneys practise under the same names as in England.

The annual expense of the supreme court is nearly half a million of rupees. Nearly half of this sum is appropriated to the salaries of the judges. The salaries of the officers and general expenses consume the remainder. There is, in addition to this expenditure, the emolument of the registrar, which is supplied by fees on the estates of persons dying intestate.

The supreme court of judicature at Madras consists of a chief-justice and two other judges, who must have previously been barristers of five years' standing at the English or Irish bar. The powers and jurisdictions of the court within the presidency are generally the same as those in Bengal,—under the supreme court at Fort William.

The supreme court of judicature at Bombay is constituted in a similar manner to that of Madras.

The laws and judicial proceedings in reference to the native population are founded in the native systems of jurisprudence which existed before the advent of English power. The modifications of these systems latterly adopted have, however, been important. The object is to administer the law to every man according to his religion or nationality; and when the parties at variance do not possess a common religion or nationality, the custom of the place regulates the decision; and if there be no established custom in connection with the matter in question, the law to which the defendant has ostensibly held himself amenable is that which measures the administration of justice.

In the Bombay presidency Mohammedan law is but little known. There the Elphinstone code, compiled by Mr. Elphinstone when governor of that presidency, generally prevails. It only has effect where natives are concerned; and although both civil and criminal, it operates chiefly on civil disputes.

**CIVIL COURTS.**—The principles of these courts are generally the same, but differences exist in different parts of India in the practice and the designations of the officers.

The lowest class of civil courts are presided over by natives. The *moonsif* (a name of Arabic derivation, signifying judge) has a district allotted to him, and is empowered to decide upon questions of property, whether "real or personal." In Bombay this right extends to disputes concerning property of £500 in value; in Madras of £100 in value; elsewhere the property cannot exceed a valuation of £30. This class of judge is generally nominated from *vakeels* (Arabic for agent or attorney), after they have undergone a general examination. The salaries of £15 and £10 per mensem are given to the moonsifs, according to their grade.

The sudder aumeens (the word *aumeen* is Arabic, and means chief trustee) constitute a higher class of judges, and receive £25 per mensem. There are also principal sudder aumeens, who receive from £40 to £60 per mensem respectively, according to their rank, which depends upon their capacity.

The zillah judges are Europeans (a *zillah* is a large section of territory), and always belong to the covenanted service of the company. Appeals from the native judges may be made to the zillah. He tries all original suits above £500, but has power to refer them to the principal sudder aumeens, which it is the practice very generally to do. The zillah courts are assisted by natives in various capacities—such as jurors, assessors, and arbitrators. The arbitrators are generally five in number, and are collectively, from that circumstance, called a *punchayet*.

In proceedings the plaint must be lodged on a stamp proportioned to the amount of claim. The pleadings are in writing. Witnesses are not subject to cross-examination. An appeal lies from the zillah to the court of *sudder dewaung adawhut* (the chief civil justice). There are four of these courts in the four governments—viz., one in the chief city of each presidency, and one in the capital of the lieutenant-governancy of the north-west. The judges are members of the covenanted civil service, and men of much experience. These courts entertain no original cases; they are courts of appeal, and their decision is final. The courts sit daily, except during such native festivals as render the transaction of business impossible. The salary of the judges is £4200 per annum. Although the decisions in these courts are considered final, as the highest courts of law, there is, nevertheless, an appeal from thence to her majesty in council.



CRIMINAL LAW.—There is some diversity in the criminal administration. It is generally grounded upon the Mohammedan law: the diversities are, for the most part, English modifications.

In Bengal, beyond the capital, each district is committed to a magistrate, and contains fifteen or twenty subdivisions or *thanahs*, each of which is placed under a subordinate officer, called a *thanadar* or *darogah*. Each of these last-named functionaries has under him the following establishment:—a clerk or writer, a *jemadar* or sergeant, and twenty or thirty policemen. The *darogahs* are generally Mohammedans or Hindoos. Besides this machinery for the apprehension of criminals, there are also a large number of village police or watchmen, appointed by the village committees, or by the zemindars. These functionaries, who are not generally supposed to be very efficient, amount, in Bengal proper, to the large number of one hundred and seventy thousand. The *darogahs*, or inspectors of police, are invested with a certain measure of summary authority in cases of affrays, disturbances of the peace, &c., but are bound to bring all other matters under the previous cognizance of the magistrate, who has the power of punishment to the extent of imprisonment for two years in certain cases, in some others for three years; but ordinarily his power extends to imprisonment for six months, and a fine of two hundred rupees, and if the fine be not paid, to a further imprisonment of six months. Corporal punishment was abolished by Lord William Bentinck, but has since been revived in case of theft, where the property stolen does not exceed fifty rupees in value, and for juvenile offenders, as well as in certain crimes committed by convicts.

The sessions judge is the officer next in the ascending scale of rank, and appeals lie to him in certain cases from the magistrate. He is the same individual who acts in a civil capacity, before mentioned, as *zillah* judge. In Bengal his original jurisdiction is limited to offenders committed by the magistrate to take their trial at the sessions.

In Madras, the sessions judge is aided by a subordinate judge, who acts as committing officer instead of magistrate. In Bombay the sessions judge is aided by an officer called the “assistant sessions judge.”

The sessions judge has the power of punishment to the extent of nine years’ imprisonment, and, in certain aggravated cases, of sixteen years. All cases involving punishments above those limits are referred to the *sudder* court, which is composed of the same judges as the supreme court of civil appeal,

called the *sudder nizamat* \* *adawlut*, in Bengal, and the *foujdary* † *adawlut* in Madras and Bombay. This court decides on the record and report of the sessions judge. It never hears oral evidence; but if the case requires more elucidation, sends it back to the sessions judge, with orders to take further evidence on particular points; and its ultimate decision is final.

If the judges of the *nizamat* concur in the verdict of the lower court, and the prisoner be considered deserving of a higher degree of punishment than could be awarded by the sessions judge, he may be sentenced to suffer death, or to undergo imprisonment for twenty-one years; but if sentenced to imprisonment for life, then transportation for life, either to the penal settlements of Singapore, Penang, or Malacca, the Tenasserim provinces, Arracan, or Aden, would be substituted; but no native of India can be transported beyond the company’s territories. If the case be not capital, it is decided by the sentence of a single judge. Sentences of death require the concurrence of two judges. The government has the power of pardon or mitigation, but it is seldom exercised.

There are in Bengal two modes of trial, in one of which a Mohammedan law officer, or assessor, expounds the law; but if the prisoner is not a Mohammedan, he may refuse to be so tried, and for such cases there is a system of juries, or assessors, or *punchayet*. The sessions judge may reject the opinion of the Mohammedan law officer, on points expressly provided for by the regulations, and that opinion may be overridden altogether by the *sudder* court. When the case is tried with a jury, or *punchayet*, the decision may be overruled, and sentence awarded to the extent of the judge’s competence. Cases tried by the magistrate are generally prosecuted by the party injured.

With respect to Madras and other parts of British India, except Bombay, it may be stated generally that the system of criminal administration, though differing in some particulars, is based on the same general principles as that existing in Bengal. The police, who are in Bengal and Bombay placed under the command in chief of a superintendent, specially charged with that duty, are in Madras placed under the governor in council, and in the north-west provinces under

\* *Nizamut* is an Arabic word, which means “arrangement, or reducing to order;” and governors of provinces under the Mohammedan government were sometimes designated by names derived from the same root, as the *nazim* and the *nizam*.

† From *foujdary*, the general, or holder of a *fouj* or army.



the commissioners of revenue. In the Punjab there is a military preventive police of foot and horse, who furnish guards for jails, treasuries, frontier-posts, and escort of treasure.

It may also be noticed that, with respect to the professional criminals peculiar to India, called Thugs and Dacoits, a special police, invested with summary powers, is organized under one superintendent for all India.\*

Law reform in India has been for a considerable time engaging the attention of government. Under the statute 3 & 4 William IV., a commission for this purpose was appointed, and "the Indian law commissioners" reported elaborately, recommending various reforms. By section 28 of 16 & 17 Victoria, chapter 95, her majesty was empowered to appoint commissioners in England to consider and report upon these proposed reforms. Accordingly, at the close of 1853, a commission was appointed, consisting of very able persons—viz., Sir John Romilly, Sir John Jervis, Sir Richard Ryan, C. H. Cameron, J. M. Macleod, I. A. F. Hawkins, T. F. Ellis, and R. Lowe. Subsequently Mr. Hawkins accepted the post of secretary to the committee, and the name of W. Millet was substituted, March 17, 1854. A quorum of three of the commissioners had power to call for persons and papers according to their discretion, for the purposes of their investigation. Four reports were presented by these commissioners—the last bearing date May 20, 1856. The reports thus prepared were sent out to India, but the occurrence of the mutiny rendered it impossible that they could receive from the authorities there the necessary consideration. In England men acquainted with Indian affairs have not acquiesced in all the recommendations of the commissioners; nor were they unanimous—two of their number especially dissenting from some of the reports, and finally retiring from the commission. These gentlemen were Lord-chief-justice Jervis and Mr. Lowe. This circumstance caused much discussion as to the reports, especially the second and fourth, which these gentlemen refused to sign.

That a sweeping reform is necessary, all who know India will admit. The native courts are very imperfect, so far as the *modus operandi* is concerned, and very generally deficient as to the essence of justice itself. The native witnesses, juries, and police, are utterly corrupt and perjurious. Whether the interests or feelings of the native officials

be for or against the government, they are rapacious, unjust, and cruel. Some of the most barefaced robberies and barbarous outrages committed in India are perpetrated by native officials in the name of the government, and without the knowledge (in the individual cases) of the European officers.

Much advantage has been taken, upon the continent of Europe, of these facts to spread abroad a feeling throughout the world that the government of India is unjust and oppressive. In the celebrated French pamphlet lately published at Paris, and alleged to have been written by a Crimean general, such use is made of a fact morally injurious to the government of India, yet which never received its countenance, and against which its strenuous efforts have been put forth. In the presidency of Madras native agents have employed torture upon native tenants to extort revenue, and the writer of the pamphlet might have known the truth had he chosen to make inquiry at the proper source, instead of catching up such a version of the fact as implicates the government of India in acts which it abhors. "For forty-six years the East India Company has ignored the facts, or rather allowed them to be committed. The company has its agents, who employ torture to wring their last farthing from poor peasants, and that money, wet with blood and tears, is not employed either in the material well-being of the people or in the improvement of their intelligence; it enters the coffers of the company, or those of the English government, and gives high salaries to the *employés*, and good dividends to the shareholders. The Indians—those tigers with human faces, as the *Times* calls them—at last revolt; those 'capricious and violent animals,' treated with contempt, and oppressed beyond measure, rise on their oppressors; they desire to shake off the English yoke and English oppression, and to free themselves from English contempt; they desire to oppose the return of torture; they have forty-six years of torture to pay back on England, and they take up arms." After describing the manner in which the Hindoos are tortured by the company, he exclaims:—"Certainly, never did the imagination of the executioners of the middle ages, nor that of the most ferocious planters of America, devise more atrocious means to torture human creatures; and if any one, and the least cruel, of those means, had ever been applied by order of the Emperor of Austria or the King of Naples, England would have sent forth shouts of indignation, and the names of those two sovereigns would be to this day affixed to the pillory of public indignation. These tor-

\* Compiled by Arthur Mills, Esq., M. P., from the acts relating to India.



tures are inflicted in the nineteenth century on the unfortunate Indians, and their object is the collection of the imposts which are applied to pay the huge salaries of the English functionaries, younger sons of great English families, and the dividends of the company's shareholders. English philanthropy does not think it necessary to stir itself." False as this malevolent allegation of modern French hatred to England is, so far as it reflects upon either the government of India, the provocatives of the Indian mutiny, or the feelings of English philanthropists, yet it discloses how the actual evils of administration and misdeeds of native officers have involved the government and the name of England in odium. It is essential to the future prosperity of India, to the cause of justice, and to the renown of England, that the native courts should be literally ransacked by the hand of a stern investigation, and such means adopted as are possible to rid the government of the dishonour of those classes of native functionaries who are amongst the most corrupt, perjurious, and cruel of mankind. Justice demands the admission that the company has been for some time putting in force its powers to effect administrative reform in all descriptions of courts and offices, and in the new governments the measures taken have been in consonance with British sense of justice, and with native rights.

The late Sir Henry Lawrence, in one of his early reports of the commission in the Sikh territory, thus describes the policy pursued in reference to local and native institutions, showing that a wise superintendence may turn them to account, notwithstanding the danger of intrusting to native hands alone the dispensing of justice:—"Each city in the Punjaub is managed by a body of men called *punches*; they answer to our corporations in England. The office is chiefly hereditary, but not always so. If the hereditary talent is weak, an infusion of able and intelligent men, by common consent, is permitted. The government of the day sometimes, but very rarely, deposed an obnoxious member of the corporation. On the death of one of the members, the government presented a *khillut* to his heir, thus recognising his succession to the office. The district officer who obtains the co-operation of this body can do anything; without it he is helpless. The governor-general last year conferred the title of *raie* and *rai buhadoor* on the members and leaders of the Umritsur punch, which distinguished honour gratified them much, and had the most happy effect."

The directors, in their late appeal, have reasonably maintained that the expense of

administering justice by European agency over so vast a field, and to so many millions of people, would be too great for any one to affirm its practicability. This, however, is certain, that if native agency be "not a question of expediency, but of necessity," security should be taken far more rigidly than has as yet been done for the character of the officials to whom any trust is committed. The following statement of the chairman and deputy-chairman is undoubtedly beyond controversy:—"Since the first institution of the legislative council, few years have passed in which there have not been one or two legislative measures for the improvement of the procedure of the civil courts. The object of some has been to facilitate the progress of suits through their various stages; of others, to secure the correct recording of the judgment, by prescribing that it shall be made by the judge himself; of others, to insure a more speedy and certain execution of judgments; of others, to render more efficient the systems of regular and special appeals. Legislative measures have also been taken for reforming the law of evidence; for the abolition of Persian as the language of record; and for putting the office of native pleader on a more efficient and respectable footing. The defects of the criminal courts have likewise largely engaged the attention of the legislature, and much has been done for their improvement. But notwithstanding these partial amendments, it cannot be said that the courts, in what are called the regulation provinces, have yet been freed from their radical defects. The principal impediments to a good administration of justice are, the complicated and technical system of pleading in the civil courts, and in the criminal courts the character of the police."

In the regulation provinces the administration of justice is baulked by tedious processes and endless technicalities. Justice is neither swift nor cheap; and the late Mr. Colvin admitted that even in the north-west provinces the courts of justice were regarded by the people with dislike.

In the non-regulation provinces the government has shaken off the fetters of prescription and routine, and, trusting these new states to the hands of gifted administrators, justice is dispensed without favour, and freely. The following report on this subject, by Sir John Lawrence, from the Punjaub, will be read with interest by all who wish in England as well as India, cheap and speedy justice:—"No effort has been spared to render justice cheap, quick, sure, simple, and substantial; every other consideration has been rendered subordinate to these cardinal



points. We are, indeed, without elaborate laws, but we have brief rules, explaining, in an accessible form, the main provisions of the several systems of native law on such matters as inheritance, marriage, adoption, testamentary or other disposition of property; and setting forth the chief principles to be observed in other branches of law—such as contracts, sale, mortgage, debt, commercial usage. We have the most open and liberal provisions for the admission of evidence. We have complete arrangements for reference to arbitration, and for the ascertainment of local custom. We have a procedure without any pretension to technical exactitude, but a procedure which provides for the litigants and their respective witnesses being confronted in open court, for a decision being arrived at immediately after this brief forensic controversy, and for judgment being delivered to the parties then and there. We have a method of executing decrees which, while it allows no door to be opened for evasion or delay on the part of the defendant, and thus renders a decree really valuable to the plaintiff, as being capable of ready enforcement, and gives him his right free from lien, encumbrance, or doubt, yet, on the other hand, prevents the defendant from being hastily dealt with, or from being placed at the mercy of his creditor. We have small-cause courts scattered all over the country, and several regular courts at every central station, so that everywhere justice is near. Our civil system may appear rough and ready; whether it would be suited to other provinces, in a different stage of civilization, and with a different machinery at command, may be a question, but in the Punjaub it attains the broad and plain object aimed at, and without doubt gives satisfaction to the people. But in order to regulate the administration of justice, a complete system of reporting has been established. Month by month the reports of every court are transmitted to the judicial department at head-quarters, and are there criticized. At the close of each year these reports, and the figures embodied in them, are collated, averages are struck, division is compared with division, and district with district, and the general result, with a brief critique by superior authority, indicating the defects to be avoided, and the reforms to be emulated, is published for the information of all officers concerned. It is believed that many improvements in the working of the courts are traceable to this system. Every court works under a constant sense of supervision, and with the great objects to be aimed at perpetually in view, and standing out in strong relief."

One of the greatest evils in connection with the police system in portions of the old provinces has been the union of police and revenue functions in the same persons. These persons were ill-paid natives, whose interest it was to extort for their employers, unless bribed by the tenants. This accounted for the torture at Madras, and for many of the acknowledged evils which until lately prevailed in Bombay. Since the administration of Sir George Clerk in the latter presidency, the two classes of functions have ceased to be combined in the duties of the same functionaries. In the general superintendence of the men a better order and more vigilant oversight is now maintained. Before the mutiny broke out the directors had recommended the government in India to carry out the principle of separating revenue and criminal jurisdiction on the part of the police throughout India; also to secure efficient European command over all departments of this description of force. The police system of the Punjaub is that which the directors have decided upon as their model, and empowered the government in India to adopt it in Bengal, upon its judgment of the expediency of so doing, as occasion may prove opportune. The police system of the Punjaub is as follows:—It consists of two parts—the preventive, with a military organization, and the detective, with a civil organization. The preventive police consists of foot and horse; each regiment has its own native commandant, and the whole force is superintended by four European officers. Both arms of the service are regularly armed and equipped, and are ready at a moment's notice to reinforce the civil police. The civil police consists, first, of a regular establishment, paid by the state; secondly, of the city watchmen, paid from a fund raised by the levy of town duties; and, thirdly, of the village police, nominated by the landholders, confirmed in their offices by the magistrate, and paid by the villagers. The infantry of the military preventive police furnish guards for jails, treasuries, frontier posts, and city gates, and escorts for treasure. The cavalry are posted in detachments at the civil stations; and smaller parties, stationed at convenient intervals along the grand lines of road, serve as mounted patrols. The general duties of the civil police consist in reporting crimes, tracking and arresting criminals, and procuring evidence against them.\* It is impossible to doubt that if this system be carried out through India under competent European officers, and under such modifications as the different provinces require, that

\* *Memorandum of Improvements in India by the Court of Directors.*



the administration of justice will be greatly aided, and the suppression of crime decisively promoted.

The East India Company has in its own civil service the machinery with which to work for the reform in civil and criminal administration, which, although in progress, requires a still more rapid and decided development. The following language of one whose experience well qualified him to give an opinion should have due weight with the English public:—"Let us hope, therefore, that whatever may be the changes to be made in the controlling authority at home, the administrative power in India may be allowed to remain in the hands of an official body, set apart from their youth for this special duty, and whose primary object it may be to administer the country for the benefit of its inhabitants, trusting thus best to promote the real interests of their own parent-land. It is immaterial whether the body into whose hands the internal government is to be intrusted shall be called the civil service, or receive any other appellation, provided the principle be maintained of employing in the territorial government of India those only who have been educated and trained expressly for that duty. If a knowledge of English law shall really prove to be a requisite for the efficient discharge of civil functions, the addition of a few years to the prescribed age of admission will probably bring what is wanted into the ranks of the civil service."\*

The full extent of the contemplated police reforms in India may be seen by the reader in the return made to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated the 5th of February, 1858. This return consists in a copy of India judicial despatch of the 4th of November, 1857, No. 61, and Madras judicial despatch, dated the 30th of September, 1857, No. 13, relative to police. From these returns, it appears that the board of directors called the attention of the governor-general to this subject on the 24th of September, 1856, their despatch being based upon the minutes of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, dated the 30th of April, 1856, relative to the administration of criminal justice and police. The following passages from the despatch shows the desire of the directors to reform the existing police system, and the obstruction given to their views by the governor-general in council:—

"The leading features of the reform suggested in our despatch of the 24th of September,

\* Thomas Campbell Robertson, late a member of the supreme council of India, and lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces.

ber, 1856, were the organization of a well-armed, equipped, and disciplined police force, upon a plan common for all India; the separation of the police from the administration of the land revenue; the division of the police into separate portions, as preventive and detective; the transfer of the management of the district police from the magistrates to an European officer, with no other duties, and responsible to a general superintendent of police for the whole presidency or lieutenant-governorship, and an increase to the pay of the police, in order to raise their *status*, and to secure their honest and efficient service.

"You are of opinion, that 'it is better to deal with each presidency separately, according to its own merits, subject to those leading principles which should be common to all, than to endeavour to frame a general scheme for the whole of India,' and you have begun with the lower provinces of the Bengal presidency, in which the reform is perhaps more loudly called for than any other part of India.

"As the subordinate police establishments of the regulation provinces in the territories subject to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, are distinct from those entertained for the administration of the land revenue, the question of their separation has not come under your consideration on the present occasion.

"In regard to the Bengal police, you are of opinion that it should not be 'after a military fashion;' that the appointment of one superintendent of police for the whole of the lower provinces is not expedient; and that the existing system of dividing the country into manageable tracts, consisting of four or five districts, and placing each division under the superintendence of a commissioner, having authority in all executive departments, including the police, is the best which has yet been devised for India, and one which works well in Bengal, as well as elsewhere, wherever it has been introduced; that a movable corps of station guards, or military police, should be attached to each division employed ordinarily in station and escort duties, but ready to assist the civil police in case of need; that, to provide for the closer supervision of the subordinate police, the number of deputy-magistrates should be considerably increased, and that the pay of the police should be raised.

"The general result, then, of your recommendation is the maintenance of the police in Bengal very much upon the existing system, but paid at higher rates than is the case at present, and strengthened and assisted by divisional corps of a semi-military character."

The directors then refer to the great Indian



authorities—such as Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Colvin, &c.—whose views favoured the adoption of the plans recommended for the consideration of the governor-general in council, which the directors still commend, but do not enforce, deferring to the wisdom and zeal of the actual government in India. It is impossible to give attention to this subject without coming to the conclusion that the Punjaub system is in the main applicable to Bengal,

both in the upper and lower provinces, and that the opinion of the directors was based upon a sounder view of the requisites of the country, and the adaptations of the change proposed, than that of the governor-general and his council. The mutiny threw more light upon the question, and further, and strongly, afforded confirmation of the justice and wisdom of the scheme which the directors had approved.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BRITISH INDIAN EMPIRE (*Continued*).

#### PUBLIC WORKS.

UNDER this head a considerable outlay takes place, to which it is unnecessary in this chapter to give more than a passing notice, that description of expenditure having been referred to on former pages. The votes for purposes of religion and education are of this character. When describing the religions of India, and the state of education, the part taken by the government in connection with these matters was stated and discussed. Churches are built, large sums of money expended on bishops, clergy, and chaplains, a small amount given to clergymen of the Church of Scotland, and various religious societies have aids granted to their schools for the purpose of educating the natives. The policy of this is arraigned by many, including those sects which object to the interference of government in matters of religion, and by many who approve of the endowment system, but consider it inapplicable to India. On the other hand, the directors, the Board of Control, and the government of India, are pressed exceedingly by all sorts of claimants among the religious denominations who advocate the state endowment of religion; and, under the plea of education, money is solicited and granted which virtually amounts to an endowment of the particular creed on behalf of which it is given. All classes approve of regimental chaplains, but a section of the English public would confine those appointments to ministers of the Established Church; a still larger section would extend the appointments to clergymen of the Church of Scotland, but exclude the Roman Catholic clergy, who, on their part, claim a recognition of equal rights, and a provision for the religious instruction and consolation of the Roman Catholic soldiers, as extensive as that which is admitted to be necessary for their Protestant comrades.

Large sums of money are given for native schools, mosques, and temples, against which the earnest religious public of England protest, as an identification of the British nation with idolatry and Mohammedanism. This protest is perhaps most ardently urged by those who are the chief claimants for churches and schools as instruments for propagating Christianity. These questions have exceedingly embarrassed the directors, who have generally been, on principle, opposed to all endowments of Christian sects in India, although willing to recognise such provisions for the support of temples and mosques as they found in actual existence when the territories where those structures stand became British property. It has generally been under the pressure of English public opinion, more especially exercised upon the imperial government, and at the instance of the latter irrespective of such popular pressure, that the directors have interfered with native, or instituted Christian, endowments.

It has been shown on former pages that the superior officers of the company have been generally too ready to conciliate Brahminical and Mohammedan prejudices by gifts and grants of public money for their religious purposes, some of them being of the most fanatical, cruel, and corrupt kind. The Lawrences, in the Punjaub, have been especially adduced as instances of this, at a time when it was in their power to have shown that the government was determined, upon principle, not to contribute in any way to the support of Mohammedan and idolatrous institutions, however willing to recognise endowments which it found in existence when its rule was established.

Of late the directors have gone with the tide of English opinion, and endeavoured gradually to sever their connection with all idolatrous and Moslem institutions on the one hand, while they have extended a more



liberal hand to Christian churches and schools on the other. This has been as impolitic as unrighteous. It is simply unjust to apply the public moneys gathered from the followers of Mohammed, or Buddha, or Vishnu, to purposes of a religious nature, hostile to the sincere prejudices of those who pay the taxes thus applied. The injustice of this is so obvious, that it is marvellous how men can be rendered by their prejudices so little dispassionate as not to perceive how inequitable is such a course. It is also impolitic: the religious establishments of India have affected the minds of the natives most unfavourably towards the English government and nation. It is notorious that they entertain no hostility to voluntary missions, nor is the anger of the heathen generally awakened by arguments against his creed, although the Mohammedans are in this respect intolerant. When, however, any description of missionaries adopt language which in the least implies that the authority of government is to be, or ought to be, imparted to the controversy, the people are susceptible of great alarm for their faith. They do not fear its being overturned by argument; but their terror of its being overturned by law may be aroused by the smallest deviation from the appearance of government impartiality. The natives are perfectly aware that some of the Christian sects are connected with government, while others labour, or have laboured, independently of its patronage or control, and were even objects of official jealousy. Whatever falls from the lips of the missionaries identified with the state is noted by the natives carefully, and whenever any imprudent expression escapes these good men as to the desirableness of *suppressing* caste or religious custom, however qualified the language, it is caught up, and circulated with that facility for circulating reports characteristic of Asiatics. In like manner, every Christian church, and every Christian school, supported out of the public taxation of India, is regarded by the natives as a standing memorial of subjugation, not merely of their nationality, which is comparatively little valued, but of their religion. These facts are denied by many clergymen and civilians, who allege that the people are too ignorant to understand such matters. This is a mistake. Some of course are too ignorant to comprehend any question of religion or policy, but they are all well enough informed to know that the religions of Hindoostan and of England are different, and that the former is in danger of being supplanted by the latter. They perceive that the change is taking place by the progress of opinion; they submit un-

murmuringly, and call it destiny; but if they conceive that it is taking place by the action of a government which professes not to use its power or authority, as a government, for any such purpose, they deem it faithless, cease to regard it with loyalty, consider, even if they have "eaten its salt," that they are released from their allegiance by the breach of faith, and await the first opportune occasion to free their religion from the perils which beset it. The whole tone of the language used by the revolted sepoys shows that they feared, not so much open violence, as covert and indirect action on the part of the government against their religion. It is impossible to look at the facts upon which they rested such conclusions, and say that their fears were unreasonable, although every Englishman knows that the East India Company never intended to take any step, such as it *considered to be an unjust interference* with the popular religions of the native army or people. It is a delusion to suppose that the natives do not consider such questions, and it is sheer folly to deny that the whole population of India is on the *qui vive* as to what the government may next do which is substantially, although not ostensibly, an authoritative interference with their religion. Missionaries of the stamp to which a reply is here made affirm that intelligent natives, when conversed with on the subject, have expressed their approbation of the government building churches, and aiding Christian schools. No doubt they have, but the educated natives, as well as the masses, have what, in common parlance among themselves, is called "two faces"—one for the sahib, and one for their own people. After expressing in very flattering and flowery language their approval of such things, they would retire from the missionaries, and curse the faithlessness of the government which, by subterfuge and evasion, violated its faith as to its religious relation to the people.

"The more educated, the more bigoted," is an expression which of late has passed into a proverb in reference to both the Brahmins and Mussulmen, especially the former. This is true, because native education is essentially religious; its aim is to make better heathens or Mohammedans, in the sense of imbuing the pupils more thoroughly with the respective systems. Even the education of the English colleges makes them more bigoted, paradoxical as such an assertion may appear. Under the English collegiate and high school system the pupils frequently become infidel, but almost invariably affect or feel an attachment to the superstitions which they theoretically despise, resent any indignity to



them, and any apparent attempt to subvert them. It is common for these native pupils to acquire in their classic reading a violent nationality, and a longing for the liberation of India from a foreign yoke. This feeling causes them to identify themselves with native customs, and to cherish hostility to every English innovation, except it contribute to their own advancement or enjoyment. This class of men inveigh against the employment of public money for Christian purposes of any kind, and regard the churches, the schools, and even the grants of land for such foreign religious institutions as injuries to their country. Articles have appeared in the native press ably adapted to fan the flame of Mussulman or Brahminical bigotry, which were written by nominal heathens, or Mussulmen who were well known to be infidels. It would not be difficult to account for these social, religious, and political phenomena on metaphysical principles generally recognised, but a statement of the facts is alone pertinent to our purpose; and if it be correct, then so long as the government makes grants from the taxes of India, under the designation of public works, for purposes really intended to promote the Christian religion, so long will discontent be disseminated, and disloyalty nurtured, in the halls of its own public seminaries.

In what direction Indian legislation has lately proceeded in connection with such matters let the directors declare for themselves. In their memorial, published at the beginning of 1858, they say:—"An act passed in 1840 gave effect to instructions issued by the home authorities in 1833, on the subject of pilgrim taxes, and the superintendence of native festivals. The instructions directed that the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites, and festivals, and generally in the conduct of their interior economy, should cease, that the pilgrim tax should everywhere be abolished; and that in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, and their ceremonial observances, our native subjects should be left entirely to themselves. Property held in trust for religious uses of course cannot be diverted from them by any act of the government; but if such trusts are infringed, redress must be sought, as in all other cases, from the tribunals. In 1841 the home authorities sent out further instructions, that no troops or military bands of music be called out, and no salutes fired, in honour of native fes-

tivals; and all such acts have since been regarded as strictly prohibited. When any case of infringement of these principles is found to have been overlooked, it is, on being brought to notice, immediately corrected." The spirit of this statement can hardly be too highly commended.

A gentleman who is known to write in the interest of the East India Company states:—"The government have of late years systematically resumed all religious endowments, an extensive inquiry has been going on into all endowments, grants, and pensions; and in almost every one in which the continuance of religious endowments has been recommended by subordinate revenue authorities, backed by the board of revenue, the fiat of confiscation has been issued by the government."\* This paragraph refers to the policy of the company towards the Brahmins and Mussulmen, not towards the Christian churches, which have in one form or other been hitherto endowed, and the endowment of which has been gradually becoming a heavier burthen upon the Indian exchequer, and a more prominent feature of our Indian policy.

We learn from Mr. Arthur Mills, M.P., who has recently compiled a statistical work on India, the following as to the government support of Christian schools. The endowment of churches is too well known to require notice here, and has already been referred to in the chapter on the religions of India:—"Among the schools entitled, under existing government regulations, to grants in aid, are those established at various periods by Christian missionary societies. The total number of these schools scattered throughout the various districts of India, including vernacular and English elementary schools, both for boys and girls, was, in 1853, 1657 schools, containing 64,806 scholars of both sexes. These schools have been chiefly established by the twelve following societies, placed in the order of the commencement of their respective operations in India:—

- 1727. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
- 1793. The Baptist Missionary Society.
- 1805. The London Missionary Society.
- 1812. The American Board of Missions.
- 1814. The Wesleyan Missionary Society.
- 1815. The Church Missionary Society.
- 1822. The General Baptist Missions.
- 1830. The Established Church of Scotland.
- 1830. The Free Church of Scotland.
- 1830. The Basle Missionary Society.
- 1834. The American Presbyterian Mission.
- 1840. The American Baptist Mission.

Several of these societies receive funds only for secular purposes, as the communities they represent adopt "the voluntary prin-

\* Mr. F. H. Robinson.



ciple." The natives, however, do not enter into the distinction; where money is received from the state by a religious sect for any purpose, they consider that sect as a government agency.

In their efforts to be impartial, the company has granted lands for schools built by benevolent natives, male and female, where the character of the education administered is of very doubtful advantage, either to its recipients or to the government. Colleges for general education and for medical purposes, as well as schools of primary and superior instruction have been erected at the government expense, and with the most upright and zealous desires for the mental cultivation and general welfare of the people. Hospitals and other benevolent institutions have also been built, and the cost of their support is borne by the company. This class of public works consists chiefly of churches, schools, and hospitals; their expense is not generally brought to the books of the board of works, but accounted for under other heads, such as education, &c.

Public works refer more properly according to the usages of the company's government to canals, roads, railways, telegraphs, and certain mining and agricultural experiments which are brought under that head. This department, however, has lately undergone a new organization. In January, 1850, the home authorities \* expressed dissatisfaction with the progress made in the prosecution of works of public utility in India, and the government of India was requested to review the state of things with the object of reform. The absence of unity in action, and the division of responsibility, appeared to the directors to be the causes of the slow and imperfect progress of matters in this direction. Orders were issued in the despatch of the directors, which led to the appointment of presidential commissions for investigation and report. The result was the formation in each presidency of a department of public works with a uniform constitution. A secretary for the board of works was added to the secretariat of the Indian government. An activity truly wonderful sprung forth from these measures. The military engineers supplied the chief demand for professional skill, and they were assisted by staffs of civil engineers sent out from England, and by non-commissioned officers of the engineer department of the queen's and company's armies. Colleges of civil engineers have been established at Roorkee, at the head of

the Ganges, and at the capitals of the presidencies.

IRRIGATION.—It is common for declaimers against the East India Company to dwell much upon the remains of ancient tanks and other appliances to irrigation, which were constructed and maintained by the Mohammedan governments, but which the company allowed to go out of repair. There is much exaggeration and untruth in these attacks. Some of these ruined tanks had never been completed. Others were in ruins when the territory where they were placed came into the possession of the British. Often, when this was not the case, such was the disturbed state of the country, through the conflicts and ambition of the native states in the neighbourhood, that it was impossible to attend to any works of peace. When these great tanks were erected, in most cases funds were set apart to keep them in repair; but during the warlike struggles which passed in blood and desolation around, those funds were lost, and the government had no means of repairing dilapidated tanks of vast magnitude, unless by heavily rating a people already impoverished by external conflict or civil war. It is also a curious fact connected with native works of this kind, and which accounts for the number of them, so eloquently descanted upon by the orators and writers who agitate Indian grievances, that native monarchs would frequently begin new works where old ones adequate for the purpose previously existed, and both be allowed at last to go into decay for want of funds. The motive of the monarchs in thus wastefully proceeding was the vanity of connecting their names with the works begun by themselves, to accomplish which the older tanks were allowed to crumble away.

The directors have turned their attention to canals for irrigation. The Ganges Canal is the principal of these. It is not yet completed in all its branches, but will ultimately be eight hundred and ninety-eight miles and a half in length, and will, it is calculated, supply with moisture four millions, five hundred thousand acres. "It presents a system of irrigation unequalled in vastness throughout the world; while the dimensions of the main channel, and the stupendous works of masonry which occur in its course, more particularly in the section between Roorkee and Hurdwar, render the work eminently one of national distinction and honour."\* The cost of this great construction was £1,500,000 up to the 1st of May, 1856, and it is esti-

\* It is remarkable how much more frequently Indian reforms have originated at the India-house than in India, and in either than at the Board of Control.

\* The lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces.



mated that the total cost will not be less than two millions. The irrigating utility of this stupendous work has only just been brought into operation; but it is computed by the directors that the annual value of the land at present watered by it ranges from £150,000, to £200,000, "and that when the canal is in full use, the value will reach the enormous sum of £7,000,000."\* On the 30th of April, 1856, the canal had been carried so far that the water flowed continuously through four hundred and forty-nine miles and a half of the main trunk and terminal branches. The extent of main channels of distribution completed was four hundred and thirty-five and a half miles, and eight hundred and seventeen miles more were in active progress.† The canal has not yet been opened to the public for navigable purposes, but the government extensively uses it for the transport of materials. It closed its first year of operations 1855-6, with an aggregate revenue, from all sources, of rather more than sixty thousand rupees, having watered during the year, fifty-five thousand acres, and having placed beyond the risk of serious damage from drought, an area of cultivation of one hundred and sixty-six thousand acres, distributed among one thousand one hundred and thirty-four villages.‡

The Western and Eastern Jumna Canals were of ancient construction, but had fallen into disrepair and become useless to the country, until again brought into activity by the labours of the company's officers, at a sufficiently early date to admit of a full estimation of the benefits which the country has reaped from their restoration. The main line in the Western Jumna Canal is in length four hundred and forty-five miles. In the famine year, 1837-8, the gross value of crops saved by the water of this canal was estimated at £1,462,800; of which about one-tenth was paid to government as land and water rent; while the remainder supported, during a year of devastating famine in other districts, the inhabitants of nearly five hundred villages.

The works originally projected for the restoration of the Eastern Jumna Canal were completed in 1830; but considerable improvements have been effected since that date at a large expense. In 1853, the court of directors sanctioned an expenditure of £15,276 for improving this canal, so as to economize the water, facilitate its distribution, and correct the malarious state of the

country on its banks. It is stated, that on the 1st of May, 1852, the clear profit to government on this canal had been £9759.\*

The canal system is of great utility in the Punjab. Canals are of two kinds, "inundative" and "permanent."† The first named are cut from the rivers which are empty in winter, but when spring comes, they are filled by the melting of the snow on the mountains, and the water as it rises, flows into the canals, and continues to supply them until far on in the autumn. Many of these have been repaired and rendered once more fit for purposes of irrigation, and estimates have been proposed by order of the commissioners of the Punjab for the repair or reconstruction of others. The second class of canals named—the "permanent," are, however, most in favour with the commissioners, and as funds can be spared the construction of such is contemplated.

In 1849, the enlargement and extension of the Huslee Canal, stated to be capable of irrigating seventy thousand *begahs* of land, was sanctioned, and it is now in good working order. But this will ultimately be superseded by the Barea Doab Canal for irrigation and navigation. The length of this new work is about four hundred and fifty miles; the original estimate of the cost was £530,000; but more extensive works than were at first expected having been found necessary, and the rates of labour having proved much dearer than those calculated, the ultimate cost will fall little short of a million sterling. In May, 1856, more than three hundred and twenty-five miles had been excavated; and it was hoped that the canal would be opened in 1859. The expected return is twelve lacs of rupees, or £120,000 per annum.‡

The following were the opinions of Sir Henry Lawrence and his eminent colleagues, when in the commission of administration for the Punjab, of the character of the country in reference to such works; and the passages indicate the duty of the British government in promoting irrigation:—"The capabilities of the Punjab for canal irrigation are notorious. It is intersected by great rivers; it is bounded on two sides by hills, whence pour down countless rivulets; the general surface of the land slopes southward, with a considerable gradient. These facts at once proclaim it to be a country eminently adapted for canals. Nearly all the dynasties which have ruled over the five rivers have done something towards irrigation; nearly every district possesses flowing canals, or else the

\* Colonel Baird Smith.

† Sir Proby Cautley.

‡ Colonel Baird Smith.

\* *Memorial of the Court of Directors.*

† Sir Henry Lawrence.

‡ Punjab Blue-book.



ruins of ancient water-courses. Many of the valleys and plains at the base of the Himalaya ranges are moistened by water-cuts conducted from the mountain torrents. The people, deeply sensible of the value of these works, mutually combine, with an unusual degree of harmony and public spirit, not only for the construction of reservoirs, but also for distribution of the water, and the regulation of the supply. In such cases, when the community displays so much aptitude for self-government, the board consider non-interference the best policy, while they would always be ready to afford any aid which might be solicited. The Mooltan canals are famous, and are the sole source of the fertility which surrounds that thriving mart. They were commenced by the Pathan governors. Having fallen out of repair during the interregnum of anarchy which ensued on the invasion of Runjeet Singh, they were improved and enlarged by the great Sawun Mull. All these canals are particularised in the revenue section. It will be sufficient to observe, that assistance for repairs and for other details of management is furnished when required, but that the general control is left in the hands of the farmers, who have generally shown themselves fully competent to the task. In the Pak Puttun district, which lies north of Mooltan, in the Baree Doab, an old canal, fifty-five miles long, is being re-opened by the district officer." During the administration of Sir Henry Lawrence, clumps of trees were planted at various "stations" on the navigable canals, and avenues of trees alongside them and the canals especially formed for purposes of irrigation. In the Punjaub, as well as in other parts of India, places of worship are built by the sides of rivers, or other bodies of water; these Sir Henry surrounded by groves, so as to encourage in every direction, where there was water to nourish the growth of trees, the increase of timber for firewood, and for manufacturing and building uses. This was a great want in the Punjaub, notwithstanding the existence of certain jungle districts in all the doabs. Thus the works for irrigation have subserved commerce, and promoted the domestic comfort of the people. The plans of improvement so wisely laid down, under the auspices of Sir Henry Lawrence in the first few years after the annexation of the Punjaub, were wisely followed up by his brother, Sir John, who, with equal zeal, industry, perseverance, and sagacity, pursued these projects of melioration and improvement, laying the foundation for the most prosperous fiscal and political condition which any country in Asia can exhibit, and with which

few countries in Europe can compete. In Scinde careful regard has also been paid to irrigation. The fertility of that region is as dependant upon the rising of the Indus as that of Egypt is to the rising of the Nile. During the seasons of inundation the waters of the Indus are distributed over the face of the country by a network of canals. About £25,000 per annum is expended in cleansing these canals of the deposit left by the retiring waters of the river. The Begaree Canal, in Upper Scinde, is one of the most important bodies of artificial water in the province. This has lately been widened and deepened at a cost of £13,000. Expenses of this nature are nearly always sure to produce a large return in any well governed province; accordingly the outlay on the Begaree has resulted in a return of nearly £11,000 per annum, and the estimate of future proceeds exceeds that sum. The Foolalee Canal, another important artificial watercourse, has been lately improved and extended at a cost of more than £15,000; and in that case, as in those before mentioned, it is expected that the outlay will be followed by profitable results.

In connexion with irrigation, the tanks and *anicuts* of the Madras presidency deserve notice. The monsoon rains are preserved in large reservoirs against the necessities of the dry season. The *anicuts* are dams across the beds of rivers, by which the waters are retained at a level higher than that of the neighbouring country, so that, at the suitable time, it may be drained over the surface. The *anicuts* which are most notable are those on the Colaroone, Godavery, and Kistna. This description of dam and reservoir is not of British origin, for the *anicut* of the Colaroone is traceable to the second century of our era. About £80,000 has been expended on the Colaroone in repairing and renewing these works. Additional works for conveying irrigation over the districts of Tanjore, and portions of Trichinopoly and South Arcot, were constructed at a cost of about £100,000. The average quantity of land watered annually from the Colaroone and Cavery prior to 1836 is given at 630,613 acres. Since the improvements, the average (up to 1850) was 716,524 acres; being an increase of 85,911 acres. The annual increase of revenue has been about £44,000; and it may be assumed that the agricultural community have benefited to the extent of at least £66,000 per annum from the extension of the area of irrigation. It is further calculated that at least an equal amount is added to the value of the annual produce by the better



irrigation of the lands which the waters already reached.

An expenditure of £47,575 for the construction of the Godavery anicut was sanctioned in 1846. It was then anticipated that the total cost, with compound interest at 5 per cent, would be recovered in ten years, and that thenceforward a clear profit would be returned of at least £9000 per annum. The work has, however, proved much more costly than was expected. Up to 1852 the amount expended was £130,000, and a further outlay of £110,000 was expected to be required, which, with £24,000 allowed for annual repairs during its completion, would raise the total expenditure on the works (including a system of roads and an important line of inland navigation) to £264,000. The amount expended has, it is stated, been already repaid by the increased receipts; and the Madras public works commissioners of 1852 (to one of whom, Colonel Cotton, the merit of this important work is in a great measure due) estimate that when the works shall be in full operation, the total increase of revenue will not be less than £300,000 per annum, while the gain to the people, by enabling them to cultivate the more valuable products, such as sugar-cane, rice, &c., instead of the ordinary dry crops, will exceed £3,000,000 per annum.

The anicut across the Kistna River was commenced in 1853. The original estimate of the cost was £155,000; but it is probable that this amount will be to some extent exceeded. It is intended, by 290 miles of irrigation channels distributed on both sides of the river, to supply water sufficient for 280,000 acres of rice cultivation, or 350,000 of rice, sugar, and possibly cotton, combined. The results anticipated are, an increase of £60,000 in the revenue of government, and a gain of £90,000 per annum to the agricultural community.

In 1854 sanction was given to an expenditure of £86,611 for the construction of an anicut across the Palar River, in North Arcot, and of the works subsidiary to it. The expected increase of revenue was stated at £18,470 per annum, or, deducting 5 per cent for repairs, £16,623.

Very large sums have in the aggregate been spent in the construction of new, and still more in the repair and restoration of old, tanks and wells, both in the Madras presidency and in the other parts of India which depend on works of that description for water supply. In some hill districts, ravines have been dammed up, and a head of water obtained for the irrigation of the adjacent valleys or plains. This was the plan of Colonel

Dixon's irrigation works in Mhairwarra; and a system of such works had begun to be executed in Bundelcund, when the disturbances broke out.

A disposition has been of late shown to form companies for the execution of profitable works of irrigation, on certain conditions to be granted by the state.\* In September, 1857, the directors resolved upon giving a guarantee of interest, in the same way as to railway companies.

ROADS.—It is sometimes asserted that India had good roads under the Moguls, and that the government of the East India Company has neglected to keep them in repair, and has done very little to open up new ones. Both these statements are incorrect. The Mohammedan rulers of India made few roads, and none of any great magnitude. The plains of India are in the dry season so flat and smooth, that vehicles can be drawn over them, and armies, conveying their artillery, can march across them with ease. During the rainy season no commercial caravans attempt to traverse these inundated levels, and, except under rare necessities, no army attempts to march. The principal trunk roads in India now completed are as follow :—†

	MILES.	COST.
From Calcutta to Peshawur	1423‡	£1,423,000
„ Calcutta to Bombay .	1002	500,000
„ Madras to Bangalore .	200	37,121
„ Bombay to Agra . . .	734	243,676
„ Rangoon to Prome . .	200	160,000

The first of these roads passes through most of the great cities in North-western India to Delhi. From Delhi it is continued to Lahore, and thence, in its most recent construction, to Peshawur. It is generally designated “the Grand Trunk Road.” Generally the rivers are bridged in the direction the road takes; but the Ganges and the Soane are still crossed by ferries. The land communication between Calcutta and Western India is thus described in the memorial of improvements effected in India within the last thirty years :—“It is carried on by way of the grand trunk road to Benares, onward by Mirzapore and Jubbulpore to Nagpore, and thence to Bombay. The road beyond Mirzapore, under the name of the Great Deccan Road, was commenced thirty years ago, but was kept up only as a fair-weather road till within the last few years, when arrangements were made for its being thoroughly raised, metalled, and bridged. The distance from Mirzapore

\* *Memorial of Improvements in India.*

‡ Arthur Mills, Esq., M.P.

‡ The directors' memorial represents the distance as fifteen hundred miles.



to Nagpore or Kamptee is nearly four hundred miles. Estimates amounting to £11,659 were sanctioned by the court of directors, in 1856, for bridging the portion of road between Mirzapore and Jubbulpore, which had been already metalled; £25,084 were also sanctioned for raising and metalling the portion between Jubbulpore and Kamptee; and measures were further authorised to bridge this portion of the road."

The Dacca and Chittagong road is not yet completed; and from Arracan into Pegu Lieutenant Furlong has undertaken to form a road across the mountains by Toungroop. A road from Calcutta to Jessore (the line of communication with Assam and Birmah) has been sanctioned, on an estimate of £41,720. A road also has been cut from Martaban to Toungoo, *vid* Sitong. The sea has been mainly relied upon for communication between Calcutta and Madras; but roads are now being made with every prospect of speedily opening up a complete land communication.

Besides the great lines of communication above enumerated, a multitude of shorter lines have been constructed at the entire cost of government, in Bengal, the north-western provinces, and the Punjaub, while considerable sums have annually been expended in the two former divisions of territory from local funds. Among the roads either completed or under construction at the expense of government, is one from a point on the East India Railway to Darjeeling (roughly estimated at about £200,000); another from Doobee, on the grand trunk road, to Patna (cost, £115,000); numerous roads in the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories; and a road from the plains to Simla and the other hill stations, continued through the mountains to Chini in Thibet. The district roads were, until within the last few years, maintained from the profits of the ferries kept up by government; but there are now also appropriated to this purpose, in Bengal, the surplus tolls on the Nuddea rivers and the Calcutta canals, amounting altogether to £50,000, and the surplus proceeds of various local funds established for other purposes. In the north-western provinces, one per cent. on the land revenue is contributed in equal portions by the government and by the landowners, for the purpose of district roads, the landowners being thus freed from the obligation, which previously lay on them, of keeping in repair the public roads which passed through their lands. In these provinces, as in Bengal, the ferry funds are appropriated to district roads, and they amount to about £20,000.\*

\* *Memorandum of Improvements in the Administration of India.*

Independent of the canal communications in the Madras presidency, which are important, great efforts have been made within the last ten years to open up good roads. Besides the trunk line to Bangalore, there has been also constructed the southern road to Trichinopoly, 205 miles in length; the northern road to the Bengal frontier, with a branch to Cuddapah, 758 miles; and the Sumpajee Ghaut road, from the western frontier of Mysore to Matgalore, 105 miles.

According to statistical reports made by the directors, the made roads in the Bombay presidency, twenty-five years ago, were almost entirely limited to the presidency town and its immediate neighbourhood; the road from Bombay (or rather Panwell, on the other side of the harbour) to Poonah being the only road to a distant place on which any considerable expenditure had taken place. This road has since been greatly improved, and supplied with bridges. The Bhore Ghaut, or pass, on this road, formerly accessible only to bullocks, and coolies, or porters, had in 1830, at an expense of about £13,000, been made easy for carriages. The Thull Ghaut, on the Bombay and Agra road, has since been similarly improved; and roads over the Khoonda Ghaut, the Tulkut Ghaut, and the Koomtudee Ghaut, to the southward, have since been put under construction, to facilitate the communications between the coast and the interior of the country. The portion of the Agra and Bombay road, within the jurisdiction of the Bombay government, is two hundred and seventy miles in length. The expenditure on it had amounted, in 1848, to £75,390; and since that time a considerable outlay has taken place, especially on the improvement of the Thull Ghaut and the road below it. A system of roads for Scinde, at an estimated cost of from £20,000 to £30,000, received the sanction of the home authorities in 1854, and is in progress. In the Punjaub, where the greatest improvements in every respect have been brought to pass, roads have received the constant attention of the commissioners. Immediately upon the accession of the territory, the commissioners began the work, and have prosecuted it with the utmost zeal. The grand trunk from Lahore to Peshawur, a distance of two hundred and seventy-five miles, forms a part of the grand Indian trunk from Calcutta to Peshawur. This road is completely metalled and bridged throughout, from its entrance to the Punjaub to Peshawur, at a cost of £154,848. Roads from Jullundur to Lahore, and from Lahore to Mooltan, have been also undertaken.

The roads of the Punjaub were classified by Sir Henry Lawrence under the heads of



military and commercial, and the latter as for external and for internal commerce. In such a classification the primary object of the road was kept in view, as of course military roads could be used for commercial purposes. Thus the grand trunk road from Lahore to Peshawur is designated under the military class, because, the army being massed along that line, its primary object was for military convenience; it is, however, an important highway of commerce. In reference to roads most important in a military point of view, the following occurs in one of the recent Punjaub blue-books:—"The construction of the grand trunk road from the Beas to Lahore, and the earthen and masonry viaducts crossing the drainage courses of the Baree Doab, have been completed. A straight line of road has been carried from Umritsir to the new cantonment of Sealkote, which is further connected with the Peshawur road by a branch road to Wuzeerabad. The military and commercial roads from Lahore to Mooltan, and from Lahore to Ferozepore, have been opened. An important military line, passing through a very mountainous and rugged track, from Attock to Kalabagh, *via* Rawul Pindee, has also been opened, to connect the frontier force stations with the northern cantonments of the regular army. The difficult road leading through the Kohat passes into the Peshawur valley has also been improved."

Lines of road for the external commerce of the Punjaub were planned and put in progress by Sir Henry, and in some cases completed by Sir John, who, as Mr. John Lawrence, assisted his brother in the commission of the "country of the five rivers." Two great lines were planned by Sir Henry—one to connect Dera Ismail Khan with Lahore, and another to start from the same point, and to run across the Scinde Saugor Doab, and thence across the Baree Doab to Ullohur, to meet the Delhi road, the internal lines carrying the traffic down to Mooltan. The importance of these lines will be obvious, from a consideration of the commercial position of the Punjaub, which is a thoroughfare through which the commerce of Central Asia passes to the plains of India, and to Scinde and Bombay. The caravans which travel from Ghuznee to Delhi (which were once the rival and the sister capitals of the Mohammedan empire) were forced to follow a very difficult as well as circuitous route. Emerging near Dera Ismail Khan from the Submanee passes, they winded their weary way to Mooltan, through the wastes of the Scinde Saugor Doab, and then turned northward to Lahore, thence proceeding to Ferozepore or Loodiana,

or else they traversed Bhawulpore and other independent territories from Mooltan, paying heavy transit duties. The plans of Sir Henry Lawrence and his officers met these difficulties, and opened up feasible ways for the "external commerce" of the country. The "internal communications" of the territory whose affairs they so judiciously administered, were also provided for by those two gifted brothers. Their plans comprehended the connection of Mooltan with Jhelum by a line along the bank of the river of that name and Wuzeerabad, and Sealkote by a line along the banks of the Chenab, passing by Jhung. These were the first improvements, and they were followed well up by others.

In territory such as the Punjaub, making roads is not the only matter to be considered when planning lines of communication. Wells and other accommodation for travellers have been provided along these commercial lines. Without them, the roads would be useless. There are scarcely any important lines which do not, during part of their course, traverse arid and desolate tracts. Literally a fleet of ferry-boats were built, to facilitate the passage of the rivers, and, with a prompt and ready forethought, mooring chains and anchors were provided to prevent accidents. These ferry-boats bridged the rivers in winter by the assistance of these chains and anchors, while in the summer they bore passengers across for a small toll. Iron pontoon bridges were recommended by the commissioners as applicable, not only to the Punjaub, but to India generally; but the home government, upon consideration, did not approve of the extensive adoption of these media of passage.

It would be unjust in a popular history which comprehends the men and the measures of our times, not to notice the names of the persons to whose talents the detail of the stupendous undertakings in the Punjaub are to be attributed, and in some cases the original suggestions. The commissioners have themselves made the following handsome acknowledgment of the services of the officers by whose assistance and personal superintendence so many important works were brought to a happy termination:—"For the energetic and able manner in which these important works have been executed, as well as for the zealous co-operation in all engineering and military questions, the board are indebted to Lieutenant-colonel Napier, who has spared neither time, health, nor convenience, in the duties entrusted to him. For these valuable services the board cannot too warmly express their thanks. Colonel Napier has brought to the favourable notice of the



board the zealous assistance he has derived from his assistants generally, and especially the valuable services of Lieutenant Taylor, in charge of the Lahore and Peshawur road; Lieutenant Dyas, in charge of the great canal; Lieutenant Anderson, of the Madras engineers, who has examined the Mooltan canals; Major Longden, her majesty's 10th regiment, in charge of the Huslee Canal; the late Lieutenant Paton and Lieutenant Crofton, both of the engineers, and employed on the new canal; and Lieutenant Oliphant, of the engineers, in charge of a division of the Peshawur road; and Lieutenant Lamb, 18th native infantry."

Looking at the general operations throughout India during the last ten years, in the completion of good roads for caravans and wheeled carriages, the results are truly wonderful; and the programme of operations of a similar nature, intended for immediate commencement, had not the mutiny deranged for a time the plans of the directors, was such as deserved the gratitude of India and of England.

**RAILWAYS.**—This is a subject to which the attention of the English public is especially directed. It is impossible to place the progress of railways before our readers in a more condensed form than in the report of the directors themselves. It is, however, to be observed, that the railways of India are constructed by private capital; the land, and a guarantee for interest, are given by the company. Four thousand one hundred and fifty-eight miles of railway have been sanctioned, and measures are being taken for their construction by various companies, viz. :—

By the East Indian Railway Company—from Calcutta to Delhi, with branches from Burdwan to Raneegunge, and from Mirzapore to Jubbulpore, 1400 miles.

By the Eastern Bengal Railway Company—from Calcutta to the Ganges at Koostree, near Pubnah (130 miles), being the first section of a line to Dacca, with a branch to Jessore; which, when completed, will form the basis of a system of railways for Eastern Bengal.

By the Madras Company—from Madras to the western coast at Beypore, 430 miles; and from Madras, *viâ* Cuddapah and Bellary, to meet a line from Bombay at or near the river Kistna, 310 miles.

By the Great Indian Peninsula Company—from Bombay to Callian, thirty-three miles, with extensions, north-east to Jubbulpore, to meet the line from Mirzapore, with a branch to Oomrawuttee and Nagpore, 818 miles,

and south-east, *viâ* Poonah and Sholapore—to the Kistna River, to meet the line from Madras, 357 miles.

By the Scinde and Punjaub Company—from Kurrachee to a point in the Indus, at or near to Kotree, 120 miles; and from Mooltan to Lahore and Umritsir, in the Punjaub, 230 miles.

By the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Company—from Bombay to Surat, Baroda, and Ahmedabad, 330 miles.

The estimated outlay required to complete the several lines sanctioned is £34,231,000; and the total amount of capital at present issued by the sanction of the East India Company is £22,814,000. In addition to this assistance by way of guarantee, the land for the railways (including compensation for all buildings thereon), and for their termini, has been given by government. The value of this may be estimated at more than £1,000,000 for the above extent of line. The lines in course of construction have been chosen for commercial quite as much as for military and political objects. In every case the existing channels of trade have been followed. The chief cotton-producing districts are provided with railway accommodation; and in some instances,—such as the railway which connects the great cotton-field of Berar with Bombay, and the railway through Surat and Gujerat,—the principal object is to develop the agricultural resources of those districts, and to bring their produce into communication with the sea. At present only a small section is open in each presidency, making about 400 miles in all; but 3600 more are being constructed almost simultaneously. The works for the trunk lines above described have been made suitable for locomotive engines, and are of a solid and permanent character, so that an uninterrupted communication will be maintained throughout the year. The mileage cost of the lines which have been completed has been :—*East Indian*—Calcutta to Raneegunge, 121 miles (including double line to Burdwan, and terminal stations), about £12,000 per mile. *Madras*—Madras to Arcot, sixty-five miles, about £5500 per mile. The data in respect to the lines now open in the Bombay presidency, constructed by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, are not sufficiently complete to enable the actual mileage cost to be ascertained.

It is, perhaps, premature to judge of the success of Indian railways as commercial undertakings; but the line from Calcutta to Raneegunge is already realising a profit of nearly seven per cent., being two per cent. beyond the guaranteed rate of interest.



In addition to the lines specified above, the court have sanctioned the construction of one by the Calcutta and South Eastern Railway Company, from Calcutta to the Mutlah River, upon the same terms as to the provision of land, but without any guarantee of interest.

**ELECTRIC TELEGRAPHS.**—Even more important as a means of communication than railways, is the electric telegraph; the use of which, at the commencement of the late disturbances, may be said with scarcely any exaggeration to have saved our empire. Having already, in a wonderfully short space of time, connected the seats of the different governments by lines of telegraph upwards of three thousand miles in length, the government of India is now engaged in establishing additional lines of about the same extent, by which the most important places on the line of route will be brought into communication with each other. The lines established, and in course of construction, are:—

1st. From Calcutta, *via* Benares, Cawnpore, Agra, Meerut, Delhi, Umritsir, and Lahore, to Peshawur; with a branch to Lucknow.

2nd. From Bombay to Agra, *via* Indore and Gwalior.

3rd. From Bombay to Madras, *via* Sattara, Bellary, and Bangalore.

4th. From Bombay, along the coast, by Vingorla and Mangalore, to Cannanore.

5th. From Bangalore to Ootacamund and Mahableshwar.

6th. From Benares, through the centre of the peninsula, by Mirzapore, Jubbulpore, Nagpore, and Hyderabad, to Bellary.

7th. From Bombay, by Surat and Baroda, to Kurrachee.

8th. From Kurrachee, by Hyderabad (Scinde) and Mooltan, to Lahore.

9th. From Calcutta, by Dacca, Akyab, and Prome, to Pegu and Rangoon.

10th. From Calcutta to Madras, by the coast; and—

11th. From Madras, along the coast, by Pondicherry, Tranquebar, and Ramnad, to Ceylon.

The lines already established have cost, upon an average; about £50 per mile. Besides their inappreciable value to the government for political and military purposes, they are freely used by the mercantile community. Though the charges are very moderate, the revenue, in the first year of working the lines, exceeded the expenses, and since then the receipts have been steadily increasing.

During the sepoy rebellion, the utility of the electric telegraph was tested; its existence at that period was of more importance

than the presence in India of 10,000 additional soldiers.

**HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.**—The government has done much to bring the instrumentalities of medical relief within reach of the people everywhere. The regulations in practice in reference to this provide an hospital or dispensary in every town where the inhabitants will bear a certain proportion of the expense.

**LIBRARIES.**—The establishment of public libraries in the provincial towns will appear to most Europeans as an effort to benefit the people in a manner they are not prepared to appreciate. This plan of extending civilization in India has been going forward for a considerable time, but, notwithstanding the sanguine opinions and more sanguine expectations of many of the friends of India, no great results have been procured.

In the return made to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated the 7th of August, 1857, the budgets of public works in India for the years 1853-4, 1854-5, 1855-6, have been presented; also an estimate for 1856-7. This return embraces churches, public offices, jails, and miscellaneous buildings and works; embankments, roads and bridges, lighthouses, dockyards and harbours, inland navigation, irrigation works, railroads, charges for government officers, and for land supplied to the private companies working under government guarantee; electric telegraph, military, and certain unclassified works. The returns comprise the expenditure for Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the north-western provinces, the Punjab, and the Pegu and Straits settlements.

For the year 1856-7, the amounts authorised in statement No. 1, for public works in the departments of military, public, judicial, ecclesiastical, educational, revenue (general), revenue (irrigation), marine, political, were for Bengal—rupees—7.09.492; Madras, 21.58.233; Bombay, 6.70.047; the north-west provinces, 6.30.892; the Punjab, 7.32.644; the Straits settlements, 40.000; Pegu, 1.61.619; Tenasserim and Martaban provinces, 7.600; Hyderabad, 4.938: making a total expenditure of 51.18.665. This outlay was sanctioned by the government of India. Under statement No. 1 there is a budget of expenditure recommended to the court of directors exclusive of the foregoing, amounting to 17.54.849.

Statement No. 2, gives the expenditure on all works previously sanctioned, and on new sanctions by local governments, the amount of which is 1.64.34.334. Under statement



No. 2 for repairs the total is 52,08,257. The total amount authorised for the year 1856-7 was 2,20,15,420. Under orders of the 17th of October, 1856, all civil, military, and marine buildings intended exclusively for the use of the government and its establishments, and works not coming within the term works of public improvement, can be proceeded with without other limitation than that of the sanctioned estimates; but the expenditure on works of public improvement—such as works of irrigation, canals, roads, bridges, and harbours—is restricted to one crore of rupees, the sum allotted by the honourable the court of directors, for such works during the official year 1856-7. This sum has been divided among the several local governments and administrations in the following proportions:—To Bengal, twelve laes; Madras, twenty-two laes; Bombay and Scinde, fourteen laes; the north-western provinces, fifteen laes; the Punjaub, twenty-one laes; Oude, five laes; Pegu, four and a half laes; Tenasserim and Martaban provinces, half a lac; Hyderabad, three laes; Nagpore, two and a quarter laes; Straits settlements three quarters of a lac. By this report, made from the India-house at the close of 1857, the most recent expenditure on public works is presented.

Under the head of public works certain expenditure is classed, which would seem more properly to be represented as bounty or encouragement to agriculture and commerce. Thus the growth of cotton has received the patronage of the company. In 1840 ten experienced cotton-planters from the United States were engaged to conduct certain experiments in the cultivation of the finer description of cotton. The climate proved unsuitable where most of the trials were made, but in parts of South-western India the experiments were successful, and a large cultivation of American cotton is now being conducted there. These districts are near the coast, and have roads. Measures are being taken to facilitate the transport of cotton from the places where its culture is most successfully carried on. The servants of the East India Company, especially their medical servants, have of late years given much attention to climatology, and more especially in its relation to vegetable productions, from which the cotton cultivation has derived much benefit. The East India Company, in 1849, offered a reward of 5000 rupees for an improved cotton-cleaning machine, and great efforts in the cleaning department have been made—an essential matter to the improvement of Indian cotton. The East India Company have also expended money upon the culture of such fibrous plants as might be made sources of profitable

commerce. The results of the experiments made in this department have surprised the company, and all interested in the enterprise.

In previous chapters notice was taken of the encouragement given by the government to the cultivation of tea; it is therefore unnecessary in this place to express more upon the subject, than that considerable hill tracts, suitable to its culture, have been set apart by the company in favour of the cultivators. The government has also thought it expedient to patronise the working of iron ore. This subject seems first to have seriously engaged the attention of the court of directors so recently as 1850; but in 1854 extensive inquiries and investigations were instituted, which issued in important results. In 1855 a report was made to the public-works department by Lieutenant-colonel Godwin, chief engineer of the lower provinces of Bengal, which was highly encouraging as to the prospects of iron mines being worked, and iron extensively manufactured, in India. In 1856 experiments were made, under the company's auspices, in the manufacture of superior iron with some success.

Of course a considerable outlay in connection with public works will, by the necessities of the country, be expended on barracks and jails. The latter appear to be admirably managed and conducted, especially in the Punjaub. The barrack department is probably worse conducted than any other. The European soldiers are frequently quartered in unhealthy situations, and the barrack accommodation afforded to them is inadequate; the late Sir Charles Napier, a friend of the soldier, repeatedly expressed his disapprobation, and even indignation, at this circumstance. The vast impulse which has been given to public works in India may be judged by the facts, that one hundred thousand tons of railway materials, and a million of sleepers, were landed at Bombay alone in 1856-7. In March and April, 1857, twenty thousand tons of castings for the Vedar Water-works were landed in that port. During the same time the imports of iron were represented by the Bombay papers to be seven thousand tons. In 1856 the great Indian Peninsula Railway imported thirteen thousand tons of iron. The *Queen Victoria* steamer was announced by a publication of Bombay, in April, 1857, as arriving with eighty tons of locomotives for the great Indian Peninsula Railway, and the Vedar Water-works.

The improvement and enlargement of docks and harbours claim some especial notice. Taken in connection with the recent efforts



for cultivating the lands lying seaward, more immediately those set apart for cotton culture, and the lines of road opened up from the great seaports into the interior, this subject assumes much importance. The development of internal communications, and external outlets, have in all civilized lands kept pace. This is not only true of countries possessing a good seaboard, but of such as, like the Punjab, are dependant upon a river navigation through other countries for communication with the sea: the remark is even applicable to nations that are completely inland, for their roads and river means of internal intercourse will always converge upon those points which are thoroughfares into neighbouring states. Bombay, notwithstanding its vastly increasing commerce and its important relative position, has been left deficient in docks or any similar provision. The number of square-rigged vessels that entered the Bombay port during the year 1855, was 311, besides 218 steamers, with an aggregate tonnage of 279,805. The trade of the port for 1854-5, is stated to have been 735,562½ tons, and to have increased in the following year to 912,140½ tons. For this large commerce no adequate accommodation has yet been provided. The officiating commissioner of customs for salt and opium gave the following evidence upon the cost of loading and unloading vessels in the port of Bombay:—"On making inquiries from the several merchants, I still experienced great difficulty in procuring the required information, as there is no uniform system or practice adopted by them. One firm, perhaps, contracts for boat hire alone; another contracts for the goods being discharged from the ship, and landed on the wharf; while another, perhaps, contracts for the removal of the goods from a ship to the depositing of them in the merchant's warehouses, including the cost of guarding them, &c. Petty pilferage and damage from wet during the monsoon, are among the casualties to which goods thus treated are said to be exposed. The petty pilferage is stated to have been proved, a few years since, to amount to 1,600,000 rupees."

The following testimony to the difficulties of transacting the enormously increasing business of the port, and the necessities for more suitable accommodation for shipping, was borne by one well competent to pronounce an opinion:—"The average expense of bringing goods from a ship's side and landing on the wharf, is one or two rupees per ton, and for

heavy machinery two rupees per ton; but the latter is now a losing rate, because the quantity to be landed exceeds the capabilities of the boats, and of room for their discharge, and boat-hire has risen 75 per cent. within the last six months. The collector of customs has found it necessary to threaten a withdrawal of their licenses from all boats above sixteen tons, on account of the large space they occupy alongside the wharf."\*

The attention of the government has been directed to this state of things, and on the 17th of March, 1855, a committee was appointed to determine a locality for the docks. Out of this investigation proposals arose for two schemes, one of which has the sanction of government; the other is deemed by the commercial community the more feasible, although neither is generally considered at all adequate. The whole community of Bombay is alive to the necessity; and the government was giving its most earnest attention to the subject, when the breaking out of the mutiny stopped short the progress of improvements in so many respects. In the meantime, important publications are guiding and forming public opinion.†

On a former page a description was given of the port of Kurrachee, and its importance in relation to all North-western and Western India, and in its relation to the overland route. In connection with the schemes for the Seinde and Punjab Railway, and the improvement of the navigation of the Indus, this port is receiving such improvements as will develop all the advantages of its position. Although Calcutta possesses so many circumstances in its favour, especially in connection with the seat of government, even there it has been deemed requisite to improve the facilities afforded to commerce in the condition of the port. At Madras the unfavourable nature of the locality seems to bid defiance to any very decided improvement; but the enterprise which marks the proceedings of the board of works, inspires hope that something will be done to abate the dangers to which shipping, and passengers in landing, are now exposed. When harbours, docks, and wharves have partaken of the attention and outlay of the government, as roads, rivers, and irrigation have done, the prosperity of India will be much promoted.

\* Bombay Quarterly Review.

† *Papers relating to a Project for Wet and Dry Docks in the Harbour of Bombay*, printed for Government at the Bombay Education Society's Press, 1856; *On Docks and Wharves for Bombay*; *Proceedings of the Bombay Mechanics' Institution*, session 1857.







but such are also made to the infantry. The cadets are passed through the cadet-office of the India-house, a department under the able direction of John Hollyer, Esq., and enter the seminary, where they study for two years, keeping four terms. The age of admission is from fourteen to eighteen, but gentlemen may be candidates for direct appointments up to the age of twenty-two. The cadets at Addiscombe pay the company £100 a year each for the expenses of their education and maintenance. The additional expenses of each student are hardly met by an addition of £50 per year. The course of study is admirable. The professors are men of the highest attainments, and "apt to teach." The examinations are conducted with impartiality, and the degree of attainment developed by them is truly astonishing. The author of this History has attended examinations, and inspected, with surprise and pleasure, the military drawings and modellings of fortifications exhibited, which displayed great ability and evidence of study on the part of the pupils. Generally, on these occasions, the chairman of the court of directors presides, and of late years the Archbishop of Canterbury has frequently addressed the students. Rewards are liberally bestowed. The Pollock medal and sword are prizes eagerly contended for; and the competition is keen, victory or defeat being almost always generously and nobly borne. The friends and relatives of the pupils, and a large concourse of privileged spectators, chiefly consisting of superior officers, or civil servants of the company, are present on these occasions. The presence of men of genius, of military or legislative renown, whose names are prominent in the history of our country, is a great stimulus to the efforts of the students, although it not unfrequently represses the energy of the more shy and nervous, who may, nevertheless, be among the most highly gifted. It is an affecting sight to witness a mere youth, clad in the simple uniform of the company's cadets, retiring from the place of examination, bearing swords, medals, and other badges of honour, amidst the generous cheers of his unsuccessful competitors, and the plaudits of an auditory comprising the most famous men of the day. The author has seen more than one fine youth, who had gone through his examinations with unflinching self-possession in the face of the crowd of honoured or titled persons before him, completely subdued by his emotions in the moment of success. Whatever objections may be made to these examinations in some respects, the advantages far more than compensate them, and the scenes presented on such

occasions are likely to live for ever in the memories of those young soldiers, and to prove, far off from their country, a stimulus to exertion and courage on the field of their future trials and glory. Distinguished officers of the company, whose names are known throughout all the nations of civilized man, and throughout every uncivilized nook of Southern and Central Asia, have declared to the author that they attributed to these occasions much of the stimulus which enkindled the passion for glory within them, and that these scenes remained vividly impressed upon their hearts amidst the labours, perils, and grave responsibilities of Indian warfare and Asiatic life. The most proficient students are nominated to the department of engineers, and, after having left Addiscombe, proceed to Chatham for a further course of study of one year, after which they proceed to India as officers of engineers. While at Chatham, however, they draw pay from the company. The second class of proficient students are nominated to the artillery, and proceed, on leaving Addiscombe, direct to India. Such as do not succeed in attaining a position in either of the first two classes, or as do not choose the engineer or artillery services, are designated to the infantry. The number of students in May, 1858, was a hundred and fifty.

The general character of the officers of the East India Company's army has equalled, if it has not surpassed, that of the officers of any other. This will especially hold good of those who have been educated at Addiscombe.

The engineers have been probably the most intelligent body of officers the world has ever seen. They all know that upon real service depends promotion, honour, and emolument, and that these advantages are sure to follow good service. A large number of this class of officers are appointed ultimately to the civil service, where, as civil administrators and civil engineers, they can be of even more use—in time of peace, at all events—than in the military department. Accustomed at Addiscombe and Chatham to habits of study, and to regard military life from an intellectual and professional point of view, rather than from one merely social, they go forth to their duties earnest and thoughtful as well as brave soldiers, and hence much of the distinction to which they have attained both as soldiers and men of science, and the reputation they have won for their country and for the particular army in which they serve. It is impossible for any one to observe the class of young men who gain at Addiscombe the appointments to the engineer service, and not predicate of them future eminence, not only in the per-



sonal distinctions to be won, but the national services to be rendered.

The artillery of the East India Company has also attained a high character for efficiency in the field. Many of its officers have studied for the engineer department, but, from health failing them, domestic troubles, slip of memory under examination, some concession to the temptations so potent with the young, or change of purpose, they have entered the artillery service instead. During the various wars in the East, when the officers of the royal artillery have served with them, they have borne a high testimony to the superior skill and soldier-like deportment and spirit of the company's artillery officers. The following extract from a letter by Sir Charles Napier to an officer of the Bengal artillery, who wrote to him from Kumaon, on the borders of Nepaul, offering certain suggestions, will show the opinion which that celebrated officer entertained of the Indian artillery service:—

*Simla, November 5th, 1846.*

I approve much your report on the state of defences in Kumaon; and though Jhung Bahadoor has told my wife in London that he loves me more than any man living, still, as lovers sometimes quarrel, I should like to be prepared for him, and your suggestions shall be pressed on the attention of government.

What you say about the deficiency and frequent change of officers with the reserve companies of artillery is but too true. I did intend, had I been able, to reform the whole system; but I am of no use—no more power have I than a lance-corporal. I believe, however, I have succeeded in moving the head-quarters of your regiment into these provinces, either to Delhi or Meerut.

I think very highly of your officers generally, but especially of the young officers. When I have found fault, I have invariably traced it to the "system," and I have vainly represented this; but pray understand that in condemning the system of the Bengal army I always say this—that the artillery I believe to be, at this moment, the first in the world.

Notwithstanding the superior education and attainments of the company's officers, defects have crept into the military system of the company which need correction, and which no doubt conduced to the unfortunate sepoy revolt of 1857. Some of those evils depend upon the general management of the army; some upon the infantry regimental system; others upon the character of the men enlisted in the native armies: and all these causes combined operate unfavourably on the efficiency of the whole service. As to the general management of the army, the chief faults appear to be the great draft of officers from the military to the civil service: not that this in itself would prove an evil, if officers, in sufficient numbers for the proper discharge of regimental service, were appointed to supply the places of those withdrawn, although even then some inconvenience would ensue, as the

more intelligent and talented men are those drafted off to staff, civil, civil engineering, and political appointments. Out of this circumstance arises an incompetence on the part of regimental officers. The native officers become the instructors of their European superiors—superiors only in rank and the indomitable spirit which belongs to the British. The more intelligent officers—such as were best acquainted with the native languages—being so frequently withdrawn from regimental service, those who remained were less acquainted with the men, and with the character of the classes of natives from which the recruits were generally drawn; they were also less competent to form acquaintance with them from lingual deficiency and short residence in the country. In the Bengal army more particularly these causes operated—at all events, the relaxation of discipline was most marked in that, although, from the character of the soldiery, it required more careful attention than the armies of the other presidencies. The men were chiefly recruited in Oude, and in the upper provinces, and consisted of high caste Mohammedans and Brahmins. As a consequence, it was difficult to assign to them any duty the performance of which did not interfere with their caste; and they were far more afraid of infringing upon its obligations than upon those of the articles of war. Striking illustrations of the inconvenience of the high caste constitution of the native army, especially of Bengal, have occurred when operations at sea, or for the execution of which sea voyages were necessary, were required. On some occasions the Bengal regiments have landed in China half-starved, because the men would eat nothing cooked at sea, preferring to sustain themselves on bran and water. When, in 1858, a Bengal regiment landed in China, for service at Canton, they would not prepare their own quarters, because it was contrary to caste, and Chinese coolies had to be employed as their servants. Operations out of India were so distasteful to the native army of Bengal on this account, that there were generally symptoms of mutiny whenever they were ordered beyond the confines of India. When operating with the Bombay army in Scinde, their caste prejudices nearly created feuds between the two armies. The Bombay soldiers, being for the most part low caste men, performed various important labours assigned to them, which the Bengal soldiers considered *infra dignitate*; and not content with refusing to work themselves, they taunted the Bombay sepoys perpetually for doing so. Sometimes this had the effect of incensing the latter against their Bengal companions-in-arms, but in other



instances the Bombay men were made dissatisfied, and either grumbled as they pursued their work, which otherwise would have been cheerfully performed, or threw it up with a disposition to mutiny. In the Punjaub similar indications were offered of the general bad spirit of the Bengal sepoy, and the chronic interference of caste prejudices with the performance of their soldierly duties. In Affghanistan the cold of the country during the winter rendered impossible those ablutions which form a part of the daily religious ceremonial of the Brahmin, and by neglecting which he considered himself deprived of caste, and deprived of it by the action of the government who sent him there. When the cold became intense, some of the officers, pitying the sufferings of men inured to a warm climate, gave sheepskin jackets to them. The necessities of the occasion constrained them to wear them, but they were filled with indignation at the officers who distributed them, although of their own bounty, and regarded the government as untrue to them for placing them in a condition which tempted them to wear the skin of dead animals, and so lose caste. When these troops came back from Affghanistan they were regarded with horror by their brother soldiers and co-religionists; among civilians as men without caste—worse spiritually and temporally than if they had never known caste—men who had refused to perish rather than violate their religion; and the people considered them like certain apostates described in the New Testament—"twice dead, plucked out by the roots." This circumstance spread more or less disaffection through the whole Bengal army, and the high caste men lived in perpetual apprehension of being ordered to some new field of enterprise, where caste must be sacrificed to military duty, or they themselves become victims to military rigour. Undoubtedly the terms upon which these men enlisted were that their caste should be respected. Whether it was expedient to take men on such terms or not, these were the conditions upon which they enlisted, and they were jealous to the last degree of any infringement of them. That the government, and particular officers more especially, were not considerate of this stern bond there can be no question. The greased cartridges alone proved that. Nothing can be better known than that the Mohammedan has a conscientious scruple against the flesh of swine, and that the flesh of kine is abhorrent to the Hindoo. The cartridges for the Minié rifles were greased with preparations of fat from both. As soon as the soldiers came to know the fact, they became, in their own conscience, justified in revolt against a

government which had betrayed them, violated its covenant, and inflicted upon them the greatest injury in their opinion possible—a deprivation of their ceremonial sanctity, their religious and social status, and their hope of a happy hereafter. The withdrawal of the cartridges, and the proclamations of the government, all came too late. The soldiery no longer believed in the government, and the severe means adopted to put down the first discontent fanned the flame of sedition. The imprisonment and severe treatment of the cavalry at Meerut in a cause which made them martyrs in the eyes of their fellow-soldiers precipitated an aggravated revolt. The whole course of procedure on the part of the officers of the government, civil and military, appeared to be infatuated. They were either unaware of the extent and depth of the high caste prejudice, or conscience, as one may call it, in reference to ceremonial uncleanness, or, knowingly, they adopted means most calculated to aggravate the passion which their provoking measures had excited. It was wrong to order high caste sepoy beyond Indian territory, where, in the nature of things, caste must be compromised. It was wrong to grease cartridges with cows' or pigs' fat, or in any other way wound prejudices or convictions which the government was pledged to respect. If it be said that the government was compelled to do these things by the necessities of the cases, the defence admits that the covenant ostensibly made with the high caste soldiers was *ab initio* improper; that such men were unsuited to the British Indian army; and that, however well they served in some instances, it was an error to employ them while a man could be obtained from any other quarter. Either such men ought not to have been recruited, or, having been recruited, faith should have been kept with them and their caste in all its inconveniences and its absurdities, and military incongruities should have been scrupulously and honourably respected.

Among the causes of inefficiency in the native army was that of too much confidence in native officers, whose sympathies were always with the high caste sepoy: and the Mohammedan officers were ever jealous of British ascendancy. Both to officers and men promotion has been extended too late in life. When the energies of men were gone, they were appointed to posts the duties of which they were not then able to discharge. There was too much respect for the seniority principle in the whole military administration of the company, and too much—perhaps unconsciously—of the bias of the aristocratic principle among our officers in the preference



for high castes evinced in the selection of the soldiery.

Some of the evils here stated were seen by the late Sir Charles Napier, and led to the resignation of his high officers in India. That general was very unsparing in his censures, as well as sometimes lavish in his encomiums, and much allowance must be made for his characteristic strength of expression when perusing his opinions. Sir Charles, in a letter to an artillery officer, thus expressed his opinion of the condition of the army, and the causes of whatever inefficiency he perceived in it:—"Delhi is the station where I should desire to see European battalions cantoned, but many say it is unhealthy. Men from all parts of Asia meet in Delhi, and some day or other much mischief will be hatched within those city walls, and no European troops at hand. We shall see. I have no confidence in the allegiance of your high caste mercenaries. I have seen a 'sweeper' show more bravery in battle than a Brahmin and a high-named Mussulman. A high caste man cannot be attached to a Christian government. There are many errors of system which a commander-in-chief sees, but cannot change. The governor-general takes two-thirds of the power which the commander-in-chief ought to exercise, and the military board takes the rest! I cannot change the character of this army, which is bad and faulty as regards the system of discipline, and therefore I resign. Many of the old officers of infantry have been habituated to a bad system, and get into a routine of neglect from which the devil himself could not drive them. Look at the nightly guards in the Bengal army—the sentries are alone, and all the rest go to bed! The whole Bombay army does not present such anomaly, and it arises from the 'system' being bad. Still there are several very excellent disciplinarians in the Bengal army—men who take a line for themselves. Look at Gilbert, at Wheeler, at Huish, and a score of others. In the regiment of artillery I myself know at least a dozen first-rate officers. The Bengal army has no want of good officers, but it has want of a better system of discipline; and as I cannot introduce one, coupled with other causes, I have resigned. Lord Ellenborough wisely abolished Lord Auckland's injudicious system of 'politicals.' Young officers commanding old ones, and war carried on without any plan! A happy-go-lucky mode, which ended in Cabul, and the same system revised by Lord D——." It would appear either that Sir Charles was not always consistent in practice with his opinion, or else he found the necessities of his situation strong enough to overrule them, for he is said

to have preferred military men to civilians for political, and even strictly civil, employments, when his own administrative functions gave him the opportunity of making selection. Mr. Thomas Campbell Robertson, late a member of the supreme council of India, and lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces, declares that no person so largely used the power of appointing military officers for civil purposes as Sir Charles Napier himself. On this subject Mr. Robertson, with great show of reason, remarks:—"The practice of thus draining the army of its cleverest members has certainly been carried too far, but it was the encouragement afforded by the prospect of such advancement that made Malcolm and others what they were, by stimulating them to qualify themselves for the highest political offices. The evil, too, it must be remembered, is not one inherent in the system, but might at any time have been corrected by each successive governor-general, if he had perceived the mischief now alleged to have thence resulted. But, in truth, no Indian ruler, when he wants aid in the management of a newly-acquired territory, can resist the temptation to employ the fittest available person he can find; and this will generally be a military man, because the civil service has few hands to spare from the duties of the original settled provinces of our empire. No man in this way did the thing against which he wrote more than the late Sir Charles Napier, who not only drew military men from their regiments to act in civil capacities, but drove away six of the ablest civilians who were sent to his assistance in Scinde. The practice, if it be an evil, is only one of the many attendant on the too rapid growth of our empire; and it would probably be best corrected, not by debarring young military men from all hope of political promotion, and so preventing the development of much latent talent, but by rendering the command of a battalion so lucrative and attractive, as to induce the juniors to remain with their regiments, in the hope of attaining to that post. But it is not so much on the number as on the character and capacity of the English officers present with a sepoy battalion that its efficiency depends. In former times, when the attachment between them was at its height, the officers were, we believe, fewer in proportion to the men than they are now; but then they were almost all good colloquial linguists, or in the way of becoming so; and though somewhat wanting in the graces of European society, had obtained an insight into the social system of Asiatic life, such as their more accomplished successors seem to think it beneath them to



acquire. The sepoy officer of the present day, equal to his predecessor in courage and conduct in the field, and generally his superior in book knowledge, in manners, and perhaps in morals, falls far short of him in point of real acquaintance with those under his command. This defect, though in some degree imputable to the system which makes escape from his regiment the great object of every young officer's ambition, is still mainly attributable to the increased facilities of intercourse with England. Young men who are frequently refreshing their acquaintance with their mother country cannot settle down to India as their home in the same way as was done in the bygone days, ere steam was known, and a return to England was looked forward to as a remote and barely possible contingency. Tastes acquired in Europe do not readily conform to exclusively Asiatic pursuits: the native nautch is more than insipid when the opera lives in recent recollection; and thus there is no community, even of amusement, to bring the European and the native officers into something like social intercourse with each other. It is impossible here to conceal the fact that the increased number of our fair countrywomen in the East has probably made the separation between those classes wider than it was before. It is alleged, we know not with what truth,—but it is alleged by natives, that their best friends among European functionaries are lost to them from the moment of their marriage; and they generally impute the colder reception they meet with at any but business hours to the influence of the lady of the house.” \*

The gentleman last quoted, although an advocate of the East India Company, has conceded that laxity of discipline had inflicted injury upon the Bengal army, and admits the full force of the statement made on a previous page—that making the sepoy liable to serve beyond India was one of the most fruitful sources of disaffection in the native army, preparing the minds of the sepoys for being more speedily and intensely acted upon by the advent of the cartridge question. “In so far, therefore, as mere discipline is concerned, there, perhaps, is some truth in the assertion that the sepoy has been overleniently dealt with at times when there was a call for rigour; but, as regards his scruples of caste, it can only mean that the government have adhered to the conditions on which the high caste men have entered its service. One of the first of these stipulations is that of not being obliged to embark. When service beyond the sea was in prospect, volunteers were ever to be found for the duty. Certain

regiments, called ‘general service battalions,’ were raised, upon an understanding that they were to embark when required. Of late years it has been ordered that all recruits are to be enlisted on this understanding. This order practically excludes the relations of half the men in an old regiment—men who served as much in the hope of being able to push on their kinsfolk as to advance themselves. This order, therefore, savoured of bad faith, and must have tended to add strength to the distrust of our designs, which, however engendered, was, during this period, excited by the malevolence of the native and the extravagance of the European press, until at last ‘the cartridge’ appeared, with its alleged pigs’ and cows’ fat, to cement the union of the two classes of our subjects against us.” It is worthy of remark that the issue of the greased cartridges was not the order of the East India Company, but of the crown. The company’s officers, civil or military, would have known too well the certain effect of such a procedure to issue any such order. It emanated, like many other orders of late years, in the disposition to act irrespective of the company, or to overrule it, which has been shown by governors-general and the Board of Control. It will illustrate the spirit with which the board has ruled India to state the exercise of its patronage in reference to cadets. The appointments by the directors have been distributed among all ranks of the middle classes in England, more particularly among the sons of professional men; but the directors have ever kept in view, as the chief objects of their patronage, the sons of those who served India or served in India. The cadetships given by the board have been chiefly to the sons of *queen’s* officers, clergymen, and of persons who could easily purchase into the queen’s service. No one can be acquainted with the facts without being well aware that the influence of the imperial government, as distinguished from that of the company, has been injurious to the Indian army.

Major-general John Jacob, of the Bombay army, has published a series of tractates on the deficiencies of the Bengal army before the mutiny had destroyed it. These were entitled, *Tracts on the Native Army of India*. He affirmed that the Bengal army was without order; that its officers were incapable generally of enforcing it; and that their treatment of the men rendered discipline impossible. The general is so high an authority, that his exact words will no doubt be preferred by the reader:—“The officers of the Bengal army are formed exactly of the same materials as those of the other armies of India;

\* *Political Prospects of British India.*



their native soldiers of material in its raw state perhaps somewhat better than that of the others; but from the hour he enters the service, the Bengal officer *is trained to sink the European, and adopt the Asiatic*. In the Bombay army the 'feeble Hindoo' becomes half European, and adopts the feelings and ideas of Europeans, as far as they refer to his position as a soldier, till they become his own. In Bengal the European becomes half Hindoo, and thus the commanding influence of superior energy and superior moral character (I deny any superiority of intellect) is in a great measure lost. This pervades the whole society in Bengal, but its effects are most glaringly apparent in the army. In the Bengal army there is a constant studying of the men's *castes*, which the EUROPEAN APPEARS TO THINK AS MUCH OF, AND TO ESTEEM AS HIGHLY, AS DO THE NATIVES THEMSELVES; and the sepoys, instead of looking on the European officers as superior beings, are compelled to consider them as bad Hindoos! Instead of being taught to pride themselves on their *soldiership* and discipline, the sepoys are trained to pride themselves on their absurdities of caste, and think that their power and value are best shown by refusing to obey any orders which they please to say do not accord with their religious prejudices. It is a grave mistake to suppose that religious feelings have any real influence on these occasions; it is a mistake, which would be ridiculous, if its consequences were not so serious; but it is certain that the Bengal sepoy is a stickler for his imaginary *rights of caste* for the *sake of increased power*; he knows well that government never intended any insult to his creed, however absurd it may be; but he knows that by crying out about his caste, he keeps power in his hands, saves himself from many of the hardships of the service, and makes his officers afraid of him. This is proved by what takes place in the other armies of India. In the army of Bombay, even a Purwarree may, and often does, rise to the rank of subadar by his own merit; in Bengal such a man would not even be admitted into the ranks, for fear of his contaminating those fine gentlemen, the Brahmins; yet in the Bombay army the Brahmin (father, brother, or son, may be, of him of Bengal) stands shoulder to shoulder in the ranks—nay, sleeps in the same tent with his Purwarree fellow-soldier, and dreams not of any objection to the arrangement! If this subject be mentioned to a Bombay Brahmin sepoy, as it is sometimes by Bengal officers, who are always asking the men about their caste, the ready answer is, 'What do I care; is he not a soldier of the state?' The reply speaks

volumes, and shows a state of affairs which the officers of the Bengal army *cannot conceive*. The system of promotion in the Bengal army is exactly in keeping with the principle of the immutability of caste. No individual merit can advance, no individual incapacity nor misconduct (unless actually criminal) can retard the promotion of the Bengal sepoy—seniority alone is considered. What is the consequence? The men, not feeling that their prospects of advancement in the service depend on the favourable opinions of their European officers, want the most powerful stimulus to good conduct. They are never disciplined (as I understand the word), are often mutinous, and never acquire the knowledge of their profession which may qualify them to hold commissions with advantage to the service. The Bengal native officers are always totally inefficient, and necessarily so under the present system, because they are chosen without any regard whatever to their fitness to hold commissions, and because they are almost always worn out with age before they receive them." This general statement of the inefficiency of the Bengal troops has been controverted by numerous officers of that army. Perhaps the keenest and most plausible of the general's opponents is Colonel Phipps, who has given some striking instances of the courage and discipline of Bengal regiments, not only in India, but in Egypt, the Punjaub, Affghanistan, &c. The colonel wrote early in September, 1857, declaring that only such regiments as were badly officered would revolt. It was not then known that the whole Bengal army was in mutiny, and the colonel evidently did not believe that the revolt had extended so widely as the news from India informed us. His statements, however, proved either that the Bengal army was badly commanded altogether, or that it had deteriorated since he was more conversant with it, for on his own showing events rather confirmed his opponent's allegations.

The opinion of General Jacob that no real alarm for their religion actuated the Brahminical and high Mussulman army of Bengal in revolting, but only a desire for power, is not borne out by the facts, nor the observation and testimony of those who were in the midst of the transactions themselves, and whose opportunities of knowing were the very best. Thus the late Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, in a letter dated 22nd May, after noticing his own address to the troops on parade at Agra, adds the following remarks:—"They all at the moment expressed their belief of my communications to them; and I have seen them



in a familiar way on several occasions since. They have undoubtedly been infected by a deep distrust of our purposes. The general scope of the notion by which they have been influenced may be expressed in the remarks of one of them, a Hindoo, Tewarree Brahmin, to the effect that men were created of different faiths; and that the notion attributed to us, of having but one religion, because we had now but one uninterrupted dominion throughout India, was a tyrannical and impious one."

Mr. F. H. Robinson, of the Bengal civil service, describes himself as having been obliged to communicate to an old retired officer of Gardiner's horse, and to a Mohammedan of rank, matters calculated to hurt their religious feelings, when he was startled by the manner in which his communication was received, indicating the loss of respect for the British authorities, and a sense of injury resulting from what was regarded as change of policy, and consequent breach of faith on the part of the government:—"I shall never forget the looks of mortification, anger, and, at first, of incredulity, with which this announcement was received by both, nor the bitter irony with which the old rissildar remarked, that no doubt the wisdom of the *new gentlemen* (*sahibilogue*, so they designate the English) had shown them the folly and ignorance of the gentlemen of the old time, on whom it pleased God, nevertheless, to bestow the government of India." It may be true that a love of power was the main element in the high caste disposition to mutiny some years ago, but beginning to deceive others, Brahmins and Mussulmen seem to have at last deceived themselves, for undoubtedly the feeling of the revolvers has been made as plain as anything can be, and it is one of intense and desperate fanaticism. However Mohammedan princes, Brahminical priests, and all sorts of devotees, may have intensified or even created the feeling, it exists. The native press did much to call it forth, fulfilling the predictions of Sir Thomas Munro. But, whatever way accounted for, the sepoys became thoroughly convinced that their best interests for time and eternity were endangered by the zealotry of the English, and they therefore set their lives against fearful odds, revolting where there was no chance of success, and where destruction was so imminent, as to be, humanely speaking, certain. So far General Jacob is wrong, whatever may have been the circumstances which, in the constitution of the Bombay army, or of the Scinde horse, may have emboldened him to adopt the line of strong assertion upon which he has ventured. It is, however, more than probable that had the Bengal sepoys been dealt with *originally*

upon the plan which the general affirms to be the only wise one, no revolt would have ever taken place. General Jacob maintains that the paucity of officers in regiments in no way relaxed the discipline of the Bengal army. He even goes so far as to maintain that native subalterns are always better, and that if companies and troops were commanded by native officers, it would be an improvement, the staff of each regiment being Europeans. Whatever be the merits of that and other matters of detail, the following picture of the Bengal army, drawn by General Jacob years ago, accounts sufficiently for the mutiny, and proves the necessity of reconstituting the army of Bengal upon different principles:—"I repeat that the ordinary state of the Bengal army is such as must appear to an officer of the royal or of the Bombay army to be a state of *mutiny*. The men are *not* taught and trained instinctively to obey orders, and even the European officers are afraid of them. This is not wholly the fault of the regimental officers of Bengal. The evil is produced and perpetuated by the false ideas formed from the first moment a young officer enters the service in the school of errors, which the native army of Bengal is at present; and by the fatal effects of taking all power from regimental officers and concentrating it at army head-quarters, thus producing an artificial sameness of dull stagnation, instead of encouraging the natural uniformity of progressive improvement. In the Bombay army, on the contrary, the native officer is invaluable, and his authority is respected, though he be the lowest of the low in caste; because the practice in Bombay is for the European officers to make the Hindoos *soldiers*; instead of, as in Bengal, the sepoys making the European officers half Hindoos. There is more danger to our Indian empire from the state of the Bengal army, from the feeling which there exists between the native and the European, and thence spreads throughout the length and breadth of the land, than from all other causes combined. Let government look to this; it is a serious and most important truth. The commanding officer of a regiment, with increased power and respectability of position, would feel increased pride in the service; he would do his own duty and make all under him do theirs. At present he has so little power to do good, that in the Bengal army he too often becomes careless of doing evil. The prospects of all under him depending on their own individual merit, a healthy state of mutual support and assistance would soon be established, and no further complaints of the want of a cordial good feeling between the officers and men would



be heard. A discipline founded on mutual respect and advantage cannot fail of success. Without it no number of European officers would suffice to make decent soldiers of the sepoy of Bengal." These are indeed remarkable words, and as they were written long before the breaking out of the Bengal mutiny, they were the expression of no after-thought. It is astonishing how the authorities of the Bengal military service, the governor-general in council, and the directors at home can be indifferent to facts like these. It would, however, be absurd to throw the entire responsibility upon the directors, seeing that the Bengal system was petted by the representatives of her majesty in India—high caste sepoys were the vogue with high caste Europeans, and with none more than those whose duty it was most of all to correct these evils. The late Lord Hardinge had much to answer for in this respect; as governor-general of India, and subsequently as commander-in-chief of the forces in England, his opportunities of promoting amendments were great, and he saw and admitted all the evils. He was not, however, the man who, for the sake of the justice of a cause, would incur the odium of measures unwelcome to those in power; while for good or ill, he stood, with all the tenacity of an inveterate conservative, obstinately in the old ways. But he fell in with the general spirit of governors-general, whose motto has been always in things civil, and to a great extent in things military, "Assimilate with the practice in Bengal." That standard is not likely to be again held up for conformity, and it is yet too early to affirm what will be the new organization of the army of Bengal—perhaps of the army of all India. Dr. Buist, one of the most distinguished scholars and public men in Bombay, has made the following remarks upon this subject, which have been much noticed both in India and in England:—"We never can again have a military force in India in which we cannot confide, which we cannot bring ourselves to trust, or teach our enemies to fear. The extent to which our regular troops were in former days employed in police and escort duties was in the last degree injurious to discipline, while the very rigidity of the discipline and rigours of the forms required for a regular army, unfitted its components for those light and irregular duties where self-reliance, prompt and independent action, are so much more important than the formalities of the line, which not unfrequently stand in their way. The duties of defending our frontiers, of chastising our enemies, and of maintaining order and suppressing or detecting crime among the people, have no more

connexion with each other than this,—that in both cases physical force must be resorted to; in both cases men must have arms committed to their hands, with authority to use them. Yet, for all the great purposes of external defence, half the army until now entertained by us would have sufficed, had the deficiency been made up by police. For this last branch of service the native must always be fallen back upon. He may be made much more useful even than the European, and quite as safe. The sepoy mutiny could never have ripened into insurrection but for the acquaintance of the various corps with each other, the community of their feelings and interests, the identity of their discipline, and the frequency with which they had served together. A police corps is necessarily a local and an isolated thing. Were the ghaurangers to fly to arms, there is no reason whatever why any of the adjoining local corps should sympathize, co-operate with, or join them—very many reasons why it should be the opposite. The knowledge of the fact is quite sufficient to prevent a rising. Were it otherwise, we should just have lost the services of a single insubordinate body, which would be at once exterminated, and there at an end. With sufficient abundance of police corps there seems no difficulty whatever of our keeping India in perpetuity with an army exclusively English, or of maintaining English troops in reasonable good health, fit at all times for service, and without any inordinate amount of casualties, everywhere throughout the country." \*

However much disposed to place confidence in the opinions of such a man as the editor of the *Overland Standard*, it is impossible to believe that any arrangements in respect to recruiting in England, or systems of European reliefs, can remove the necessity of trusting in a great measure to native troops. If the government enlist only such men as will serve without any stipulations as to caste, they will be found in sufficient numbers.

The high praise of low caste men written by Sir Charles Napier has been qualified by General Jacob, who admits that the raw material of the recruits from Oude and the north-western provinces is superior to that of which the Bombay army is composed. Colonel Phipps describes the Bombay regiments sent to Egypt as incapable of serving, because of their physical inferiority. The high commendations passed upon that army were not borne out in the revolt of 1857, for several regiments revolted when brought into temptation, so that the authorities could not venture to make very efficient use of that army

\* Dr. Buist's *Overland Bombay Standard*.



until towards the close of the revolt. The Madras army, upon which the eccentric panegyrist passed no encomiums, bore the test better than that of Bombay.

In the future military system of India, all these circumstances must be taken into consideration. In the case of Madras it will be best to "let well alone," and, by leaving the constitution of that army untouched, it will be an instructive lesson to the sepoys in the other presidencies, and to the natives of India generally, showing them that there is no disposition on the part of the government either to needless retaliation or unreasonable distrust.

The Bombay army should be modified. It is easy to enlist recruits from the Beloochee, Huzzara, and Affghan hill frontiers, from the doabs of the Punjaub, and from Scinde. A few Rajpoots might also be employed, and also a few native Christians, provided they are not taken from the wretched half-caste Portuguese. In the Island of Ceylon recruits could be found, and, provided they were not taken from the Cingalese who inhabit the low country, but from the inhabitants of the higher inland regions, and especially the neighbourhood of the ancient capital, they would be found good soldiers. The Moormen of Ceylon, although bigoted Mohammedans, would also serve well as soldiers; but they are such a money-loving and trading race, that there would be no likelihood of their enlisting in any considerable numbers. Arabs might also be employed in Bombay.

The Bengal native army should be reorganized chiefly from Sikhs; a few Malays, Dyaks, Peguans, Arracanese, Martabanese, and even Siamese and Birmese, might be numbered among them. Separate companies of these nationalities could be easily attached to the infantry battalions, and would make good soldiers; as cavalry they would be useless. The Bengal artillery might also receive recruits from some of these races. There is no deficiency of material for an army in Bengal composed of orientals who have soldierly qualities, and would be faithful. A better army could be organized from the heterogeneous materials here named than ever existed in the homogeneous high caste troops of the Bengal service. Considerable attention has been paid to the question whether our Cape Colony would not furnish suitable recruits. The Caffres certainly appear well adapted to the service; the Ceylon rifle regiment is composed of them. They perform garrison duty in that island admirably; and when they served in Madras they displayed spirit and soldierhood. An Indian journal of in-

fluence advocates this measure in the following forcible terms:—"The recent proposition to raise Caffre regiments for service in India is, without doubt, a most excellent one. The men of the Cape—brave, acute, and the best light infantry soldiers in the world—appear to us likely to supersede the untrustworthy sepoy to the greatest advantage. Their manner of warfare, their being equally at home in the dodging of bush or jungle-fighting, in which the keen sight and the unerring rifle decide the fate of the day, and in the deadly hand-to-hand struggle, in which personal strength and courage are of the greatest value; their sagacity, endurance, and habitude to the extremes of heat and cold,—all combine to render them the fitter for our purpose. The Caffre is a barbarian, it is true, but he is in that primitive state of barbarism in which mankind, together with the natural vices inseparable from a wild state, combine all the manly virtues; and we look upon him as far higher in the scale of humanity than the besotted and degraded Hindoo, sunk in effeminacy, cowardly and cruel as the tiger of his jungles, and clinging pertinaciously to the most horrible superstitions that were ever imposed upon the credulity of an ignorant nation by a designing priesthood. Think, too, of the moral effect which the introduction of this new race would produce throughout India;—a race as black as ebony, laughing to scorn the very name of caste (that bugbear of our government), and in all probability anointing their sinewy bodies with the fat of sacred bulls in front of the temples of Vishnu. The power of the natives of India has always lain in the fact of our depending upon native soldiers to garrison the country. Let every sepoy be disarmed and dismissed; let a native soldier become completely one of the things that were and are not, and we can do what we please without reference to caste or any foolery of that description. To effect this, the Caffre must be well treated, well fed, and well paid, but, above all, taught to consider himself far superior to the crouching slaves over whom he is to be the guard. But it will be urged, 'Suppose the Caffres mutiny; what then?' This is easily obviated: make the return to his own country, a wealthy and prosperous man, the clear prospect of the Caffre at the end of his term of service, and we warrant he will serve you faithfully. Avarice is one of their ruling passions; frugality a national characteristic. Give our savage auxiliary his fill of beef, together with a constant supply of tobacco for his pipe, and he is content. Of course they must be officered by Europeans, and reduced to a state of discipline; but this



is easy to effect. It is our province to point out the advantage of the measure, and the benefits to result from its adoption, not to enter into details as to how it is to be effected." \*

The employment of Caffres, or any other aliens, in Madras would be impolitic after the loyalty evinced by the Madras army; and if the armies of the sister presidencies be well constituted, modified by the introduction of new elements, and aided by a sufficient force of Europeans, especially in Bengal, there can be nothing to fear from Madras, flanked as she will be by newly constituted armies on her eastern and western confines, skirted by the waters of the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, and the apex of her peninsula confronted by Ceylon, where a reserve of Caffre troops might always be held available. Independent of these grounds for rejecting apprehensions as to the future peace of Madras, the conduct of the army of that presidency during the revolt gives such promise of future loyalty as to deserve confidence. Officers of that army—men of high culture and extensive military experience—assured the author at the beginning of the great mutiny, that distrust pervaded the minds of officers who before had the most implicit confidence in their troops. The proportion of Mohammedans among the Madras sepoys, and the state of fanaticism in which the Mohammedan sepoys at that time appeared, very reasonably impaired the faith of these gentlemen in the fidelity of soldiers they had so long relied on. Events have shown that the organization of that force, and the relation of officers and men, have been such as to preserve the attachment of the troops to their commanders, and their fealty to the government. The following sketch of the spirit of that army was published in February, 1858, ostensibly by the Sheik Kirdawund, Madras army:—"From the 10th of May until the 10th of November, 1857, a period of upwards of six months, the Madras army passed through the terrible crisis which shipwrecked one army, and sorely tried, and in some measure overcame, the fidelity of another; and out of nearly fifty thousand of native troops not one man was punished for mutiny. On the contrary, wherever called upon to act against the mutineers, they did so faithfully and courageously. Nearly half the infantry regiments, and of the sappers and artillery, volunteered to cross the *kale pane* to act against the rebels, and the other half are ready to go there, or to China, Singapore, Birmah, or wherever else the necessities of the state require their services. Indeed, portions of the 12th, 38th, and 29th regiments are now

with the China force. The Straits settlements and China have been entirely confided to the safe keeping of Madras regiments, with only a wing of a European corps to aid them at Rangoon. The 17th and 27th, with native artillery and sappers, are by this time with Sir Colin at Oude, whilst the Madras Rifles are being pushed up towards the same destination. Nagpore, Ramptree, Jubbulpore, and Hoosungabad, in Central India, have been saved by the 26th, 28th, 32nd, and 33rd regiments, nobly aided by the 4th light cavalry, to aid whom, and re-establish order round Saugor, &c., the 6th and 7th light cavalry regiments have been pushed forward in the height of the monsoon, and have by this time reached their destination. Nor is this all: to the eternal honour of the men be it recorded, that, although poor, from their frequent marches and changes of quarters, they repeatedly volunteered a day's pay for the assistance of 'their masters,' the 'sahibs' of Bengal. Whenever Bengal sepoys have been found in the bazaars or public thoroughfares of the presidency our men have instantly brought them before their officers or the civil power, and in several instances where Brahmins or religious fanatics have tampered with sepoys they have been denounced. . . . What is the cause of the coast army remaining so entirely faithful during a crisis which no one out of India, during the period it lasted, can ever appreciate or fully understand—when the empire was shaken to its foundations—when emissaries from Delhi, Lucknow, and every discontented chief throughout the length and breadth of the land, were entering our cities and cantonments, and preaching a crusade against the 'infidel Feringhee,' and promising rewards, titles, jagheers, &c., to all who should assist in the holy cause? It is a matter for deep reflection, and the conclusion to be arrived at cannot vary much from what I now attribute it to—viz., the strict discipline, coupled with the lowness of caste generally, among our Hindoo sepoys: I say Hindoo, for all Mohammedans in our army are alike. We have none of those distinctions so common in the irregulars before Delhi and in the Punjaub, where one Mussulman with great pleasure cuts the throat of another for a monthly consideration of twelve shillings! Affreedees, Persians, Affghans, Beloochees, and Pathans. Our Mussulmen, such as they are, in the infantry branch of the service are in the proportion of one in three, whilst in the Bengal army they number only one in seven. We have Syuds, Sheiks, Pathans—the two latter much mixed up now-a-days; and whilst this revolt is called a Mohammedan one, not one Mohammedan out of our twenty thousand

\* *Bombay Telegraph and Courier.*



in the infantry, cavalry, and artillery, has shown a symptom of disaffection. I do not believe either that the Mohammedans of Bengal would, even if they could, have organized this conspiracy in the army. They were greatly in the minority, especially in the infantry, and they had but little influence at any time. The mischief lay with the Brahmins, and them only, until they had gained over the Mohammedans, Chuttees, and Sikhs, the latter, however, in very few numbers. In my own regiment we rejoiced in only one Brahmin (some few years ago), a Mr. Caseram Pandey, who was certainly the greatest black-guard in the corps, and enjoyed more knapsack drill than was good for him, I fear, for he was always going into hospital with pain in the chest! Since that time I find we have admitted another. With reference to the published returns of castes, I may mention that the figures under the head of 'Brahmins and Rajpoots' represent almost entirely the latter class of men in the Madras army. It has been stated repeatedly that each Bengal corps had from five to six hundred Brahmins and Chuttees in it. An average taken in three of the Bombay regiments is three hundred and fourteen; whilst two of the Madras corps number only forty-eight and twenty-eight of these castes respectively. Herein, then, lies the secret of our success; to this, principally, we are indebted for tranquillity. There never has been any undue respect paid to 'caste' in recruiting for our army; if Brahmins and Chuttees chose to enlist, they met with the same treatment as the Pariah, the Telinga, or the Tamiel sepoy; they have invariably given themselves airs, and, going on foreign service, have talked much about their caste, but my invariable practice was to take no notice of their absurd pretensions. . . . When on duty the men neglect the usual ablutions before a meal. Not so in Bengal; off comes not only belts but uniform, and in a state as nearly approaching to nakedness as possible, and generally far away from the guard, the meal is cooked by themselves, and disposed of. If the shadow of an officer or low caste man falls on their food, they throw it away! When I called on General Godwin, in Rangoon, a havildar of my corps came up to me, and reported that the general, seeing him lying down on his carpet in uniform (our invariable rule for orderlies), had asked him why he did not take off his regimentals, and make himself more comfortable! I simply asked, 'Well! what was your reply?' He said, 'I told the general I belonged to the Madras — regiment, that it was not our custom, and that I should be punished if seen by any of the officers.' To which he added, 'The

general bade me do as I liked.' When my corps was ordered to embark for —, the subadar-major was deputed by the men to inquire of me whether I was certain that good water was on board for their use, and they were perfectly satisfied when I assured them I had tasted it, and that it was much better than what they usually drank on the march. When we arrived at our destination a Bengal corps had to be embarked, and the men insisted on the captain's starting the water out of his tanks, and allowing them to refill them with their own immaculate hands! This was done: the ships were delayed for the purpose! The sepoy filled large casks, rolled them down to the boats upwards of a mile, when they were towed astern of the boats to the steamers, and put on board; but when the men, out at sea, came to drink this pure and undefiled element, great was their consternation to find it horribly brackish! The casks in transit had let in the salt water! During another trip on board the *Oriental*, our men, towards the end of the voyage, were served out water which was quite hot. They told me it made them sick unless they kept it in their tins until it became cold! I inquired, and sure enough it was so. The steam was condensed, and the supply barely kept up with the demand! I explained the matter to the sepoy, showing them, with the aid of a good-natured officer of the vessel, how fresh water was being made out of salt! They were thunderstruck, and declared the *hickmut* (invention) was worth going a voyage to see, and that there was no knowing where the English people's cleverness would end: it was their private opinion for some time after that we might, if we tried, dry up the sea. 'Allah only can tell.' The Madras troops, to a man, on the line of march, drink water from leathern bags. The high caste Bengalese would not condescend to wash their feet in it! Sir Charles Napier tells us that the Bengal sepoy is two inches taller than British soldiers of the line. What their average may be I know not, but I believe our corps are very much the same height as the line. We average from five feet seven inches to five feet eight inches in different regiments of which I possess size rolls; and some companies of sappers average only five feet six inches, and of these little fellows Lord Gough in China, Napier in Scinde, Godwin in Birmah, and, lastly and very recently, Outram in Persia, have formed the most gratifying opinion. Some of them are now in Oude, others with the Malwa field force, and I shall be surprised if they do not again win golden opinions from those they serve under. They are generally considered to be very low caste, but this is not quite



correct; there may be a sprinkling of Pariah cook-boys, but the generality of them differ in no way from the infantry, save in greater muscle, the result of their daily labour as sappers. So long ago as the first China war Lord Gough exclaimed, 'These Bengal volunteers give more trouble than all the rest of the army!' (in those days the fleet was carrying a large force, including five Madras native regiments). And why was this? Because their caste required that they should land, perform their ablutions, and then eat, whilst the rest could cook on board ship, and enjoy their fish curry there as much as if they were on land. In Birmah Madras sepoys were employed in draining forts; and one occasion Lieutenant W——, the executive engineer, begged me to come with him to set the men of my regiment at work, 'as he was afraid they might refuse him.' The work required was really that of scavengers—viz., clearing out a choked up culvert under the fort walls. The stench was fearful, but the work was as necessary for the health of the troops themselves as it was for that of the Europeans, and, with nothing worse than a wry face and much laughter, these fellows did the work in two days. I was greatly gratified to hear sometime afterwards, from an officer of the Bengal engineers, that Lieutenant W—— had reported to him the good conduct of the sepoys, adding 'that they worked every bit as well as Europeans!' To make the Madras army still more efficient and attached to their officers but one thing is required—viz., the bestowal of greater powers on the commanding officers of corps, and less interference at head-quarters, to which may be added, perhaps, a small quantity of red tape! I will give only one instance of undue interference, which, if continued in, would ruin any native army. A Mohammedan sepoy was tried by a native court-martial, convicted, and sentenced to dismissal for gross insolence and insubordination in the orderly room. He was dismissed; the proceedings were quite formal,—approved and countersigned from head-quarters,—and the man was expelled the regiment. He happened some time afterwards to be at Bangalore, where the commander-in-chief was staying, and, I suppose, by perpetual annoyance and petitions to the gallant old soldier, he succeeded in creating a feeling of pity. However that may be, it resulted in an order for his restoration! He was restored, and a more ill-conditioned brute never handled a musket. Cunning enough to keep himself clear of further courts, he succeeded in ridiculing, with others, his commanding officer."

Whatever confidence may be placed in the

Madras army as it is, or in the Bombay army modified both as to its constitution and composition, it is evident that a considerably increased European force will be necessary for the occupation of Bengal and the north-west provinces, although much of the duty of these territories may be committed to Sikhs, Goorkhas, Beloochees, and that mixed class which may be so readily raised along the Scinde frontier and the country of the Indus. Amongst the various plans put forth as likely to prove effective, there has been none so feasible as that of sending European regiments by the overland route to Kurrachee, whence, by the steam flotilla on the Indus, or the new railway, they could proceed at once to Shikapore, Hyderabad, Lahore, Umritsir, Peshawur, and other posts in the north and north-west of India. Becoming there gradually acclimated, they could descend to the north-west provinces, and, by way of the lower provinces, to Calcutta, sailing thence for the Cape of Good Hope and other colonies, or returning home by the overland journey, having served *en route* at Madras, Ceylon, and Bombay. By this means regiments need not remain too long in India, which has been one of the chief objections to service there, not only because of the difficulty of furloughs from such distant parts, and the expense attending them, but also because long residence in the lower provinces produces disease, incapacitating the soldier for vigorous duty; frequently a few years' service in the lower provinces, or the capitals of Southern and Western India, destroys life, or leaves the seeds of disease or debility, which impair usefulness, if they do not abridge the term of existence. Formerly it would have been impossible to accomplish a scheme like this, but the railway system now in progress in India, and the completion of the line connecting the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, will render it perfectly practicable.

A very remarkable address was delivered at the United Service Institution in April, 1858, by Lieutenant-colonel Kennedy, of the royal engineers, on the influence of railways in India upon the efficiency of the army there, and the economy to the government of adopting a thorough system upon military grounds. If the statements of Colonel Kennedy be correct, then the future military system of India must depend upon the actual amount of railways intersecting the country, and the plan upon which they are constructed. The report of the colonel's address is of such deep interest to the subject of this chapter, and to the general direction of military affairs in our Indian empire, that it does not admit of being abbreviated, its details bear-



ing so directly upon the whole question discussed:—

“Taking the proportion of railways as existing in the United States of America for railways in India of 1 mile of railway to 112 square miles of country, which he considered was the lowest scale that should be applied to any inhabited country even where the general industry was limited to agriculture, if the railways were uniformly laid down in that proportion, the most distant points would be 60 miles from a railway. The proportion of railways in the United Kingdom was 1 mile to about  $13\frac{1}{2}$  square miles, and would make the most distant points on the average about  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles from any railway. The population of America averaged 9 to the square mile; the population of India, 124 to the square mile; and of the United Kingdom, 226 to the square mile. The density of the population in India was 14 times greater than in America, and therefore as many times greater was the necessity for railways in India. According to the American scale, about 12,493 miles of railway were absolutely required for India. So urgent did the considerations of railway communication in India appear to him, both as regarded its industrial progress and military protection and defence, that on his return from that country in 1852, after having held the appointment of military secretary to the commander-in-chief, as well as that of consulting engineer to the supreme government in the railway department, he felt bound to address a report, dated the 15th of September, 1852, on the subject of railway to the home government of India, in which he fully explained the advantages of railway communication for military purposes, and stated that in India marching or campaigning in summer was out of the question, except at a fearful expense of life and health to European troops. It was shown in that report that a proper system of railways (while increasing the efficiency of the army) would enable a reduction to be made in the military establishment of India equal to £2,332,482 per annum. This would represent a capital of £58,312,000, if raised at 4 per cent., and if invested in railways, at an average cost of £6000 per mile, would furnish 9718 miles of railway. The report was sent by government to India, and circulated to the authorities there, and it was likewise laid before parliament. Had the principles therein urged been adopted with the energy exemplified in the United States of America, 2000 miles of railway per annum might have been opened during the last three years in India, which would have placed the authorities in a condition to deal effectually

with the mutiny of the Bengal army, if it would not have altogether prevented the occurrence of that mutiny. In 1857 the force of the British government in India was 246,872 men of all arms, of whom 42,500 were Europeans, and 204,372 natives, distributed at 228 stations, giving a ratio of native troops to European troops of nearly 5 to 1. By another return made to the House of Commons in April, 1852, the queen's and company's European troops amounted to 49,408 men, the company's native troops, including contingents, to 276,432 men, making a total of 325,840 men, and giving a ratio of above  $5\frac{1}{2}$  natives to 1 European. The same return stated the military resources of native princes at 398,918 men, making the gross ratio of company's and native princes' troops to European troops  $13\frac{1}{2}$  to 1. It likewise stated the European artillery at 7436 men, the company's native artillery at 9004 men, and native princes' artillery at 12,962 men, making the company's and native princes' artillery together compared to European artillery as 3 to 1. The European cavalry were stated at 4133 men, the company's native cavalry, including contingents, at 39,758 men, and the native princes' cavalry, at 68,303 men, making the ratio of company's and native princes' cavalry to European cavalry over 26 to 1. The average of four years showed that the annual military charges for the 325,840 men, not including buildings, amounted to £10,106,680. He assumed from the experience they had had that henceforth the native troops in the Indian army should not be allowed to exceed those of Europeans, but that they might be safely employed in equal numbers, the artillery, engineers, and sappers, however, being exclusively, or, at all events, chiefly European. Even under these arrangements the force, although secure, would not be as effective for occupation purposes as the larger proportion of natives would make it in consequence of the effects of climate on Europeans. With a proper system of railway intercourse the operations and strength of the army would be greatly increased, by enabling troops rapidly to penetrate every district, so that the most distant points of the country might be on the average only 60 miles from the nearest railway. This would require but six ordinary or three forced marches to reach any point from the railway, or base of all military operations in India—a base of extraordinary strength, from the rapidity with which every part of it could be furnished with the required amount of troops, provisions, and stores. About 12,000 miles of railway,



as before mentioned, would suffice on that scale, 6000 miles being main lines, along which the army might be assumed to be distributed at equal intervals in brigades. The length of those intervals would depend upon the aggregate strength of the army. The remaining 6000 miles would consist of second class lines, branching from the main lines of railway to provide communication throughout the local districts. On comparing the power of concentrating troops efficiently provided with provisions and military stores upon the most decisive point or points of India in the shortest time and at the smallest cost, with and without railways, he assumed that, in either case, the army of occupation should be posted in brigades of one European regiment, one native regiment, one squadron of European cavalry, one squadron of native cavalry, and a European field battery of artillery of four guns and two howitzers, at equal intervals, along the main lines of 6000 miles. It would require 48 days without railways to concentrate by marching a force of 53,000 men from an aggregate army of 325,840 men, which, composed as above, would cost annually £13,785,870, whereas an equal force could be concentrated by railway in 7 days from an aggregate army of only 100,000 men, costing only £6,214,530 per annum. Thus the 53,000 men could be brought to any one given point by railway in about one-seventh of the time, from an army under one-third of the strength, and costing under one-half of the amount, as compared with the assembly of a similar force at the same point from the larger army without railways. To assemble by marching 53,000 men from an equally distributed army of only 100,000 men would occupy nearly six months, instead of seven days by railway. The advantages of railway transport for troops in India over marching as regarded time in concentrating a field force were as 24 to 1; as regarded the economy of military establishments, over 2 to 1; as regarded the power of reducing the numerical force of the army, and consequently the number of Europeans, as 3 to 1. The advantages of railways as regarded the protection of Europeans from exposure to climate, the rapid and successful issue of every war or conflict, and the averting of those contingencies that produced war and disturbance, were beyond calculation. Equally striking results would attend the establishment of railways as regarded every other department of the government; and, above all, it would appear in the development of industry, trade, and commerce. He thought it was clear that without railways the army in India could not safely be reduced below its former numerical

establishment of about 325,000 men, and that of this gross number one-half, or 162,000, must be Europeans, the whole costing about £13,785,836 per annum, while with proper railway accommodation the gross force might be reduced to 100,000 men, the Europeans to 50,000 men, and the military charges to £6,214,530, and that this enormous reduction in men and money would be attended with a seven-fold rapidity in bringing together a field force of 50,000 men at any point, as compared with the power which the larger army would confer without railways. The reduction allowed, too, for the artillery and engineer corps being maintained on their former full numerical strength, converting what was previously composed of native soldiers in these arms into an equal number of Europeans. And it was clear that railways would admit of an improvement in the calibre of their field artillery, while they would facilitate incalculably the difficult process of bringing up siege-trains when required at any remote point. They would never then hear of generals being obliged to delay for weeks or months the operations of a campaign until a few heavy guns and stores were brought with infinite toil and cost to the front. He thought the question deserved the closest attention of every British and Indian statesman, and offered a solution of their principal Indian difficulties, past, present, and future. Even irrespective of the mutiny question, their Indian finances for the last four years had shown an average annual deficiency of revenue amounting to £1,676,333. The increased military expenditure of over £3,500,000 consequent upon the mutiny would thus bring the future annual deficiency of revenue to above £5,000,000 sterling, and this state of things must continue until a safe reduction could be made in the military force. The judicious construction of 12,000 miles of railway, which could be effected within seven years, without any cost to government, would admit of a reduction in the military force to the extent of over £7,500,000 sterling annually, thus turning, by means of railways, an annual deficiency in the revenues of India, considerably over £5,000,000 sterling, into an annual surplus of more than £2,000,000."

Another advantage of an extensive railway system in India, upon which Colonel Kennedy ought to have dwelt, is the frequent change of quarters to the troops which it would afford, and in that respect it would conduce even more to the health of the European soldier than by exempting them from long marches. Marching under the sun of India is not so detrimental to the health of the soldier as the colonel seems to think.



Other officers have made experiments which prove that, provided the soldier's head be properly protected, his clothing adapted to the climate, and his arms and accoutrements light, travelling in the daytime, and even when the sun is high in the heavens, is not so injurious as night marches. More frequent changes of quarters than at present are allowed or even possible, would be very salutary to the European troops, for the barrack accommodation is generally so bad as to be most injurious to them; and it would require a long time and a greater outlay than the funds at the company's disposal for military public works will allow, to provide healthy barrack accommodation at all the company's military stations. Sir William Napier writes of his brother Charles's opinion on this matter as follows:—

“When in Scinde he assailed the authorities with remonstrances; and himself planned and built the wing of a model barrack at Hydrabad, hoping thus to lead the government to an extension of his improvements. In vain; Lord Dalhousie forbade the completion of his superb barracks, and the materials collected for building the other wing remained to rot on the ground.

“When he became commander-in-chief in India he renewed his exertions to obtain good barracks, and again built model barracks, and laid down the true principles on which they should be constructed; again in vain! He was first thwarted, and then stopped, by Lord Dalhousie and the military board of India.

“When he returned to England, and while suffering under a mortal disease, even on the verge of death, he once more attempted to remedy the evils, and in his posthumous work, called *Indian Misgovernment*, sought to arouse public attention to the horrible system.

“That he was not tame or measured in his denunciation of ‘*the frightful barrack abomination*’ will be understood from a few passages taken from many in his *Indian Misgovernment*:—

“‘The barrack sacrifices soldiers’ lives and happiness to a fallacious, dishonest economy.

“‘I charge the court of directors, the military board of Calcutta, the government of Bombay, with shameful negligence of the soldier’s safety; and with good warrant, because they disregarded my representations when a high position and great experience gave a title to attention.

“‘The Colaba barracks and king’s barracks at Bombay have destroyed whole regiments. I walked through the men’s sleeping rooms there—upon planks laid in water, covering

*the floors!* At the Colaba barracks the soldiers die like rotten sheep under the nose of the council.

“‘In the Bengal presidency the barracks are extremely bad; but more pernicious still is the number of men crammed into them; losses by battle sink to nothing, compared with those inflicted by improperly constructed barracks and the *jamming* of soldiers—no other word is sufficiently expressive.

“‘Long experience and consultations with men of science, medical men, and engineer officers, have taught me that every barrack-room should in hot climates allow at least *one thousand cubic feet* of atmospheric air for each person sleeping in a room. This is the minimum; with less, insufferable heat and a putrid atmosphere prevail—death is the result. The soldiers rise at night feverish, or in profuse perspiration, to sleep out on the ground amid damp exhalations. To do so when heated by an overcrowded room is death. Some may escape, or merely lose health, but to escape is the exception—the rule is death!

“‘This inhuman drain upon life, health, and the public treasury constantly goes on. It kills more soldiers than the climate, more than hard drinking, and one half of the last springs from the discomfort—the despair caused by bad barracks.’”

The above burning words have been too recently given to the world for very much effect to have been produced by them upon those whom they were designed to influence. Until the whole barrack system of India is remedied, the best relief to the soldier is frequent change, and this can only be effected by the extension of the railway system. But, however improved the sites and accommodation of barracks, the climate of most portions of India renders it desirable for the health of the English soldier, that he should not be for any long time subjected to its influence. The railway system will enable the government to remove invalids to the cooler districts, where they may retire for short intervals to recruit their exhausted strength.

One of the chief deficiencies in the military administration of India is the imperfect provisions of martial law. These are inadequate to the good discipline of the army, and, in case of extensive revolt or popular insurrection, their inadequacy is still more striking. During the revolt of 1857–8 Lord Canning, the governor-general, was much censured in England for not more promptly applying martial law to the disturbed districts, and for not relying more upon its power to suppress or prevent insurgency. These critiques were answered by his excellency with much point



and justice, and in a manner which displays more completely the defects of the military system in this respect than would a lengthened statement and minute analysis of the laws bearing upon the subject. The governor-general's defence, based upon the imperfection of the system, was as follows:—

“But in truth measures of a far more stringent and effective character than the establishment of martial law were taken for the suppression of mutiny and rebellion.

“Martial law, in the ordinary acceptation of the phrase, is no law at all, or, as it has been described, the will of the general. But martial law in India is proclaimed under special regulations, applicable only to the regulation provinces in the three presidencies, whereby the government is empowered to suspend either wholly or partially the functions of the ordinary criminal courts, to establish martial law, and also to direct the immediate trial by courts-martial of all subjects who are taken—(1) in arms in open hostility to the British government; or (2) in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same; or (3) in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the state; or (4) in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British government.

“Neither the effect of martial law, nor the mode in which courts-martial are to be constituted under the regulation has ever been defined. But it seems clear that courts-martial cannot be composed of any but military officers, for there is nothing in the regulation to show that courts-martial as therein described can be otherwise constituted.

“Moreover, it should be borne in mind that in Bengal, beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of the supreme court, there was no regulation which provided for the punishment of treason or rebellion, and that the Mohammedan law, which, in the absence of express regulation, constitutes the criminal law of the country, does not provide any specific punishment for such crimes. Regulation X. of 1804 rendered a person guilty of treason or rebellion liable to the punishment of death only in the event of his conviction before a court-martial; and even a court-martial under that regulation had no power to try for treason or rebellion unless the offender was taken in arms in open hostility to the British government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of an overt act of rebellion.

“The power of trial by court-martial did not extend to persons guilty of rebellion

unless taken in the actual commission of an overt act.

“Under these circumstances the government might have been much embarrassed had Indian martial law alone been relied upon; and seeing that the number of military officers at the disposal of the government was in many parts of the country wholly insufficient for the summary trial of mutineers and rebels, the government of India took a course much more effectual than the establishment of martial law. Having, first by Act No. VIII. of 1857, strengthened the hands of officers by giving them greater powers for the assembling of courts-martial, and by making the proceedings of those courts more summary, the government adopted measures which should give them the services not only of their own military and civil officers, but of independent English gentlemen not connected with the East India Company—indigo planters and other persons of intelligence and influence.”

#### MARINE FORCE.

The East India Company maintains an independent navy, which is placed under the direct control of the government of India. The force attached to the chief presidency is not so important as that connected with the western presidency. The navy of Bengal is very limited, and is engaged in the eastern Archipelago and on the coasts of China. The acting officers have no commissions, and neither officers nor men are subject to the mutiny act or the articles of war. The Bombay navy is of considerable power, comprising fifty-three steam and sailing vessels, manned by 4286 European and native men. The cadets must not be under sixteen nor over eighteen years of age. The patronage is in the hands of the directors. The Bombay navy has been chiefly employed in the suppression of piracy in the Arabian Sea, and the Persian Gulf. It has of late years been principally occupied in surveying those waters, and several of the officers have greatly distinguished themselves by their attainments and performances in that department. The government of India does not regulate this marine, although its power is placed at the disposal of the governor-general. Correspondence is maintained by the navy with the government of India with reference to repairs, provided the expense does not exceed ten thousand rupees. In all other respects, such as ship-building, docks, steam factories, &c., the correspondence is with the directors. During former wars with China the Indian navy was greatly distinguished.



## CHAPTER XVIII

## THE IMPORTANCE OF A KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA BY GOVERNMENT OFFICERS—COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

THE experience of the past history of our empire in India and the East shows that the importance of this subject has been greatly underrated. During the war with China, in 1857–8, the correspondents of the London press repeatedly testified that one of the greatest embarrassments consisted in the small number of persons, civil or military, at Lord Elgin's disposal, who were acquainted with the language. But for the missionaries, this deficiency would have proved a still greater difficulty both in the war of 1857, and in previous wars. During operations in Birmah, in all our differences with that power, the same impediment was felt; and although officers like Major-general Havelock, conversant with oriental tongues, were attached to all the expeditions, they could not always be spared from their posts in moments when, either for military or civil purposes, in some emergency, it was desirable to make their skill as linguists available. In the transactions of peace no less than in those of war the same inconvenience has been felt; and it is now generally admitted, that whatever amendments are made in the government or administration of India, civil or military, more attention must be paid on the part of the company's officers to the qualification of an extensive and accurate knowledge of the languages of our Eastern empire, and of contiguous countries, according to the particular official designation of these officers. In the arrangements made by Mr. Macaulay for the examinations for the civil service, there was an obvious eagerness to provide extra chances for the students of Oxford and Cambridge. The studies so disproportionately pursued at the universities—and so injuriously to the public usefulness of the pupils—were selected as superior tests of general proficiency, and of fitness for service in India. The study of the languages with which the young official ought to be conversant, to hold intercourse with the people of India, is held in a lower place in the examination than that of the dead languages of ancient Europe. An Indian civilian lately deplored the ignorance of oriental languages now so prevalent in India, and the tendency to perpetuate this ignorance by the present mode of examining for the civil service, in the following terms:—"In former times there were always (among the civilians particularly) a few eminent men who had acquired a

thorough knowledge of the spoken dialects, who were familiar with the ancient literature and the various systems of religion of the country, and who had studied the national and religious prejudices of the natives in the very sources from which they flowed. These men—and we mention at random the names of Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Macnaghten, Wilson, Sleeman, Mill—were respected and trusted by the natives, and they formed a kind of channel through which a knowledge of the real state of the feeling of the country with regard to any measure of importance could be obtained. The presence of any one of these men at Delhi or Lucknow would have been worth a regiment,—nay, many regiments. During the last twenty years, however, the prosecution of oriental studies has been systematically discouraged. A fond hope was entertained that English would soon become the general language of India, and an impression got abroad that the time given to the study of Arabic and Sanscrit and Hindostanee was sheer waste. At how much a knowledge of the languages of India was valued may be seen by the regulations now in force with regard to the examination of candidates for the Indian civil service. In the first examination a candidate may gain 375 marks by Sanscrit and Arabic. He may gain as many marks by Italian. In the second examination (which has simply been dropped without any bill of indemnity being asked for) a candidate may gain 200 marks by one of the vernacular languages. He may gain 1000 marks by law, 400 by political economy, 400 by the history of India. These facts speak for themselves."

In the very highest department of government a knowledge of both the old and modern tongues of India would be useful. The philosophy of a language gives an insight to the heart of the people by whom it is used, and this is essential to the statesman upon whom the responsibility of their government devolves. Sir Charles Trevelyan says—"I know from my Indian experience that a knowledge of the native languages is an indispensable preliminary to understanding and taking an interest in native races, as well as to acquiring their goodwill and gaining influence over them. Without it officers charged with important public affairs, feeling themselves at the mercy of a class of interpreters whose moral character is often of a very question-



able kind, live in a state of chronic irritation with the natives, which is extremely adverse both to the satisfactory transaction of business and to the still more important object of giving to the people of the country a just impression of the character and intentions of our nation."

Long before the outbreak of the rebellion in India a gentleman, pointing out the dangerous neglect of the study of oriental languages, of Sanscrit in particular, wrote:—"A crisis in the social, moral, and religious state of India may not be far distant, and it will depend on the position which the Europeans scattered over that immense country may be able to take in controlling and directing that movement whether it is to lead to violent concussions or to a healthy regeneration. It is difficult to prove mathematically how so small a matter as the study of Sanscrit could have any bearing on the solution of such mighty problems; and those who look upon it as a kind of lightning-rod, and point to the clouds rising on the political and social horizon of India, expose themselves to be treated as alarmists, who exaggerate the danger in order to raise the importance of the remedy which they recommend."

A man need not have been in India to see that in order to govern a people, and to gain the confidence and goodwill of a conquered race, it is necessary to know their language. At a meeting held in Willis's Rooms, on the Missions of India, Sir William Page Wood gave utterance to the same conviction:—"Much might be done by bringing the English and native minds as much as possible in contact. This was comparatively easy, for the government might require that no native should take an office unless he could speak the English tongue, and that no Englishman in turn should be placed in a position of authority unless he was well acquainted with the native languages. Great good must undoubtedly arise from such a regulation."

In all ranks of the civil department below the highest, there are perpetually recurring occasions for an exact knowledge, not only of the vernacular language in the district, but of that from which it is derived, and some of those to which it is cognate. The attention of the public has been drawn to this subject, and the proposal to establish a new oriental college has sprung out of this awakened interest, and at the same time reacted upon it. The government also seems influenced by the general movement of opinion, and evidence has been taken from many men of eminence and extensive infor-

mation on this class of subjects. Among the many channels into which the public discussion has flowed, is that of the value of Sanscrit, as the great parent of the languages of India, compared with its derivations, which are better known among the people. Sir C. E. Trevelyan has thus given his opinion upon this part of the controversy:—"Sanskrit is a key to the colloquial languages of India, and, what is of much greater importance, to the habits of thought, and the sources of the social, political, and religious institutions of the people; but this is only one part of the subject. The young men who have been selected for the civil service cannot be detained long in this country for the prosecution of professional studies; the elements of law have an equal claim upon their attention with the elements of the native languages; and the compact, symmetrical Sanscrit requires almost as close mental application as mathematics. The knowledge of that language which the young men would acquire in the limited time allotted to them would, therefore, rarely enable them to master its derivatives and command its literature; while by applying themselves in a direct manner to the vernacular languages (as young people learn Italian or Spanish without previously studying Latin) they might, with the invaluable aid of an European teacher, get through the drudgery of first principles, and prepare themselves to profit by the less systematic, but more idiomatic instruction of their moonshee and pandit on their arrival in India. The professorships which ought to be first established in the new oriental college, according to my view, are Hindostanee and Bengalee for Northern, Tamil and Telinga for Southern, and Maharatti and Gujeratti for Western India, to which Chinese, Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish might afterwards be added, under such arrangements as the council of the college might consider desirable."

In connection with the necessity of knowing the languages of the country for general civil purposes, the question of the especial necessity of such qualifications for those who officiate in courts of law is increasingly discussed. Mr. Nassau Lees, Principal of the Mohammedan College in Calcutta, gives the following account of an Indian court of law:—"While the junior civil servant should be balancing in his mind the evidence of the witnesses, his whole attention is engrossed in endeavouring to understand what is being said. Few who have not seen it can realize the idea of a Bengalee native court; the din, the hubbub, the discordance of the many voices, Bengalee, English, and Hindostanee, is truly astounding. On the one side are heard



the gentle tones of a mild Hindoo, pouring in soft supplication his griefs, with accompanying promises, into the ear of some native *amlah*. On the other, the ear is assailed by the harshest language, often the most virulent abuse, bandied between two witnesses, or lookers on, apparently in the last stage of a violent altercation; and to this is added the unnecessary vociferations of some dozen policemen, who rush, gesticulating violently, to the spot, to increase the confusion. But above all rises the shrill cry of 'Mercy company! mercy! The slave is dead! he is dead!' from some miserable wretch who has been unjustly cast in the amount of some thirty or forty rupees, to gratify the revengeful feelings of a countryman on better terms than himself with the *sri-rishtahdar*, or native head clerk, who not improbably will have disposed of his good offices for one half the sum in dispute. Meanwhile, behold the assistant, the head of the petty court. Besieged by witnesses, beset alike by plaintiffs, defendants, and court officials all speaking at once—addressed, perhaps, in three, if not in four, native tongues—he sits confounded—bewildered. In vain he essays to comprehend the cause of the uproar; of what is said around him he cannot understand a sentence. Fain would he explain or proclaim silence; he cannot speak a word. Oh, that an iambic would still the storm, a quotation from Goethe or Dante, an aphorism of Bacon's, an explanation of d'Alembert's *Principle*, or the definition of a differential co-efficient! But, alas! such things here are of little practical use. The clamour increases. The distress of the assistant augments; until at last, his court in the highest disorder, and unable to right it, he rushes in confusion from his seat, vowing never to return till he can understand something at least of what is said to him, and say a few sentences intelligibly in some oriental language."

The importance of the languages of India to military men is beyond calculation; the safety of a garrison may depend upon this qualification on the part of its officers. A military man, who served in India, thus expresses his opinion as to the duty of cadets being well instructed in the vernacular languages of India before being sent thither:—"After the cadets have been selected, they ought, *all of them*, to have at least one year's professional instruction at a military college." One of the reasons for this is—"To teach them the elements of the native languages, which can be learnt with greater facility and exactness from well-instructed European professors than from moonshees and pandits." And again—"It should not be left, as it is

at present, to the discretion of a young man whether he will pass in the native languages or not. The power of understanding his men and of rendering himself intelligible should be considered an indispensable qualification, and those who cannot or will not acquire the necessary accomplishment should be removed from the service. The office of regimental interpreter and the practice of interpreting at courts-martial should be abolished. Every officer should be presumed to understand the language of his soldiers."

#### THE FACILITIES OF COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA.

Facilities of communication between India and England are essential alike to the interests of commerce and the government. The British merchant desires to have a prompt and frequent transmission of information concerning the state of the markets, and such a rapid mode of conveyance between the two countries as will enable himself or his *employés* to visit India on occasions of emergency, or his agents there to come to England, when the transmission of intelligence is not sufficient for their mutual purposes.

The telegraph is of course the grand mode of conveying intelligence by summary; but notwithstanding the value of India to English commerce, and the exigencies of the government, no proper efforts have been made up to this date (May, 1858) to secure telegraphic lines from India to England. It has excited the astonishment of every government in Europe that England has neglected a matter so vital to her. The feeling of foreign governments and of British residents abroad was indicated in April, 1858, by the following letter to the *Times* from one of its foreign correspondents:—"It is of such vital importance to England that electric communication should be established between some point in Europe and Alexandria, that I must, at the risk of being considered an intolerable bore, again return to the subject. It is a matter of indifference whether the Austrians construct a submarine telegraph from Ragusa to Alexandria, or whether M. Bonelli lays down a wire between Malta and the last-mentioned city, but it appears to me that the representatives of the nation ought to take up the matter, and insist on her majesty's government coming to an immediate decision on the subject. No decisive step has yet been taken by England towards the realization of the plan for obtaining more speedy intelligence from India and China. The subject evidently occupies the attention of your Turin correspondent as much as it does mine, and his observation—that it might be good policy to



encourage both Austria and Sardinia to construct an electric telegraph to Alexandria—deserves attention. As was said in my letter of the 20th of February, Austria would be content if the British government would pledge itself to send despatches to the amount of £10,000 per annum, and the assurance has since been given me that, in fact, she requires little more from England than her 'moral assistance.' The last official communication made to the Austrian cabinet was, that England could not permit Austria to have telegraph stations either at Corfu or Zante. Are the gentlemen in the Red-tape and Sealing-wax Office aware that an Austrian post-office has been established at Corfu for a long series of years, and that a great part of the correspondence from the East passes through it? 'We so much require the telegraphic communication,' say the Austrians, 'that we shall not object to employ Englishmen as telegraphists in Corfu and Zante, if the British government should wish it. We are also ready and willing to lay down the two links—from Trieste to Corfu and Zante—in the great electric chain, at our own expense and risk.' The authorities in the department of commerce have authorized me to state that if the British government should persist in its resolution not to allow them to establish stations in Corfu and Zante, they will permit any respectable English company, which is willing to construct the telegraph, to have an establishment at Trieste. The Turkish government is about to open a telegraphic communication with Greece, and that kingdom has already announced its intention to lay down a wire to Zante as soon as that island is brought into connection with Corfu and Trieste. It is worthy of mention that the director of the submarine telegraph office at Malta is a German; the principal clerk is a Dutchman, the second clerk an Ionian, and the fourth member of the establishment is either a Frenchman or an Italian."

For the transmission of mails provision has been recently made, which are great improvements upon the past condition of affairs in this matter. Weekly communication with India by post has been opened up through the Peninsula and Oriental Packet Company, *via* Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria.

The long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope in sailing transports injured the health of the troops, who were seldom allowed such accommodation as even a proper consideration of their necessities would have conceded. This route is still used, but powerful steamers are employed, which greatly reduce the time expended in transport.

The overland route by Suez was first

adopted during the great revolt, when the government, with apparent reluctance, yielded to the pressure of public opinion, and negotiated with the Porte for permission to traverse the dominions of the Egyptian vice-royalty. A railroad has been at last completed across the isthmus; and should an electric telegraph cable be carried to India, both the speedy transmission of intelligence and orders, and the quick transit of reinforcements and *matériel* of war can be easily effected. Since the adoption of the overland route to India, the improvement in Egypt has been such as to impress profoundly the people and government of that country with the advantages of closer connection with England, and of becoming more imbued with the ideas and aspirations of English civilization. Decaying cities have become regenerated, a highway has appeared in the desert, the springs of industry and commerce have begun to act, and Egypt bids fair to become the ally of England, and the partaker of her material prosperity as well as the promoter of her renown.

Both the English and foreign public are, however, agitating other projects of great magnitude. One of these has for its champion M. de Lesseps, and is patronized by the French government. The public of France, and of a considerable portion of the continent of Europe, also favour this scheme; nor are there wanting English merchants and capitalists ready to engage in the undertaking. M. Thouvenel, the representative of the French emperor at the court of the sultan, made a formal application at the Porte for a firman permitting and encouraging the undertaking, which, in the spring of 1858, was definitively refused, the English Foreign-office having used all its influence against the application of M. Thouvenel. The scheme of M. de Lesseps is a ship canal across the Isthmus of Suez, ninety miles in length.\* According to M. de Lesseps, this canal would answer the purposes of commerce and of travel, and can be executed and maintained profitably.† A sort of congress of engineers from various countries was brought together on the spot, and a report was drawn up in favour of the project, the elaboration and arrangement of which is indebted to the distinguished talents of Charles Manby, Esq., of the London Institution of Civil Engineers, a man singularly

\* *New Facts and Figures relative to the Isthmus of Suez Canal.* Edited by Ferdinand de Lesseps. With a Reply to the *Edinburgh Review.* By Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Member of the Institute of France.

† *Parcément de l'Isthme de Suez—Rapport et Projet de la Commission Internationale.* Paris, Henry Plow, 1856.



well qualified for such an undertaking. Notwithstanding this favourable report, British engineers of great experience and reputation have, however, declared the scheme impracticable, and among them the great Stephenson,\* whose opinion weighs so much in England. The British government has uniformly opposed this plan, but not with that frankness and candour which became the importance of the subject; for at first the government pleaded that, the scheme being impracticable, it was a duty to save English capitalists from a ruinous speculation, but, when closely pressed, the chief minister, Lord Palmerston, in his place in parliament, avowed that the opening of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Suez would give France, as a Mediterranean power, too much influence in the East, and enable her, under certain contingencies, to thwart the views of England, and possibly to endanger her hold upon her Indian empire. The Earl of Derby's government, in 1858, opposed the scheme upon the same grounds as those urged by Lord Palmerston; and it was alleged that the Emperor Napoleon III. admitted that England was justified in receiving the scheme with national jealousy, although it would appear that, if such were his majesty's opinion, it did not interfere with his patronage of it, nor with the eagerness of his government to accomplish it, or see it accomplished. The determined refusal of the sultan to give his permission to make the canal extinguishes the project for the present; and unless French influence overpower that of England at Constantinople (at present not a probable event), the canalization of the Isthmus of Suez must be abandoned by France, however much she may believe it subservient to her political interests.

The other scheme of communication with India is by a railway from Seleucia to Bussorah, from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. The length of the line is so differently estimated, that it is impossible to form an opinion unless well acquainted with the country, and the engineering facilities and difficulties it presents. Mr. Andrews, the

chairman of the Scinde Railway Company, who is the chief advocate of the enterprise, says that the distance is eight hundred miles. General Chesney, who knows the country better than any European (even than Mr. Andrews), states the distance from sea to sea to be six hundred and sixty miles. A French engineer, M. Jules Falkowski, whom Mr. Andrews quotes as giving an opinion in favour of the scheme, represents it as more than double the distance named by General Chesney! Such conflicting evidence on the part of persons so competent to pronounce an opinion baffles the judgment of the historian. This scheme is designated the "Euphrates Valley Railway." The objections taken against it are the great length of the line, the cost of its execution, and the improbability of its ever proving a line of traffic. These, however, are the objections raised against every enterprise of a similar nature by those interested in opposing it. The Turkish government favoured the plan, and guaranteed a dividend upon such capital as might be invested, but the financial condition of the Turkish government did not encourage capitalists to place sufficient confidence in its guarantee. That of the East India Company was desired to insure a thorough reliance, and the Board of Control is said to have pressed the directors to extend it. They, however, refused. The projectors of the plan required other guarantees, which practically amounted to the concession of a monopoly to their line. This circumstance shook the faith of those willing to speculate, as it implied that those who knew most of the circumstances under which the project would be carried out, did not dare to hope for success arising simply from its own adaptation to the ends proposed.\*

Meanwhile the scheme of the Suez Canal is pursued with the uttermost zeal—a sort of passionate nationality seems to animate the French public.†

After all, it is likely that the completion of the railway across the isthmus, and the patronage of it by the English and Egyptian governments will decide this controversy, as well as bring India nearer to England.

\* In Nolan's continuation of Hume and Smollett's *History of England*, written by the author of this work, and now publishing by James S. Virtue, City Road, London, the opinion of this eminent engineer, and his grounds for it, will be fully shown.

\* *Memoirs on the Euphrates Valley Route to India.* By W. F. Andrews, F.R.G.S.

† *L'Isthme de Suez—Journal de l'Union des Deux Mers.* Paris.



## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE COMMERCE OF INDIA:—ANCIENT INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WEST.

ALTHOUGH the natural productions of the vast regions of our Eastern empire were detailed when, in foregoing chapters, these countries were described, and the adaptation of those productions to the purposes of trade, and the character of the local transactions of this nature, were sketched, it remains yet to take a general view of the commerce of our Indian empire. Certainly no topic can be more important to a great commercial nation than its relations in this respect to the richest of its dependencies. In the prospectus of our work the purpose was expressed of giving to this subject especial attention; and had it not formed so essential a part originally of the plan of these volumes, yet its exceeding importance, as well as the interest attached to it, would demand a careful notice.

In treating of the productions, religions, and literature of India, well authenticated resources supplied comprehensive and satisfactory details. For the elucidation of its early intercourse with the West there exist no such materials. India shares the common fate of nations, the illustrious as well as the obscure. Which of its many races first occupied it, and what master minds initiated its social systems, the gradual development of its singular institutions, the first glimmerings of its far remote civilization, are mythic subjects of bewildering speculation. The extravagant claims to an existence extending over thousands of years beyond the era of creation, with the kindred absurdities of the Chinese, Babylonian, and Phœnician chronology, are now fully exposed by the reflected light of modern scientific discoveries.

The fables that commingle with the transactions of an infant people have their value; and those writers who fastidiously reject them from the domain of history, inflict upon it an irreparable injury. Many phases in the political life of a nation would, without a knowledge of them, be totally incomprehensible. They illustrate the origin, manners, habits, religion, and history of a people whose early transactions possess no medium of transmission but the traditional. What Heeren remarks of Grecian history is of general application:—"Though it emanated from tradition, and supplied the bards with subjects of song for several centuries, it does not follow hence that early Grecian history was an invention because it was poetical. The subjects of history, as presented by Grecian tradition and sung by the bards, were only interwoven

with fictions, and so modelled as to gratify the national pride and adorn the popular religion."

Elphinstone, in his preliminary observations to his *History of India*, states:—"As the rudest nations are seldom destitute of some account of the transactions of their ancestors, it is a natural subject of surprise that the Hindoos should have attained to a high pitch of civilization without any work that at all approaches to the character of a history. The fragments which remain of the records of their transactions are so mixed with fable, and so distorted by a fictitious and extravagant system of chronology, as to render it hopeless to deduce from them any continued thread of authentic narrative."

The only history of any part of India he recognises is one of Cashmere, which, in his opinion, scarcely forms an exception. Sir John Stoddart (*Introduction to the Study of Universal History*) confirms this statement:—"Their (the Hindoos) writings are innumerable; but, alas! there is among them of works at all deserving the title historical, a perfect blank."

These statements, it would appear from other authorities, are but partially to be relied upon. Of published historical works India can lay claim to none, but the dearth of historical records is positively denied by Colonel Tod, who has given to the public a *History of the Rajpoots*, compiled from Indian manuscripts, which he found in the libraries of Indian princes; and he asserts that in these repositories many more works exist which would reward the researches of the learned; and that "the works of the native bards afford many valuable data in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners." In the heroic history of Perthi-raf, by Chund, he adds:—"There occur many geographical as well as historical details in the description of his sovereign's wars, of which the bard was an eye-witness, having been his friend, his herald, and his ambassador, and finally discharged the melancholy office of accessory to his death, that he might save him from dishonour." The controversial records of the Jains are also repertoires of rich historical stores; and with these the colonel classes the records, works of mixed historical and geographical character, *rasahs*, or poetical legends of princes which are common, local paranas, religious comments and traditionary couplets, with authorities of less dubious character—



namely, inscriptions cut on rocks, coins, copper-plate grants, containing chapters of immunities, and expressing many singular features of civil government—constitute no despicable materials for the historian. The colonel concludes that the ancient records of the Hindoos are more complete than the early annals of the European states.

The philological labours of the German school,—Grimms, Bopp, Zeus, and several other eminent Teutonic scholars,—aided by the Irish, French, and a few noteworthy Britons, prosecutors of Celtic researches, have supplied abundant undeniable proofs of the close affinities which subsist between the Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos, and the languages of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as those of the Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic nations. These men have succeeded in placing the history of mankind in a more intelligible point of view, and possibly the study of Indian literature will enable us to evolve from its drapery of fiction the truths contained in the *rasahs* and *paranas*, to trace the remote history of India, and to reflect an ethnological as well as a philological light on the relations the varieties of the human family bear to one another, and supply an additional and powerful argument for connecting the origin of its inhabitants with that of the other parts of the globe.

Both Brahmins and Buddhists have numerous books. The Brahminical are extremely voluminous, and all written in the Sanscrit, which, from time immemorial, has ceased to be a spoken language. The prevalent opinion is that it was never fully known in India, except to the sacerdotal caste, and the alphabetic character in which it was written differed from all other alphabets. So rigidly did the Brahmins conceal their sacred books, that their existence was not known to European scholars till recently. Cœlius Rhodiginus, the teacher of the celebrated Scaliger, the contemporary of Henry VIII., asserts that letters were entirely unknown to the Indians. The sacred books are no longer sealed books; they abound in libraries, public and private, and several have been translated into English, and other modern languages, and many published. In all probability, the day is not far distant when the anticipations of that great oriental linguist, Professor Wilson, will be realized, and the texts of the Vedas themselves, despite the exclusive care with which they have been guarded from any but Brahminical perusal, and the difficulties in the way of interpretation, will be read with as much certainty as any other Sanscrit composition, and the adage, that Hindoo antiquities

can only be satisfactorily explored in India itself, which Heeren reiterates, shall become obsolete.

To whatever extent, and however valuable, may be the materials for the history of ancient India which exist in native archives, the historian of that interesting empire would at present in vain seek aid in that quarter. The earliest ray of light that flickers on its visible existence, is shed by the sacred text, and the knowledge to be there gleaned is very limited—indeed, merely conjectural. The river Euphrates, and the territories immediately to the east of its banks, were, to the comprehension of the Jews, “the ends of the earth.”\*

The extensive caravan routes, to which the books of the Old Testament directly refer, pursued at an early period for the conveyance, from the East to the kingdoms of the West, of the rich manufactures of that opulent region seem to have been formed for the exportation of Indian produce. There are strong grounds for concluding, as Dr. Vincent has observed, that the embroidered work and the chests of rich apparel mentioned in the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel,—pronounced by Michaelis the most ancient monument of mercantile history,—as brought from Haran, Canneh, and other towns on the Euphrates, were not manufactured on the confines of that stream, but in all probability imported from the more distant countries of Eastern Asia; and that the supplies, of which “precious cloths” constituted the staple, conveyed across Arabia by way of Dedan and Idumea, were likewise a branch of Indian commerce. The ingenious author of the *Ruins of Palmyra*, on the sixteenth verse of the chapter just referred to,—“Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making; they occupied in the fairs with emeralds, purple, and brodered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate,”—supposes that it was the East Indian trade which so enriched that city, and he imagines that this was at least as ancient as the time of Solomon. Tyre, therefore, it is suggested, might have had these commodities conveyed to it in the time of the prophet Ezekiel through Palmyra, and Syria might have been its merchant for them. To the monopoly of this trade there are many considerations for attributing the power, unrivalled in extent, wealth, and degree, which Tyre early acquired, and which made the “merchants of Tyre princes, and her traffickers the honourable of the earth,”† and herself “the mart of nations.”‡

The proximity of that great emporium of the earth, Tyre, “whose antiquity,” the pro-

\* Heeren's *Historical Researches*.

† Isaiah xxiii. 8

‡ Ibid. xxiii. 3.



phet Isaiah informs us, "is of ancient days,"\* for a lengthened period gave no impulse to the national enterprise of the Jews, nor affected that isolation which the characteristics of its policy had imposed. In the reigns of David and his son Solomon, tempted by the extraordinary prosperity of their neighbours, and encouraged, probably, by the friendship of King Hiram, and the recent acquisition by David of a tract of Edom,† and the ports Eloth and Eziongeber on the Red Sea, they equipped a fleet, which, under the pilotage of the Phœnicians, reached Tarshish and Ophir. The situation of these ports has been at all times a puzzle to the biblical commentators, and to writers on geography. Dean Prideaux, and many other respectable authorities, agree that the trade carried on under Solomon, is the same as that which is now in the hands of our East Indian merchants. Some suppose Ophir to be the Island of Ceylon. This supposition is thus far confirmed, that an ancient author, Eupolemus, states Ophir to be an island. On the other hand, the authors of the *Universal History* deem it the most probable conjecture that Ophir was in one of those remote rich countries of India beyond the Ganges, and perhaps as far as China or Japan, which last still abounds with the finest gold, and with several other commodities, in which Solomon's fleet dealt. A claim in favour of Sumatra has been made by Mr. Macdonald, who says, "It is more than probable that Sumatra must have been the Ophir of Solomon's time. This conjecture receives no small force from the word *ophir* being really a Malay noun of a compound sense, signifying a mountain containing gold. The natives have no oral or written tradition on the subject, except that the island has in former times afforded gold for exportation; whether to the eastward or westward remains an uncertainty."‡ Dr. Robertson, in reply to these and similar pretensions, asserts that "they (Tarshish and Ophir) were early supposed to be situated in some part of India, and the Jews were held to be one of the nations which traded with that country. But the opinion more general adopted is, that Solomon's fleets, after passing the Straits of Babelmandel, held their course along the south-west coast of Africa as far as the kingdom of Sofala—a country celebrated for its rich mines of gold and silver, from which it has been denominated the golden Sofala, by oriental writers, and abounding in all the other articles which composed the cargoes of the Jewish ships. This opinion, which the accurate researches of M. d'Anville render highly probable, seems now to be established

with the utmost certainty by a late learned traveller, who, by his knowledge of the monsoons in the Arabian Gulf, and his attention to the ancient mode of navigation, both in that sea and along the African coast, has not only accounted for the extraordinary length of time which the fleets of Solomon took in going and returning, but has shown, from circumstances mentioned concerning the voyage, that it was not made to any place in India.\* The Jews, then, we may conclude, have no title to be reckoned among the nations which carried on intercourse with India by sea; and if, from deference to the statements of some respectable authors, their claims were to be admitted, we know with certainty that the commercial effort, which they made in the reign of Solomon, was merely a transient one, and that they quickly returned to their former seclusion from the rest of mankind."† The name has very recently been traced to a city in Oman. Not fewer than sixteen countries have been claimed as sites for Ophir. Of all these conjectures, that which seems most founded on probability, and is corroborated by the authority of the *Bible Cyclopædia*,‡ is that of Dr. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, who is of opinion that it was on the eastern coast of Africa, and termed by the Arabians Zanguebar; that the name Ophir was more particularly given to the small country of Sofala on the same coast; that Solomon's fleet went out from the Red Sea, and, doubling Cape Guardafui, coasted along Africa to Sofala, where was found in abundance whatever was brought to the Hebrew monarch by this voyage. After all this laboured and learned speculation, the precise situation of Ophir, it is to be apprehended, must ever remain a mere conjecture.

The admirable location of the Mediterranean Sea, watering countries the most fertile, the theatres of the earliest civilization stretching far inward, and all but land-bound, with a comparatively small outlet to the ocean, it was natural that those who dwelt upon its shores should be the first to hazard the perils of the deep, to master the navigation of their own waters, and ultimately command the commerce of three continents. Noting in their night adventures the star-lit paths which steered them clear of shoals, hidden rocks, and precipitous banks, they became as familiar with the heavenly orbs, as did the Chaldean shepherds, and thus nursed the kindred sciences, astronomy and navigation, cultivating them to the highest state of

\* Bruce's *Travels in the East*, b. II. chap. iv.

† Robertson's *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 967, article *Ophir*.

\* Isaiah xxiii. 7. † 2 Samuel viii. 14.

‡ *Asiatic Journal*.



perfection possible, without the aid of modern instruments, preparing for those astounding discoveries of later times, the noblest achievements of the human intellect.

On the southern shores of that sea—washed on the east by the Red Sea, and connected with Asia by the narrow neck of land called the Isthmus of Suez, confined on each side by vast regions of barren sand, scarcely inhabited or habitable, and doomed to perpetual sterility and desolation—flourished Egypt, “the land of marvels,” blessed with a luxuriant soil and a mild climate, producing the necessities and comforts of life in such profusion, that several modern as well as ancient historians have hazarded the bold assertion, that its inhabitants were independent of the productions of other countries, and, in fact, that among them it became a maxim of policy to repudiate all intercourse with foreigners, to hold all seafaring men in abhorrence, and to exclude all strangers from their ports. These statements are endorsed by the historian Dr. Robertson, and he draws from them another conclusion—that the alleged conquests of the Egyptian monarch Sesostri were inventions of the Egyptian priests, and from that source obtained by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. The doctor thus states his case:—“Credulity and scepticism are two opposite extremes into which men are apt to run in examining the events which are said to have happened in the earlier ages of antiquity. Without incurring any suspicion of a propensity to the latter of these, I may be allowed to entertain doubts concerning the expedition of Sesostri into India, and his conquest of that country.—1. Few facts in ancient history seem to be better established *than that of the early aversion of the Egyptians to a seafaring life*. Even the power of despotism cannot at once change the ideas and manners of a nation, especially when they have been confirmed by long habit, and rendered sacred by the sanction of religion. That Sesostri, in the course of a few years, should have so entirely overcome the prejudices of a superstitious people, as to be able to fit out four hundred ships of force in the Arabian Gulf, besides another fleet which he had in the Mediterranean, appears to be extremely improbable. Armaments of such magnitude would require the utmost efforts of a great and long-established power.—2. It is remarkable that Herodotus, who inquired with the most persevering diligence into the history of Egypt, and who received all the information concerning it which the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, could communicate, although he relates the history of Sesostri at some length, does not mention his conquest of India. That tale, it is probable,

was invented in the period between the age of Herodotus and that of Diodorus Siculus, from whom we receive a particular detail of the Indian expedition of Sesostri. His account rests entirely upon the authority of the Egyptian priests; and Diodorus himself not only gives it as his general opinion ‘that many things which they related flowed rather from a desire to promote the honour of their country than from attention to truth,’ but takes particular notice that the Egyptian priests, as well as the Greek writers, differ widely from each other in the accounts which they give of the actions of Sesostri.—3. Though Diodorus asserts that, in relating the history of Sesostri, he had studied to select what appeared to him most probable, and most agreeable to the monuments of that monarch still remaining in Egypt, he has admitted into his narrative many marvellous circumstances which render the whole extremely suspicious.”\* He then proceeds to quote some of these suspicious circumstances, in corroboration of his author’s veracity.

The authority of such a man as the eminent historian of Charles V. and of America, will always be deservedly held in great respect in the republic of letters, and if he thought the subject of such gravity as to challenge his investigation, a further prosecution of that inquiry may be tolerated. Indeed, the question is one of sufficient historical importance, for its affirmative solution will establish the earliest direct documentary evidence of the exercise of Western domination in India, and identify a point of view from which the foreign relations, military as well as commercial, of ancient Egypt may be considered.

Then, as to the first objection. Had the Egyptians such an aversion to seafaring life as to preclude them from all naval pursuits? The Egyptian records and monuments state that thirty dynasties, some consecutive, many contemporaneous, possessed kingly power, extending from the reign of Ménès, B. C. 2717, to the conquest by Alexander the Great, B. C. 230. The name of Sesostri has been found in hieroglyphics in the Ramesseum of El Kurneh†, and in hieratic characters in the royal Turin papyrus.‡ Whatever prejudices may have existed amongst the Egyptians to the cultivation of commercial relations, they certainly did not prevail at every period of its history. The first mention in holy writ of Egypt is in connexion with foreign commerce,—and that in the

\* Robertson’s *Researches*, p. 5.

† Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

‡ *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. p. 262.



products of India :—" And, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." \* Here, upon opening the oldest history in the world, at a period 1729 years B.C., we find, as Dr. Vincent remarks, the Ishmaelites conducting a caravan loaded with spices of India, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramant, and in the regular course of their traffic proceeding to Egypt for a market; and notwithstanding the antiquity of the transaction, it has all the genuine features of a caravan crossing the desert at the present hour. Hence the inference is obvious, that Egypt then had become what it is always recorded to have been—the centre of a most extensive commerce by land, and, through the agency of the camel, the "ship of the desert," as the Arab emphatically calls him. On some of the oldest monuments of Egypt are groups of foreigners, proving the then existing intercourse. On the rock inscriptions of Wadde-el-Magarah, in the peninsula of Sinai, Num-Shufu, or Saphis the first, is represented slaying a foreigner. This monarch is the Cheops to whom Herodotus ascribes the building of the great pyramid, he ruled over 2300 years before the Christian era. It is in his reign we find the first reliable contemporary monuments of which the dates are satisfactorily ascertained. The probability is that the earliest is the northern pyramid of Aboo-Seer. These monuments are exceedingly numerous, and, thanks to the persevering ingenuity of our contemporaries, who have supplied a key to the reading of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, afford us far better knowledge of the state of Egypt in those remote times, than is supplied by the scanty fragments of Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus. A tablet, which may be pronounced the most interesting of the Egyptian monuments, was discovered at Waldee Halfeh, in Nubia, near the second cataract, recording the triumph of Sesertesen I. over foreign tribes, probably Ethiopians. The Egyptians must at this early period (B.C. 2080) have extended their rule far into Nubia. Sesertesen, it is reasonable to suppose, is identical with the Sesostrius of the Greeks. At or about this last-mentioned date Egypt became the prey of invaders, and the fifteenth dynasty was established. The Egyptians call them shepherds (*Penu* or Phœnicians). For several centuries—Africanus states 953 years—and through three dynasties, the shepherd kings ruled Egypt. Is it probable that the Phœnicians would abstain from commercial pursuits, and sur-

\* Genesis xxxvii. 25.

render all the advantages derivable from naval enterprise? On the tomb of Elethyas, in the reign of Aahmes, the Amôs or Amôsis of Manetho, B.C. 1525, is a long inscription of one Aahmes, chief of the mariners, who served several of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty. The inscription mentions a war at sea or on the river, and particularizes the famous shepherd city Avaris, and relates that the king made in his sixth year an expedition by water to Ethiopia, to impose tribute.\* The immediate successors of the last-named monarch were as potent at least as he. The representations in the chambers of the great temple of Amen-ra-el-Karnak, at Thebes, show that Amenoph I. was successful in war against the Ethiopians, as well as against Asiatics. In the next reign the arms of Egypt were carried into Mesopotamia, and into Ethiopia also.† Tothmes III. penetrated as far as Nineveh; and Amenoph, the third in descent from him, has left a distinct record of the extent of his dominions,—that they had Neherena—Mesopotamia—for their northern, and Keluee or Kelue—probably Coloe—as their southern boundary.‡ That Syria, east of Europe, owned his sway, and a very great part of Ethiopia, is proved by monumental inscriptions: Eusebius, Manetho, and Syncellus (in his Catalogue of Egyptian kings), state that "the Ethiopians, migrating from the river Indus, came and dwelt near Egypt." The sculptures of a rock temple at Silsilis—Gebel-es-Silseleh—commemorate a successful expedition against the negroes.§ The reign of Rameses II., B.C. 1200, was also signalized by foreign wars, furnishing an illustrious proof of the naval prowess of ancient Egypt. The most distinguished of these was, perhaps, that which he swayed against "the Kairetana of the Sea," and "the Tokaree," probably the Cretans and Carians, who, anterior to the Homeric period, are reported to have been great maritime powers, a fact strangely confirmed, and their decadence accounted for, by this chapter of Egyptian story. Over these combined fleets he achieved a signal victory. This sea fight forms the subject of one of the most remarkable battle scenes which adorn the great temple of Medeenat Haboo.||

There is no fact of remote antiquity better substantiated than that Egypt, by her many victories by land and sea, had subjected several maritime peoples on the Mediterranean,

\* Champollion, *Lettres*, pp. 197, 198; and De Rongé, *Tombeau d'Aahmes*.

† Lepsius, *Denkmäler*.

‡ Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, No. XLIX.

§ Ibid., No. XLIV.

|| Ibid., No. CXXXI



and that all the countries lying on its eastern confines were reduced to obedience, or compelled to pay tribute to the Pharaohs.

Psammeticus, who possessed the throne B.C. 664, was on the most friendly terms with the Phœnicians and Greeks, and, in addition, encouraged them to trade with his subjects. His son, Pharaoh Neko, who succeeded him B.C. 610, and who, at Megiddo, defeated and slew Josiah, the King of Judah, although engaged in wars of great magnitude, did not neglect the commercial interests of his country. He either commenced the construction of a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, or attempted to remove the obstructions to navigation in one previously cut. He also maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea, and to him, as Herodotus relates, is to be attributed the circumnavigation of Africa. Amases, the contemporary of Cyrus the Great and Crœsus, B.C. 571, was enabled, by his powerful fleet, to subjugate Cyprus, and make it tributary.

The old traditions concerning the relations which existed between the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, for a period of two thousand years, attributed to the inordinate vanity and reckless assumption of the historians of the last-mentioned people, and classed with their myths, are verified by the contemporary memorials, preserved by the granite tablets lately made legible, amid the ruin of dynasties, and the alternations of greatness and degradation. That the Egyptians had, centuries anterior to the Trojan war, established colonies, rests on stronger grounds than assertion; and from this, and similar instances elucidated by the labours of Belzoni, Champollion, Young, Wilkinson, and Layard, historians may learn that the traditions of a people, however obscure they may be rendered by poetical embellishments, are not to be rejected as entirely unworthy of consideration. A preserved tradition, like a preserved fossil fragment of an extinct animal, may, after the accumulation of a body of facts, lead the comparative historian, as well as the comparative anatomist, to the construction of a whole,—the verity of which may be fully established by the subsequent discovery of a scientific explorer, or by some lucky accident.

The settlement of Egyptian and Phœnician colonies in Greece may be now recognized as established facts. The period of these emigrations extended from the middle of the nineteenth to the close of the seventeenth century before Christ, during the sway of the shepherd kings—Phœnicians. That Cadmus, a Phœnician, introduced letters into illiterate Greece—that Hellenic art presents evident traces of Egyptian influence—that the earliest

specimens of Greek pottery are formed on Egyptian models, and rich in Egyptian designs—that ancient sages of Athens, Sparta, and other Hellenic localities sojourned in Egypt,—in the light of recent historical discoveries, cease to be looked upon as the dreams of early romancers. Were the ancient Egyptians strangers to the sea, how possibly could they have colonized Greece?

There are several instances of later date which might be adduced in proof of the inference advocated, but enough has been said to show,—however jealous the Egyptians may occasionally have been of strangers,—from the earliest times, long anterior to the Ptolemies—to whom the rise of their naval power has been attributed—they cultivated foreign traffic, admitted strangers to the interior, waged distant wars, and maintained large naval armaments.

The silence of Herodotus as to the conquest of India by Sesostris, on which Robertson so much relies, is not presumptive evidence of the falsity of the statement of Diodorus Siculus and others; nor does it follow, from the statement of Herodotus, that “he had inquired with the most persevering diligence into the ancient history of Egypt, and had received all the information concerning it which the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, could communicate.” What the Greek historian mentions by no means confirms the general and positive deductions drawn from it. Here follows the passage from which this quotation is made:—“This relation,” referring to an absurd tale which he justly ridicules, “I had from the priests of Vulcan at Memphis. But the Greeks tell many other foolish things, &c. I heard other things also at Memphis in conversation with the priests of Vulcan, and on this very account I went also to Thebes, and to Heliopolis, in order to ascertain whether they would agree with the accounts given at Memphis; for the Heliopolitans are esteemed the most learned in history of all the Egyptians.” The narration which he gives of the expedition of Sesostris, seems to imply that the priests recorded the conquests of India among his exploits. “The priests said that he [Sesostris] was the first who, setting out in ships of war from the Arabian Gulf, subdued these nations that dwell by the Red Sea, until, sailing onwards, he arrived at a sea which was not navigable on account of the shoals; and afterwards, when he came back to Egypt, according to the reports of the priests, he assembled a large army, and marched through the continent, subduing every nation that he fell in with, and wherever he met with any who were valiant, and



who were very ardent in defence of their liberty, he erected columns in their territories, with inscriptions, declaring his own name and country, and how he had conquered them by his power; but when he subdued any cities without fighting, and easily, he made inscriptions on the columns in the same way as among the nations that had proved themselves valiant. Thus doing he traversed the continent, until, having crossed from Asia into Europe, to these (the Scythians and Thracians) the Egyptian army appears to me to have reached and no farther, for in their country the columns appear to have been erected, but nowhere beyond them." \* The mention of the latter fact appears to be a justification for his scepticism as to the more extended conquests claimed for Sesostrius. Further on he states, "This king then was the only Egyptian who ruled over Ethiopia"—a generic term, from Homer downwards, for all the swarthy nations of the East. Among the writers of Greece and Rome there is not a more painstaking historian than Diodorus Siculus: and though he wanted the higher qualities of an historian, his materials were selected with skill and assiduity; nor was he reckless as to the narratives which he extracted from the Egyptian records; he introduces his account of Sesostrius in these words:—"But not only the Greek writers differ among themselves about this king, but likewise the Egyptian priests and poets relate various and conflicting stories of him; our best efforts shall be directed to select what is truth-like, and conformable with the monuments still existing in Egypt." †

The scepticism with which the achievements of the great Egyptian conqueror, as well as his identity, have been treated, and, in addition, the fact that he is the first of the conquerors of India of whom the Western traditions and historical monuments make mention, justify the space devoted to him, though this identification of the man, and his relations with the East, do not furnish authentic materials for a page of Indian history.

The early education which it is reported Sesostrius received, somewhat similar to the training which Xenophon relates was adopted in the education of Cyrus, developed fully his mental and physical powers; and a large body of young men—his coevals, in fact, born on the same day—were bred up with him, and subjected to the same discipline. Daily converse and association strengthen mutual attachment, and the Egyptian prince was thus surrounded by a body-guard, active, brave,

and devoted, willing to serve, and prepared to command. His first expedition, it is related, was in command of an army sent by his father for the conquest of Arabia. He succeeded, and subjected to the Egyptian yoke the fierce warriors of the desert, who never before owned a master. In this campaign he was accompanied by his youthful playmates. On his return, he was dispatched against the Lybians, whose territories lay on the western frontiers of Egypt. Though yet only a stripling, he subjugated the greatest part of that country. Coming to the crown on the demise of his father, and encouraged by his successes on the east as well as the west, his ambition was fired with the proud hope of conquering the world. As the basis of his success, he first devoted his attention to inspire his people with feelings of love and admiration, and adopted means which, when employed by a youthful sovereign, never fail of realizing such results. He secured the allegiance of his subjects in his absence, and bound the soldiery firmly to his interests. The army he is said to have raised was commensurate with the magnitude of the undertaking. It amounted to six hundred thousand foot, twenty-four thousand horse, and twenty-seven thousand chariots of war; and to the respective commands he appointed those who had been educated with him, to the number of seventeen hundred. The marshaled hosts which Sardanapalus, Darius, Xerxes, and other ancient conquerors, brought into the field, reconcile to us the probability of this large force. Before Sesostrius directed his course eastward, he marched against the Southern Ethiopians, whom he chastised. After that he dispatched a fleet of four hundred ships of war to the Red Sea, and subdued all the islands in it, and the maritime nations which extended from it as far as India. At the head of his land army he conquered all the nations of Asia—not alone those which Alexander the Great subsequently reduced, but likewise those on which he never set foot, "for he crossed the Ganges, and penetrated the whole of India, even to the ocean." \* Nine years, the historians state, were spent in this expedition.

Whatever degree of credibility may be attachable to this narrative, it deserves a place in the history of ancient India. Many of the most questionable statements of the ancient historians have been unexpectedly verified by the results of modern research. There is one illustration corroborative of this, which may be pertinently in-

\* Herodotus, b. II. chaps. cii., ciii. See Cary's Translation, Bohn's Classical Library.

† Diodorus Siculus, b. I. chap. xliii.

\* Καὶ γὰρ τὸν Γάνγη ποταμὸν διεβη, καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπῆλθε πᾶσαν εἰς Ὠκεανὸν.—DIODORUS SICULUS, b. I. c. 43.



roduced here, which occurs in Herodotus's description of India, apparently the most puerile and ludicrously imaginative of what were for centuries designated the fables of the "lying Greeks:"—"There are other Indians living near the city of Caspatyras and the country of Pactyica [the city and territory of Cabul], situated to the north of the rest of the Indian nations, resembling the Bactrians, their neighbours, in their manner of life. These are the most warlike of all the Indians, and the people who go to procure the gold; for the neighbourhood of this nation is a sandy desert, in which are ants, less in size than dogs, but larger than foxes, specimens of which are to be seen in the palace of the King of Persia, having been brought from that country. These creatures make themselves habitations under ground, throwing up the sand like the ants in Greece, which they nearly resemble in appearance. The sand, however, consists of gold-dust. To procure this, the Indians make incursions into the desert, taking with them three camels,—a male one on each side, and a female in the centre, on which the rider sits, taking care to have one that recently foaled. When, in this manner, they come to the place where the ants are, the Indians fill their sacks with the sand, and ride back as fast as they can, the ants, as the Persians say, pursuing them by the scent, the female camel, eager to rejoin her young one, surpassing the others in speed and perseverance. It is thus, according to the Persians, that the Indians obtain the greater part of their gold; at the same time that the metal is also found in mines, though in less quantities."\* Heeren, in his *Historical Researches*, strips the passage of its seeming absurdities, and places the cautious accuracy of the information, as well as the veracity of the father of history, in its proper light. His comments are:—"Herodotus has so accurately marked the situation of these auriferous deserts, that it is impossible to be mistaken. The nation in whose neighbourhood they are situated 'live near to Bactria and Pactyica, to the north of the other Indians,' and consequently among the mountains of Thibet or Little Bokhara; and the desert in their vicinity can be no other than that of Cobis, which is bounded by the mountains of the above countries. There is no doubt that the account of the historian is applicable to this region." We have already remarked that the lofty chain of mountains which limit the desert is rich in veins of gold; and not only the rivers which flow westward, from Great Bokhara, but the desert streams which run from the east, and lose themselves

\* Herodotus.

in the sand. Besides, who knows not that the adjacent country, Thibet, abounds in gold sand? Nor can we be surprised if, at the present day, the rivers in question should be less abundant than formerly in that metal, as must always be the case, when it is not obtained by the process of mining, but washed down by a stream. As late, however, as the last century gold sand was imported from this country by the caravans travelling to Siberia; and under Peter the Great this gave occasion to abortive attempts to discover the supposed El Dorados, which were not without some beautiful results for the service of geography, though utterly unprofitable for the purposes of finance. That these were not ants, but a larger species of animal, having a skin, is apparent not only from the account of Herodotus, but from that of Megasthenes, in Arrian (*India*, O.P., p. 179), who saw their skins, which he describes as being larger than those of foxes. The Count von Veltheim, in his *Sammlung einiger Aufsätze*, vol. ii. p. 268, &c., has started the ingenious idea that the skins of the foxes (*Canis corsa*, Linn.), found in great abundance in this country, were employed in the washing of gold, and which, as they burrow in the earth, may have given rise to the fable. Bold as this conjecture may appear, it deserves to be remarked, as it is in perfect agreement with what we know of the natural history of the country. In corroboration of the view Heeren has taken, it may be added, that it is a common practice in Savoy to use the skins of animals in washing gold sand. In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,\* Mr. Lane describes the simple mode pursued by the Birmese in collecting the gold-dust of the *Kyenduen* River, by fixing the horns of a peculiar species of wild cow in the small streams coming from the hills, to entangle the gold-dust in the velvet or hairy coat with which the young horns are enveloped. The horns, he was informed, were sold, with the gold-dust and sand adhering to them, for twelve or thirteen ticals apiece. It is by no means improbable that in the gold streams north of the Himalayas whole fleeces of some small animal were employed for the same purpose, and were occasionally sold entire. In a raid upon a people who thus collected their gold in all probability originated the well-known tale of Jason. The existence of Sesostris can be no longer questioned. His identity is now established by the many and various monuments within and without Egypt; nor are the performance of the exploits attributed to him improbable, when the demonstrated power of the Egyptian monarchy was

\* Vol. i. p. 16.



so great, and in an age when there existed no great empire from the waters of the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf to the banks of the Indus—perhaps not even the Ganges.

The Phœnicians are the next of the Western states whom we find recorded in commercial communication with India. Many causes have conspired to intercept the transmission of their history. Had it descended in its entirety to us, what a light would be reflected on the obscurity in which the first civilization that beamed on Europe is involved!—a civilization whose lustre, probably, would not be lost in the halo which encircled that of Greece. The fragments of their history—derived from Sanchoniato, some of the Hebrew writers, particularly Ezekiel, the Greek historians, Josephus, Eusebius, &c.—supply a general outline.

Though precedence has been given in this chapter to Judæa and Egypt, it is not in consequence of the belief that their relations with India were of an earlier date, but we were influenced by the consideration that the historical records of those countries are of greater antiquity. Phœnicia was the medium of communication between them and the East. Through her agency the abundance of the East was scattered over the West. The geographical features of the country combined with the character of its inhabitants to make them a maritime people. Phœnicia was neither extensive nor fertile; it lay on the borders of a sea whose placid waters were studded with islands teeming with luxuriant produce, and whose northern shores were the seaboard of the productive districts of Asia Minor. Its political institutions were favourable to the nurture of an independent and enterprising spirit. It did not constitute one state, or at least one empire; it was composed of a combination of several. It presented a social aspect kindred to, if not identical with, all Celtic nations—such as ancient Gaul presented, and was to be seen in the clans and septs of Scotland and Ireland, and in England, ere the Roman invader pressed its soil. The clans were all bound in one great confederation, acknowledging a common chief. Tyre, from its position as chief city, and the emporium of nations, stood at the head. It has been remarked by Dr. Robertson, “that both in their manners and their policy they resemble the great commercial states of modern times more than any people in the ancient world.”\* Among them the art of navigation was earnestly cultivated; in naval dexterity and skill they were unrivalled; and no nation of antiquity could lay claim to

the same spirit of adventurous enterprise. With the tin which they brought from the far isles of the West—the British Isles—were in all probability manufactured the bosses and ornaments of the shields borne by the combatants of Troy, as also the greaves they wore and the cups they quaffed, while by them were poured far westward the rich and voluptuous products of Indian climes. They not only monopolized the trade of nations near and remote; they likewise spread themselves by the establishment of colonies, and of these some, particularly Carthage, rivalled the parent states in wealth, trade, and power. At a very early period Phœnician colonies were planted in the favoured isles of the Archipelago, from which they were subsequently ejected by the conquering Greeks. Tartessus, Gades, and Carteia, under their auspices, flourished in Southern Spain; Utica, Carthage, and Adrumetum, on the northern coast of Africa; Panormus and Lilybeum, on the north-western coast of Sicily. The traditions and early annalists of Ireland state that they colonized that island. They had settlements, in all probability, in the Persian Gulf, on the Islands of Tylos and Aradus. In truth, as navigators, they were the boldest, the most experienced, and the greatest discoverers of ancient times, and for many ages had no rivals. They not only were the transporters of the merchandize of other nations, they were also manufacturers. The glass of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the fine linen they exported, were their own inventions; and they were deservedly celebrated for their extraordinary skill in working metals, in hewing timber and stone, and for their architectural excellence. Their fame for taste, design, and execution, was so well established, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleasing in apparel, vessels, toys, was distinguished by the epithet *Sidonian*. Many other important discoveries, among which the invention of letters holds the first rank, are attributed to them. Had we not before us the millions of colonists whose paternity is due to the British Isles, the vast colonial territories thus peopled, the regions thus occupied, it would be questioned how little more than a slip of land, confined between Mount Lebanon and the sea, could pour forth such supplies of people without depopulation. From Eloth to Eziongeber, ports situated at the northern extremity of the Arabian Gulf, they undertook, in connection with the Jews, the voyage to Ophir, previously referred to, and extended their commerce from the Persian Gulf to the western peninsula of India and the Island of Ceylon. The most remarkable of their geographical discoveries was the cir-

\* *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 7.



cumnavigation of Africa. The probability is mentioned of their having had a land communication with China, in consequence of their trade through Palmyra with Babylon, which opened to them an indirect path by way of Persia to Lesser Bokhara and Little Thibet. Dr. Robertson asserts that among the various branches of Phœnician commerce that with India may be regarded as one of the most lucrative.\* The distance between the Arabian Gulf and Tyre rendered the carriage of goods by land both tedious and expensive. The Phœnicians, to obviate these impediments to trade, occupied Rhinocolura (now El Arish), the nearest of the ports in the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf. This port soon became the seat of Indian commerce. "Merchandize was conveyed through Leuce-Come, a large mart in the territory of the Nabateans, and Petra, and thither and thence to other nations."† This was a shorter route than the one which Strabo states was afterwards pursued—namely, from India to Myus Hormus, and thence to Coptus (Kopt of the Thebais), situated on a canal of the Nile, and to Alexandria.‡ From Rhinocolura the transport by water to Tyre was short and safe. Great were the advantages which the Phœnicians secured by this route, the earliest of any of which there remains any authentic account, and superior to any known anterior to the discoveries of the Portuguese.

Having thus summarily reviewed the fragmentary notices which from the perceptible dawn of commerciale enterprise, have descended to modern times—exciting a curiosity which presents a wide field for ingenious speculation, but yields nothing very satisfactory in an historical point of view—we now approach a period upon which more rays of historical light fall, yet still immersed in great, if not in impervious, obscurity.

The Persians are the first people of whom it can be asserted, on testimony not entirely hypothetical, that they subjugated India. Of an early intercourse, it is observed by De Marles, abundant evidence is to be found in the language, traditions, and religious feelings of the two countries. Balk, the mother of cities, the Mecca of the Magians, the capital of Persia in her heroic days, and at a later period of a Greek kingdom, was indebted to this intercourse for its advantageous commercial position and its immense wealth. Bactria was the key of Central India, the connecting link between the East and the West. It was the great rendezvous on the high road from the Caspian gates, not

only to the country of India, but to Sogdiana and Serica; and by this route a commercial intercourse was maintained between China and Europe. The produce of India was likewise transported on the backs of camels from the banks of the Indus to the Oxus, and down this river they were conveyed to the Caspian Sea, and then distributed, partly by land carriage, and partly by navigable rivers, through the different countries lying between the Caspian and the Euxine. The magnitude of this trade may be deduced from the fact that Seleucus Nicator intended to unite the two seas by a canal. This project was frustrated by the assassination of that prince.\*

Herodotus informs us that a great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius Hystaspes, who, being desirous to know in what part the Indus discharged itself into the sea, dispatched vessels on a voyage of exploration, commanded by officers upon whose enterprise, intelligence, and veracity, he could rely, one of whom, Scylax of Caryanda, has transmitted his name to posterity. Setting forth from the city of Caspatyrus, and the country of the Pactyici,† they descended in an easterly direction to the sea; then, steering to the westward, they arrived, in the thirtieth month, at the port whence the King of Egypt had dispatched the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Lybia. After these had successfully completed their voyage, Darius resolved on the subjugation of the Indians.‡ To this expedition he appears to have been led by the glowing description which Scylax gave of the luxuriant land he had reached, and its identity with the remote climes whose productions, mineral and vegetable, had been for centuries previously conveyed to and through the territories subject to his rule, and which had excited envy and cupidity. For its execution he was also well prepared. Though no descendant of the great Cyrus, he was a member of the same family,§ and the third in succession to him. He was one of the seven Persian chiefs who conspired against Smerdis, the Magian usurper, and through his life displayed the boldness, ingenuity, and promptitude, with which he secured the throne. When Cyrus undertook his expedition against the Massagetæ, Darius, then twenty years of age, was left in Persia, of which his father was satrap. Herodotus states that, the night

\* This passage is given in the *Asiatic Journal*, without acknowledgment, from Cerver's *India*, vol. i., p. 145, who probably has derived it by translation from De Marles.

† The modern Peh-keley.

‡ Herodotus, b. iv., chap. xlv.

§ Ibid., b. i., chap. ccix.

\* *Ancient India*.

† Strabo, vol. iii. p. 211. Bohn's Edition.

‡ Ibid.

VOL. I.



after Cyrus had crossed the Araxes, he fancied in his sleep that he beheld himself with wings on his shoulders, one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe. The king looked upon this dream as a mysterious warning of a conspiracy against him and his crown; but the historian remarks, "the divinity foreshadowed to him that he would himself be killed in the ensuing campaign, and that his power would descend to Darius."\* It was in his reign that those various and far-spreading nations, subdued by Cyrus and his son Cambyzes, were consolidated,—so far, at least, as they ever were, for, in truth, those discordant elements were never brought into a state of cohesion. Asia, to the borders of Scythia and India, with the exception of Arabia, had bent to the yoke of his predecessors. Having fortified his position by the most powerful alliances, and divided his vast empire into twenty satrapies, a detailed account of which, and their revenues, is supplied by Herodotus,† his ambition led him to foreign conquests. The successive rulers of Western Asia had long viewed with jealousy the congregation of independent and enterprising states from which the Ægean separated them; interests nearer home had curbed those ambitious designs which they had upon them; and probably the monarchs of Persia calculated with confidence on the immediate submission of the Greeks, at any moment they were at leisure to make a hostile demonstration against them. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact, that the first armament dispatched against Greece was comparatively inconsiderable, compared with the resources of Persia, and the displays made by Darius in other quarters. The revolt of the Babylonians prevented the prosecution of a war against Greece, although it had been commenced by an attack on Samos. Babylon fell B.C. 508. Crossing the Thracian Bosphorus, he overran Scythia, to the delta of the Danube, and penetrated far into the interior of Russia. He subdued Thrace and Pæonia, and received the symbols of submission, earth and water, from Amyntas, the King of Macedonia. He sent his lieutenant Otanes to reduce the maritime cities on the north coast of the Ægean. The Hellespont and the Bosphorus, Byzantium, Chalcedon, and the Islands of Imbros and Hemnos, fell into his hands. The disastrous results of his war against Greece are too familiar for more than allusion, and nearly so his repression of the Egyptian revolt. The incorporation in his empire of the many countries which stretched south-east from the Caspian

to the river Oxus, inspired him with the ambition of also attaching some, if not all, of the Indian territories. It is probable that this was the real motive which suggested the voyage of Scylax towards the upper part of the navigable course of the river Indus, and the sailing down its streamlet he should reach the ocean. The glowing description which it has been said that officer gave of its population, luxuriant productions, and high state of cultivation, fired his impatience. To troops tempered by so many campaigns, and always victorious on the eastern continent, the pacific dwellers beyond the Indus could offer but a feeble opposition; and though Dr. Robertson opines, "that his conquests in India seem not to have extended beyond the district watered by the Indus," such a view conflicts with the evidence of Herodotus.\* "The population of India is by far the most numerous of all the nations we know. Their tribute (to Darius) amounted to more than that of any other nation;" or, as Larcher translates it, "they paid as many taxes as all the rest put together."† The description of the Persian satrapies has been subjected by modern writers to critical investigation, the result of which has been to verify the general authenticity, and consequently the industry and fidelity, of the historian. It is worthy of remark, as Major Rennel appropriately observes, that this tribute was paid in gold, whereas that of the other satrapies was paid in silver. Much light has been thrown on this circumstance, he adds, by the intelligence furnished by the AYIN ACKBAREE—namely, that the eastern branches of the Indus, as well as some other streams that descend from the northern mountains, yield gold.‡ Prideaux conjectures, that when Scylax returned by the Straits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea, he landed where Suez now stands. He dates the commencement of the voyage, B.C. 509, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Darius. It appears that the three succeeding years were devoted to the acquisition of India, as this interval is not accounted for by any other transactions of his reign. The short extract above quoted from Herodotus comprises all that survives of the history of this campaign. On his return from the East he renewed his designs upon Greece. From this incident may be dated the commencements of those collisions between the armies of Persia and Greece, the most brilliant episode in the annals of the latter, the provocation of an aggressive war with

\* Herodotus, b. III., chap. xciv.

† "Ils payoient autant d'impôts que tous les autres ensemble."

‡ *Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*, p. 25.

\* Herodotus, b. I., chap. ccx.

† Ibid, b. III., chap. xc, &c.



Persia, which eventuated, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, in the subjugation of the mighty empire founded by the great Cyrus, partially consolidated by Darius himself,—led the all-conquering hero of Macedon beyond the Indus, and first familiarised the rich domains of the famed Asiatic Peninsula to the nations of the Western continent.

From this period onward the historian of India is released from much of the difficulties by which he was beset in his researches into more primitive times, and treads a path which, though overgrown by rank weeds, which vegetate most profusely on land once cultivated, yet preserves enough of its characteristics to conduct the traveller to his destination.

## CHAPTER XX.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS FROM THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH.

A RECENT writer on India has very properly remarked:—"All that Europe knew of India prior to the expedition of the Macedonian monarch was through its gold, its pearls, its spices, and its rich cloths. But the length of time occupied in the voyage, the circuitous route by which these goods were conveyed, and the many hands through which they passed, rendered it highly improbable that any but the most wild and fanciful pictures of the East ever reached those who consumed the products brought from those lands. It was reserved for Alexander the Great (B.C. 331) to achieve, amongst other things, the opening of this hidden region, although he himself visited but its confines on the west. Unlike the progress of those northern conquerors who came after him, carrying fire and sword and scattering death and ruin about their footsteps, the Macedonian carried with him the softening influence of civilization." Alexander, however, knew little of "the gorgeous East;" he paused on the threshold of the new world to which his conquering arms were carried. The Hyphasis was a rubicon which he did not pass, at all events in the pomp and power of war, but marched thence towards the south-west, between the Indus and the desert, leaving garrisons and forming alliances as he passed along. The adherents of the conqueror, who remained behind with his garrisons, studied the character of the country, and the manners and habits of the people, and Europe became better acquainted with the condition of India than would now be supposed possible at that period, had we not the writings of Ptolemy, Arrian, Aristobulus, and others, to attest it. The early Greek representations of India agree wonderfully with all we know of it, and with what our knowledge of its antiquities shows us must then have been its condition. In Robertson's *Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, and in Gillie's *History of*

*the World*, the fullest notices extant of the conquest of India by Alexander, and the conduct of his successors in India, will be found. The authorities chiefly relied on are Strabo and Arrian, but they supply very imperfect information as to the commercial intercourse between the Indians and the Greeks.

The Bactrians, both before they acquired independence, and after the death of the great Macedonian afforded them that boon through the dismemberment of the empire, carried on commercial intercourse with India. Mill says:—"Among the kingdoms formed out of the vast empire of Alexander was Bactria. This district was part of the great range of country on the eastern side of Media and Persia, extending from the Lake Aral to the mouths of the Indus, which the power of the Persian monarchs had added to their extensive dominions." This statement Mill introduces to account for the extensive power wielded by the Bactrians, and their influence on the civilization of Hindoostan. Professor Wilson corrects the statements of Mill, by observing that the political power of Bactria after its independence may have extended over this space, but that the Bactrian province of Persia lay entirely to the north of the Paropamisian Mountains, and had Sogdiana and the Scythians between it and the Aral Lake. Much additional light has been thrown upon the history of Bactria and the adjacent provinces of the Affghan country, by the recent discovery of large quantities of coins, bearing the effigies and names of Greek and barbaric kings. They have been found in the tract between Balk and the Punjaub, and especially about Peshawur and Cabul, which were, no doubt, included in the dominions of the princes of Bactria, or of those principalities which were established in the direction of India by the Greeks. As most of these coins bear on one face an inscription



which has been ascertained to be in a form of Prakrit, a derivative from Sanscrit, they prove that the Bactrians must have been an Indian people.\* The commerce carried on by this people was by no means in proportion to the extensive power which, after the death of the Macedonian emperor, they acquired.

The early death of Alexander prevented his maturing any plan for either founding an Indian empire or establishing an Indian commerce; and the Bactrian empire which arose, while itself profiting, did not extend the intercourse of East and West. For three hundred years the trade with India was conducted by the Egyptians and Arabs by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean, through the ports of Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who had been a prominent commander in the Indian expedition of Alexander, having obtained Egypt in the division of the Macedonian empire which followed the conqueror's decease, naturally turned his attention to the scenes of his former exploits, and contributed to the commercial enterprise which then marked the proceedings of the Egyptians and Arabs. Egypt became the grand path of oriental commerce. There were, however, two other routes by which a small portion of the traffic with the East was carried on. One of these lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities, a desert and difficult route, but one of great antiquity. The only halting-place on this dreary road was the famed city of Tadmor, or Palmyra, so-called from the abundance of palm-trees which flourished around its walls. This regal city owed its prosperity to the commerce which passed through it, and which, in the course of time, raised the state to a degree of importance and power that exposed it to the jealousy of imperial Rome. A war ensued, in which its brave and noble-minded queen, Zenobia, was captured, her city destroyed, and with it the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the days of Abraham. The second route was by way of the Indus upwards, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Cush, and so on to the river Oxus and the Caspian Sea, whence the merchandize was conveyed by other land and water conveyance to the cities of the north and north-west. Even in the present day we find this a route of some importance, serving as the means of carrying

on a trade between India, Persia, and Russia, which is of more real value to the latter country than is perhaps generally known in Europe. The richest silks, the finest muslins, the most costly shawls, the rarest drugs and spices, are bought up by Russian dealers, and transported by this tedious route to the cities of the great czar. With the Palmyra route the carrying-trade of Egypt with the East suffered equally from the ravages and conquests of the Roman emperors, though not so permanently.\*

During the reign of the Emperor Claudius some attention was paid to the advantages which might be derived from an Eastern commerce. This appears, however, to have been the result of Eastern more than of Western enterprise. An embassy was sent from Ceylon which was purely of a commercial character. The great empire of China was penetrated by the fame of the Roman name, and probably in consequence of the representations made by the Ceylon ambassador at a former period, a mission to the ruler of the celestial empire was sent from Rome in the reign of the Antonines.

When the decline of the Roman empire removed the vigorous surveillance held by its despots over their Eastern provinces, the trade between India and Europe, which had suffered much from Roman oppression, began to revive. The removal of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople extended greatly the intercourse between East and West. The Byzantines were, however, rivalled by the Persians when the latter shook off the Parthian yoke.

The conquests of the enterprising Saracens gave an immense stimulus to Eastern commerce. They established commercial navies on the Persian Gulf; and the city of Bus-sorah, founded by the Caliph Omar, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, soon became a place of trade hardly inferior to Alexandria. The Egyptian trade through the Red Sea was at the same time revived; and the hardy Arabs, not contented with following in the track of their predecessors, pushed forward their discoveries until they had accurately explored the greater part of the coastline of South-eastern Asia. It is all but demonstrated that they obtained a knowledge of the mariner's compass from the Chinese, and that through them this vast improvement in the art of navigation was made known to Europe. The Crusaders were non-trading enthusiasts; yet the capture of the two flourishing cities of Antioch and Tyre pointed out to them the pleasures of oriental

\* See the descriptions and observations of Masson and Prinsep in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*; of Jacquet, in the *Journal Asiatique*; Raoul Rochette, in the *Journal des Savans*; also Richter, on the *Topes (die Stupe)*, and Lassen, *Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskytischen Könige in Bactrien, Kabul, und Indien*.

\* *A History of the Rise and Progress of the British Indian Possessions.*



luxury and the advantages of oriental commerce.\*

The decline of the Saracenic power gave scope to the rising commonwealths of Italy. The Genoese and Venetians prosecuted trade with Central Asia by way of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, and the subjects of those states maintained with Persia an important oriental commerce. These nations were not, however, able to effect any direct trade with India.

The rise of the Portuguese as a commercial nation opened up a new medium of commercial intercourse with India. Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, rounded the southern point of Africa, which he named "the Cape of Storms." John II., King of Portugal, perceiving the bearing of the discovery of a passage round the great African promontory into the Indian Ocean, gave it the happy title of "the Cape of Good Hope." Manuel, the successor of John, followed up the discovery of Diaz, and sent out an exploring expedition in July, 1497. On the 22nd of May, 1498, the navigator who commanded this enterprise, Vasco da Gama, reached Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. He remained some time, and freighted his ship with the articles of Indian produce attainable on that coast, and adapted to European taste, or which, in the speculative enterprise of Da Gama, was supposed to be so. He escaped various perils with which his intercourse with the natives was beset,—more especially through the jealousy of the monarch,—and returned in safety to the Tagus.†

The hopes and fears of all Europe were roused by this brilliant discovery. It was at once seen that the Venetians, and their agents, the Mohammedans and Turks, must lose their lucrative monopoly of Indian commerce; and they entered into a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt to prevent the establishment of Portuguese settlements in the Eastern seas. Timber was supplied to him from the forests of Dalmatia to equip a fleet in the Red Sea, where twelve ships of war were soon built, and manned by a gallant body of Mamelukes, under the command of experienced officers. The Portuguese encountered their new enemies with undaunted courage; and after some conflicts they entirely ruined the Egyptian squadron, and remained masters of the Indian Ocean.

After the overthrow of the dynasty of the Mameluke sultans by the Turks, the Venetians easily induced the conquerors of Egypt to join them in a new league for the overthrow of the Portuguese power in India. But the Turks had not the skill and enterprise necessary for undertaking the perilous navigation

of the Red Sea, and soon after, the power of Venice was irretrievably ruined by the fatal league of Cambray. The Indian trade was consequently transferred from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, and Lisbon for a time was in possession of that commerce which had been a source of wealth and glory to Venice.\*

The Portuguese government conducted its plans for commanding a commerce with the East *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope with spirit and success. A fleet of thirteen sail, carrying a thousand soldiers, independent of the complement which served as marines, was dispatched under an officer named Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. On his arrival at Calicut, partly by the presence of this imposing force, and partly by his tact in negotiation, he made a treaty of commerce with the *zamorin* or *zamoree*, as the prince of the country stretching along the Malabar coast was then called, and the adventurous Portuguese became regularly installed as factors in Calicut. The mercantile settlers, resting on the treaty, felt secure; but the prince, instigated by the Moormen, laid a scheme for their destruction so furtively, and carried it out so completely, that a general massacre of the Portuguese merchants and their servants, was the result. Thus the character of the natives two centuries and a half ago was developed to Europeans as it was in 1857. The same faculty of secret combination, the same hatred to strangers, and the same expertness in secretly organizing murderous conspiracy against those who trusted them, was displayed.

Cabral was not a man to allow treachery and cruelty either to go unpunished or to defeat his projects. He attacked the Moormen fleet in the harbour of Calicut, burnt, sunk, or captured the ships, and laid the town itself in ruins. The result was that the perfidious chief sued for terms, and obtained them at the expense of far more important concessions than had been requested of him for purposes of commerce and peace.

Awed by the promptitude and energy of Cabral, the chiefs of the neighbouring territories sought amicable relations, and commercial treaties were formed highly beneficial to the Portuguese, who thus found means of obtaining from the interior its products in exchange for foreign goods, or the precious metals. Cabral returned home in triumph, his fleet freighted with Indian riches; and his fame soon spread, not only through the Iberian peninsula, but over all Western and Southern Europe. After the return of Cabral matters were not managed by the Portuguese with skill or fidelity, and the *zamoree* (*zamo-*

\* *Ancient and Modern India.*

† Camoens.

\* Taylor and M'Kenna.



rin) of Calicut endeavoured to compel the native princes in his neighbourhood to break off their alliances with the intruders. These attempts issued in sanguinary struggles, in which, however, the native princes and their foreign ally were the victors.

The Portuguese monarch, stimulated by the accounts of Vasco da Gama, fitted out a new and more powerful fleet, adapted alike for commerce and for war. Albuquerque had the interests of Portugal now committed to him, and he proved himself capable of the high task. His difficulties were more numerous than those which obstructed his predecessors, and his commission was one which, whatever might have been his own opinion of it, ensured the ultimate defeat of Portuguese power and enterprise in the East. The nature of his onerous duties, and the way in which the designs of Portugal were encountered, are thus summed up by Dr. Taylor:—"The papal bull, by which all the East was bestowed on the Portuguese, began now to produce its injurious effects. The Portuguese claimed, as matter of right, the submission of the native princes, while they were utterly unable to conceive how an old prelate residing in Rome, could acquire a claim to deprive them of the authority and independence which they had inherited from their ancestors. Almost every port now opposed the entrance of the Portuguese, and the cargo of almost every ship they loaded was purchased with blood. It was at this time that Albuquerque was placed at the head of the Portuguese in India, and entered on the career of victory which has immortalized his name. One of his first visits was to the Island of Ormuz, an island barren by nature, but which commerce soon raised to a temporary celebrity, such as has rarely been rivalled. The king of the island prepared for defence, and assembled an army, said to exceed thirty thousand men; yet these were totally defeated, by the discipline and skill of less than five hundred Europeans; and the king of Ormuz submitted to vassalage. The foundation of the Portuguese empire in the East may be said to date from the occupation of Goa by Albuquerque. He fortified it in the best manner, so as to render it impregnable against any attacks of the Hindoos or Mohammedans; and having thus discovered the great advantage to be derived from the occupation of cities and harbours, he began to direct his whole course of policy to territorial acquisitions. One of his first conquests was Malacca. He afterwards attempted to storm Aden, but was repulsed. From Malacca to the Island of Ormuz the coast-line of India was studded with forts and commercial marts, occupied by Portu-

guese garrisons, or dependant on their power. The financial talents of the governor were even greater than his military prowess; he raised the revenue by lowering the rate of duties, trade naturally flowing towards those places where it was least exposed to taxation and vexatious interference. After a brilliant regency of five years, he died at the entrance of the harbour of Goa, on his return from the Island of Ormuz, which he had rescued from the dangers to which it was exposed by a sudden attack of the Persians." During the administration of Albuquerque, ships were dispatched from the settlements on the Indian coasts to China, and a trade was opened up with that country. The Indo-Portuguese derived from this indomitable and wise man, not only lessons of war and administration, but principles of commerce and political economy, which unhappily they did not long retain, and which the parent country never espoused.

The object in this chapter is not to mark the political or social influence of the Portuguese upon their Indian possessions, but to trace the history of European commerce with these realms; it is therefore unnecessary to point out the ebb and flow of the power of Portugal along the coasts of India, and in their neighbouring settlements. Whatever was corrupt and unprincipled in the government of the eastern princes was adopted by the new comers, and other forms of oppression and exaction were introduced. The seas were scoured by pirates: Arabs, Moormen, Malays, Indians, and other races, plundered by sea and shore, and among the boldest and bloodiest of these buccaneers were Portuguese, men who had been sent out in the service of their sovereign, but who, yielding to the avarice and unpatriotic selfishness which so generally characterized their commercial fellow countrymen, forsook the honourable posts assigned to them, and became the most desperate sea robbers. The return of Vasco da' Gama for a short time to the government of Portuguese-India, and the influence of men who endeavoured to follow in the footsteps of him and of Albuquerque, redeemed, *pro tempore*, the honour of Portugal, and prevented her interests from utterly perishing in the faithlessness and folly of her sons; but in spite of the good examples thus occasionally set them, and the same commercial policy in which they had at the beginning of their Indian enterprise been instructed, they sacrificed empire and honour to bigotry, oppression, and pelf. Vessels sent out for commercial purposes by the government were armed for war by the governors of the different settlements, who struggled



with one another for supremacy, amidst fierce and sanguinary conflicts, and the sacrifice of national property. An intense eagerness for proselytism was strangely mingled with this piratical spirit. Strenuous efforts were made to convert the natives, many of which were honourable to those who made them, but generally they were barbarous, and abhorrent to Christian feeling. The establishment of the Inquisition at Goa is one of the darkest passages in human story. Probably never, anywhere, had the ingenuity and pertinacity of cruelty been so united with forms of sanctity and professions of benevolence. Francis Xavier, by whom the inquisition was established at Goa, although he co-operated with the government, and promoted its authority by the religious influence he acquired, did much personally to check the corruption and tyranny of those to whom the administration of affairs was committed, and often, with a high hand, redressed the wrongs of the natives. Many of the atrocities at Goa, alleged to have been perpetrated with the connivance of Xavier, were inflicted in spite of his indignant remonstrances, and even his denunciations and menaces. Representations to the government at Lisbon were also made by him against the civil turpitude which so soon indicated the ultimate ruin of Portuguese interests in the East. The whole career of this people in their oriental exploits, with the noble exceptions referred to, exemplified the truth of the scripture principle, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is the ruin of any people." The commerce of the Portuguese was literally destroyed by their religion. The horrible butcheries of the Inquisition of Goa infuriated the people of India, and rendered the name of the Portuguese infamous throughout the world. A modern writer thus describes in brief the general effect produced, and the final catastrophe, so far as Portuguese commerce was concerned, to which it led:—"As evil has ever been known to work out good, so these persecutions and religious slaughters led in the end to favourable results. A cry for vengeance arose from the priestly shambles of the Inquisition. It went forth over that devoted land from shore to shore, and found an echo in many a heart,—sympathy in many a home. Insurrections, revolts, massacres, and burnings, were to be met with far and near. Armed with another papal bull, the Portuguese *Christians* deluged the country with blood; but in vain. Even the native converts joined the standard of the Hindoo and the Moslem, whose practice, if not their creed, was more merciful and tolerant than that of the civilized crusaders from

the Western world. And now another people appeared on the bloody stage; a race of persevering, industrious merchants, who, by their cautious and humane policy, founded an empire in the East more durable, because more merciful, more kindly, than that of the intolerant Portuguese." The people here referred to as supplanting the Portuguese were the Dutch. The encomium passed upon them must be taken with abatement; their pursuit of gain was as godless as that of most other nations, but it is to their credit that they refrained from coercion as an instrument of conversion, except under certain tame and modified forms, which, although inconsistent with Christianity, are not so revolting to human nature as were the practices of the Portuguese. It may be doubted whether at any time during the successes of the Dutch they were as prosperous as the Portuguese were under some of their leaders, whose careers have been referred to. There was probably as much justice and success in the administrations of Vasco da Gama and his great successor, as ever marked European enterprise in India, whether commercial or military. The poet hardly allowed fancy to portray too fair a picture when he sung—

"O'er Indus' banks, o'er Ganges' smiling vales,  
No more the hind his plunder'd field bewails;  
O'er every field, O Peace, thy blossoms glow,  
The golden blossoms of thy olive bough;  
Firm based on wisdom's laws great Castro crowns,  
And the wide East the Lusian empire owns."

The Dutch, however, inaugurated their first essay of Indian commerce well, and if not so gloriously as the Portuguese, yet the odium which the religious persecutions, fraud, and cruelty of the latter brought them, enabled the peaceful and cautious proceedings of the former to strike the minds of the natives of India in strong contrast. The writer last quoted, generally accurate and conscientious, thus presents the entrance of the new European adventurers upon the theatre of their commercial enterprise:—"The Dutch (A.D. 1509), having gathered some information respecting the trade and possessions of the Portuguese in India, and lured by the prospect of a share of those costly spoils, fitted out a fleet of merchantmen under the direction of an East India company, and dispatched it laden with goods and merchandize for barter, and well armed. The advent of this first armament from Holland was the dawn of salvation to India; and from that time may be dated the decline and ruin of the Indo-Portuguese empire. It was in vain that the governor of Goa, alarmed by the appearance of these formidable arrivals in the Eastern waters, endeavoured to excite the natives of



India against the Dutch. He soon found that so far from the new-comers being regarded with fear or jealousy, they were looked upon with favourable eyes by the princes who ruled upon the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and that these people began to count upon the assistance of the Hollanders, as a foil to the oppressions of the Portuguese. Equally in vain was it to endeavour to repel the intruders by force of arms; they would gladly have found a pretext for a quarrel, but the wary policy of the Dutch disappointed them in this, and the latter were, moreover, too well armed to be easily taken by surprise." This statement as to the decline of the Portuguese is correct. The manners of the Dutch were so much more acceptable to the people, that the hatred of Portuguese rule was increased, if possible, beyond that which their atrocities had stimulated. Revolt everywhere, continental and insular, left them no hope; even the weak Ceylonese triumphed in expelling the detested invaders, the native converts and half-castes joining the people against the tyrants. An order from Madrid, where the government of Portugal was then chiefly conducted, directed that every public office in India should be sold, and the money sent home, thus destroying all hope of retrieving disasters, or regaining lost territory. Terrific storms wrecked their fleets—convoys and merchantmen being lost together. It seemed as if heaven fought against Portugal; her commerce, power, and renown perished.

The attempts of the Dutch to open up an Indian commerce were systematized, and the enterprises were well organized and well conducted. Although the English soon followed the Dutch, the latter were far more successful; for James I.—with that alacrity to betray their country, which the false-hearted Stuarts ever exhibited—was anxious to sacrifice this commerce to please Philip of Spain. The Dutch were free; they had defied and humbled Philip, and were prepared to pluck from his grasp the oriental diadem. They won the spice trade of Ceylon, and utterly broke up the profitable trade with China which the Portuguese had in their most flourishing period established. It is possible that the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal was the chief cause of the declension of Portuguese commerce; for when, in 1640, the Portuguese threw off the Spanish connection, there was a renewal of energy in the forts and factories which they had continued to hold in India, and so much of an improved spirit was indicated, that the prospects of Portuguese oriental commerce revived. The Dutch, however, had gained too firm a footing, and could

only be supplanted by a far more powerful rival than Spain or Portugal, or both united, were ever likely to prove. The Portuguese still retain a few settlements,—Goa, Diu Timor, and Macao, at the mouth of the Canton river, but their trade is insignificant.

Previous to the reign of Elizabeth England received from the Venetians such Indian commodities as she consumed. Dr. Cooke Taylor, and other writers, represent this trade as unprofitable to England. But no nation will continue to carry on gainless commerce: the Venetians took such things in return as it suited England to export, and the commodities she received were worth to her the exchanges made in those transactions. Still it was a barter which did not call out the energy of so enterprising a people, and in no sensible manner tended to augment their wealth. In 1518 some of the leading merchants in London consulted as to the practicability of no longer dealing in the commodities of the East "at second hand," and proposed to the government of Elizabeth that negotiations should be opened with the Sultan of Turkey for certain trading privileges in the Levant. These negotiations were opened, and proved successful. From that time the English began a new trade, importing Indian articles by that way. A modern writer, quoting Hakluyt, states:—"There was a very considerable trade to the Levant in English bottoms, between the years 1512 and 1534. He tells us that several stout ships from London, Southampton, and Bristol had a constant trade to Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Beyrout in Syria. Our imports were silks, camlets; rhubarb, malmsies, muscatels, and other wines; sweet oil, cotton goods, carpets, gall, cinnamon, and other spices. Our exports were fine and coarse kerseys, white western dogan, cloths called *statutes*, and others called *cardinal whites*, skins, and leather. From a cotemporary document it appears, that in this early day Manchester had already acquired some fame as a manufacturing town, particularly for the production of certain woollen cloths, which, singularly enough, were called *cottons*, a corruption of *coatings*."

From 1576 to the end of the sixteenth century various efforts to form a direct trading intercourse with India were made, and the enterprise of Cavendish at the close of the century, following the reports made by Stephens of his voyage to Goa round the Cape of Good Hope, stimulated the enterprise of the London merchants, and a society was formed, entitled "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East



Indies."\* This society was constituted a body corporate by Elizabeth. "The first English fleet which was dispatched to India (A.D. 1601) consisted of five ships, under the command of Captain Lancaster. These anchored in the roads of Achen in June of the following year; and one of the first acts of the commodore was to form a commercial treaty with the prince of the country. Having bartered some of the merchandize for such articles as the place furnished, Lancaster made sail for Java, to complete the homeward lading with spices, gums, silks, saltpetre, &c.; and finally, after arranging another treaty with the King of Bantam, he returned home well freighted with a valuable cargo." This was followed by other successful voyages, especially in the year 1605. The jealousy of the Portuguese and Dutch was roused; the former made desperate efforts to destroy the English ships, but the company having sent out larger and stronger vessels, as the necessity of doing so became apparent, the Portuguese were defeated with terrible loss of ships and men. The Dutch were more wary, but not less hostile; and although that nation was much indebted to Elizabeth for her aid in its struggles against the power of Spain, it nevertheless united with the Indo-Portuguese to prevent the English from the pursuit of lawful and peaceable commerce. The alliance was fatal to the Dutch. Had they favoured their old allies, and only competed with them

in a just and honourable rivalry, they might have long continued to share the profits of oriental trade in a degree worthy of their original enterprise. Holland adopted a dishonourable, selfish, and ungrateful policy, and met the fate such conduct merited.

In previous chapters of this History the government of the East India Company has been stated, and in chap. xiii. an historical sketch of the institution and progress of the company was given preliminary to such statement. In future chapters narrating the course of events in India, the development of the company's power will be traced. So mingled did the commercial and the political become, that they must be related together when events in India after the first enterprises of the English are detailed. When, ultimately, the Dutch were completely humiliated by Oliver Cromwell, England had no longer a rival in her eastern commerce, until the enterprise of France, and the skill of a few gifted Frenchmen, excited her apprehensions. The issue of the struggle with France was as triumphant as those with the Portuguese and Dutch, leaving England undisputed mistress of the commerce of the Indian seas, as well as the only European power occupying a formidable position from the Persian Gulf to Hong-Kong. The extent and character of the trade which now exists between Britain and her possessions in the East, will form the subject of separate chapters.

## CHAPTER XXI.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—MODE OF TRANSACTING BUSINESS IN INDIA—THE CURRENCY—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—IMPORT OF SILVER—IMPORT AND EXPORT OF GENERAL MERCHANDIZE.

A CONSIDERABLE proportion of the capital employed in Indian commerce belongs to English merchants, representatives of whom reside at the chief cities in the presidencies, where they establish houses of business, purchase the commodities of India, and ship them to the British Isles, China, the East India Archipelago, and Australia; for these shipments British commodities or silver are taken in exchange. Certain natives are always employed by the European merchants or their representatives. These are called *banyans* in Bengal; the term signifies a merchant, trader, or commercial *employé*. The banyan acts as interpreter and agent, and generally manages the money dealings of his European employer with the natives. This description

\* See chap. xiii. p. 286.

of official is very fond of assuming the title *dowan*, which is expressive of authority delegated to a confidential person, and is used by the native princes in transactions of palace regulation, of state, and of policy. The *banyans* are always Hindoos, and generally persons of property, influence, and commercial credit. These men have gained great influence over the English houses of business, and transact much of the monetary and commercial affairs of the presidencies. Their bonds of security are taken in government contracts, and they often control the fate of an embarrassed concern. Sometimes those men have been found convenient instruments by officials who had the power to bestow a contract, and which of course the individual holding the patronage dared not bestow upon



himself. The banyan receives the contract ostensibly, but really for the official, who virtually confers it upon himself, the native agent accepting a per centage for his trouble and responsibility.

The bearing of the banyan towards his European employer was formerly, and to some extent is still, very independent, and sometimes arrogant. He entered the office slipshod, which is a tacit assertion of equality, and there conducted himself as if he were *major domo*, giving directions to his *sircars*, *hircaraks*, &c., classes of underlings by whom the great man was attended. Of late years these persons have become unfashionable, but their pecuniary resources are such that in large speculations, and when heavy advances to indigo and sugar-planters are necessary, their aid is indispensable.

In Madras similar persons are called *dubash*, a corruption of *divi bashi*, one who can speak two languages, referring to the freedom with which these men can speak and write English as well as their native tongue. The same is the case with the banyans of Bengal, and frequently even with the *sircars* and *hircaraks* by whom they are attended. When the services of all these classes are dispensed with, native clerks are employed, who can read and write English with accuracy and fluency.

The warehouses of the chief presidential cities are called *godowns*. In these, or in bonded warehouses, the produce imported to India is placed.

The *baboos*, *purvoes*, and other native commercial servants, are content to receive very small salaries, commonly ranging from £15 to £60 per year; but some have as much as £180 a year, and a few somewhat more.

*Peons* are attached to most offices to carry notes—or *chits*, as they are termed—to various places of business. This sort of service is rendered necessary by the severe heat, rendering active exertion on the part of Europeans often impossible, and generally difficult.

Bills of exchange, called *hoondees*, are used for remittance from one part of India to another. They are obtained from bankers, who abound in all the important cities.

Treasury notes are much used for remittance by the offices of government. These are bills issued by the civil authorities for cash paid to them.

Securities in government notes, bearing interest, similar to our exchequer bills, are much sought after by those who are desirous to make investments, whether Europeans or natives. These government promissory notes are useful as deposits for loans, in which way money can always be obtained cheaply by

those desirous of retaining the stock, but requiring advances.

Bank-notes are issued by the banks in India, and obtain circulation to a moderate extent.

Monetary transactions between England and India are conducted mainly by bills of exchange, supported by bills of lading.

The coinage of India consists of *rupees*, *annas*, and *pice*. One rupee equals sixteen annas; one anna equals three pice. The rupee is a silver coin, about the size and value of a florin, and is divisible into *half-rupees* and *quarter-rupees*. The only gold coin existing in Bengal is the *mohur*, which is worth sixteen rupees, or thirty-two shillings British money. This coin is, however, seldom seen, as one class of natives export it when it comes into their possession, and others melt it down for the purpose of fabricating personal ornaments. In Madras the *star pagoda* was once circulated, but is now hardly known. On the coasts, and to some extent in the interior, among the poorest classes, *cowries* have currency. These are small shells; their value fluctuates so much, that copper coin is rapidly displacing them.

In the conversion of the rupee into the equivalent currency of other nations in drawing bills of exchange, the fluctuation of the relative value of the precious metals *inter se* is taken into consideration, from the circumstance of gold being in some, and silver in others, the legal medium of circulation. It is also necessary to take account for the mint charge for coining at each place, which adds a fictitious value to the local coin. The *par of exchange* is, for these reasons, a somewhat ambiguous term, requiring to be distinguished under two more definite denominations: first, the *intrinsic par*, which represents that case in which the pure metal contained in the parallel denominations of coins is equal; secondly, the *commercial par*, or that case in which the current value of the coinage at each place (after deducting the seignorage leviable for coinage) is equal, or, in other words, "two sums of money of different countries are *commercially* at par, while they can *purchase* an equal quantity of the same kind of pure metal." Thus, if silver be taken from India to England, it must be sold to a bullion merchant at the market price, the proprietor receiving payment in gold (or notes convertible into it). The London mint is closed against the importer of silver, which metal has not, therefore, a minimum value in the English market, fixed by the mint price, although it has so in Calcutta, where it may always be converted into coin at a charge of two per cent. On the other hand,



if a remittance in gold be made from India to England, its out-turn there is known and fixed. The new *Calcutta gold mohur* fluctuates as considerably in India as that of silver does in England, the natural tendency of commerce being to bring to an equilibrium the operations of exchange in the two metals. The exchange between England and India has, therefore, a twofold expression: for silver, the price of the *sicca rupee* in shillings and pence; for gold, the price of the sovereign in rupees.\*

In the Straits settlements, and in the Island of Ceylon, the *Spanish dollar* is the coin which circulates most freely. It has been shown in the chapters describing these places that the merchants and settlers prefer this coin to the rupee, with which the government of India desire to supersede it. At Aden the *Austrian dollar* circulates.

The system of British India weights and measures is founded upon the principle of making the *maund*, or highest nominal weight, equal to one hundred English troy pounds, and thirty-five *seers* equal to seventy-two pounds avoirdupois, thus establishing a simple connection, void of fractions, between the two English metrical scales and that of India. The unit of the British *ponderary system* is called the *tola*. It weighs a hundred and eighty grains English troy weight. From it upwards are derived the heavy weights, viz., the *chittack*, the *seer*, and *maund*:—

	lbs.	oz.	dwt.	grs.
The maund is equal to . . . . .	100	0	0	0
The seer „ . . . . .	2	6	0	0
The chittack „ . . . . .	1	17	12	0
The tola „ . . . . .			7	12†

The weights used by goldsmiths and jewellers are smaller—such as the *masha*, which is equivalent to fifteen grains; the *cuttee*, which is equal to 1·875; the *dhau*, which is but one-fourth of a grain.

The currency of India is a subject which of late years has undergone sharp discussion both in the presidencies and at home. It has engaged the serious attention of the board of directors, and has obtained perhaps an equally earnest consideration from financiers and political economists. The currency of a country is a subject as closely connected with government as with commerce, and might be discussed with equal propriety under either head; but the influence of Indian currency, regarded in all its conditions, upon the commerce of that country is so determinate and important, and is so rapidly being developed in new phases, that this chapter seems the most proper place for treating of it.

The legal tender in India is silver, and the

\* Captain Stocqueler.

† Ibid.

amount in circulation is probably a hundred and forty millions sterling, although some writers estimate it as high as a hundred and sixty millions. The *company's rupee* consists of 11·12, or 165 grains of pure silver, and 1·12, or fifteen grains of alloy. Considerable hesitation seems to have pervaded the councils of the government of India in making silver the sole legal tender. Lord Cornwallis, at the time he established the *sicca rupee* for the currency of Bengal, also regulated the circulation of the *old gold mohur* as a legal tender for sixteen sicca rupees, “but that coin was always of a high agio, and never found place in the currency of the country.” Prices were expressed in rupees. The land settlements by the Marquis of Cornwallis himself were regulated in rupees, and the public debt was contracted in the same coin. Since the time of Akbar gold coin has had a fluctuating value, and was bought and sold at an agio for presentations and offerings to great men, and for weddings and religious ceremonies, while silver was used as the basis of the circulation. In the south of India the *gold pagoda* circulated until within the last thirty years. It seems to have been alike the desire of the government and people of India to withdraw the gold currency, and substitute silver. In a letter from the government of India to the court of directors, dated the 24th of June, 1835, the following decision is expressed:—“No gold coin will henceforward be a legal tender of payment in any of the territories of the East India Company; but the gold pieces to be hereafter coined will circulate at whatever rate of value relatively to the legal silver currency of the country they may bear to currency. The governor-general in council will from time to time fix the rate by proclamation in the *Calcutta Gazette* at which they shall be received and issued at the public treasuries, in lieu of the legal silver currency of British India. Until further orders, that rate will be as the names of the tokens denote—the *gold mohur* for fifteen rupees; the *five rupee piece* for five rupees; the *ten rupee piece* for ten rupees; the *thirty rupee piece* for thirty rupees.”

It was soon seen by the Indian government that, as these gold coins were not a legal tender, their issue at a prescribed rate in relation to the coin which was a legal tender was inconsistent and impracticable, and accordingly, in 1841, by proclamation, the public functionaries were authorized to receive them at the previous rate of fifteen to one, “to be disposed of as might be ordered by the accountant-general, or the accountant of the presidency.”

In 1844 it seems to have been the policy



of the government to encourage the coinage of gold, for a reduction of seignorage from two to one per cent. was ordered on gold bullion coined in Madras and Bombay. This rate had existed in Bengal for seven years previous. The seignorage on silver coin remained at two per cent.

In 1850 the value of gold in relation to silver had so sensibly depreciated, and the prospect of a further relative depreciation appeared so certain, that the sub-treasurer at Calcutta made a report upon the subject. This condition of things continued to impress the government, and in 1852 notice was given that payment in gold would not be received in the public treasury; and that the act of 1835, instituting silver as the exclusive standard of value, would be enforced.

Objections are taken to silver as the standard. One of these rests on the desirableness, if not the necessity, of having the same legal tender as in the country whose supremacy gives law to India. Another is founded on the cumbrous nature of an exclusive silver currency creating extensive inconvenience to the government, which is obliged to hold larger balances than would, it is alleged, be necessary with a more available currency. It is an established rule in India to have a balance of eight millions, and it is generally half as much more. In 1855, when the public works loan was contracted, there was a balance held of eight millions, but the loan was resorted to because there was not enough in the Calcutta treasury for even an expenditure of two months. It is replied to this objection, and with reason, that the area of territory is so vast, and the means of transit so imperfect over a large portion of that area, that it would be difficult in emergencies to make either gold or silver available to a large amount at any given place. The troops being quartered in garrisons so numerous and remote, and the various centres of government being so widespread, it is necessary that treasuries be maintained in numerous places far away from the seat of the supreme government. An experienced public officer, well known in India and in England, thus expressed himself on this subject:—"Although I entirely agree in the opinion that under the present system a cash balance of upwards of eight crores has been proved to be insufficient, I am still of opinion that under a different system that amount would be an ample working capital wherewith to administer the government in ordinary times. Eight or nine millions of money, of which not a farthing is available wherewith to answer an unexpected demand, seems to me an enormous sum to be required merely as it were to

oil the financial machinery. I cannot but think that too large an aggregate sum is allowed to be frittered away among too many small treasuries. There is really only one place where it is of importance to have always a large spare balance, and that is the general treasury of Calcutta. Of four-fifths of the district treasuries any one may be run dry any day without any public inconvenience; nevertheless, the greater part of the eight or nine millions is always lying in these small treasuries. It would require much time, detailed knowledge, and thought, to make an effectual and safe alteration of this system in this respect, but I cannot believe that it is not to be done."\*

The impossibility of rapidly concentrating specie, from the great bulk and weight of money in silver, constrains the employment of a large number of the military in conducting and guarding treasure. The testimony of Sir Charles Napier as to the injury thus sustained to the public service is important:—"Treasure ought to be guarded by the *bir-kendauses* and *chupprassees*, but regular troops are employed by regiments, wings, detachments, and their marches are usually in the hottest season of the year and to great distances. Sometimes they are two or three months under European officers, often young, inexperienced, and unable, from the heat, to exert themselves. The duty is, therefore, done according to their bodily strength, the general relaxation of discipline in the army, and particular state of it in each regiment, and always such fatigue is incurred in guarding treasure in the hot season as to oppress natives as well as Europeans, officers and sepoys. These treasure guards resemble the Cape patrols against Caffres as to fatigue; but the patrols are made in the finest climate in the world, whereas the Indian treasure guards march in floods of heat, and exposed to deadly fevers. The patrol soldiers are cheered by a glory which their devotion, courage, and endurance merit. The poor treasure guard sepoy has no glory, no moral support under suffering; he falls under fatigue, the sun, and fever, unheeded, unheard of, a victim to duties not military. Between the 1st of January and the 31st of October of the following year 25,716 infantry and 3364 cavalry—total, 29,080 soldiers—were furnished for treasure escorts alone, exclusive of all other civil duties. Moreover, on nine occasions detachments, in two instances of whole regiments, are not included, because, from accidents, their numbers are not in my possession. Even this falls short of the truth.

\* Minute of Mr. J. P. Grant on the Public Works Loan, Parliamentary Paper 280, Session 1855.



During part of that time the general relief of corps was going on, and treasure was frequently sent with relieving regiments not included above. From twenty to thirty thousand men are, therefore, annually employed on this one branch of civil duty, for long periods and to great distances. Such are the severe trials of the Bengal army, injurious to its discipline, heart-breaking to its best officers, who are devoted to the service." \*

It is affirmed by the objectors to a silver currency that the inconvenience experienced by the government is shared by the commercial community, and is felt by the whole population of India. It is necessary for the merchants and bankers to employ a numerous class of persons to convey remittances. They carry about a thousand rupees (£100) each upon their persons, so that ten men are engaged in the service of remitting £1000! The same burden in sovereigns for each man would amount in value to £1600. The Thugs, Dacoits, and other robbers, are expert in lying in wait for treasure-bearers. In reply to these objections it is urged that there cannot be two legal tenders, one of gold and one of silver; and that so small are the payments made to the sepoys and among the people to one another, that a currency such as exists would alone be adapted to the wants of the country. It is also maintained that notwithstanding such inconveniences as may be supposed or proved to exist, the people and the government find the advantages of the actual currency more than a counter-balance. It is affirmed by the advocates of the rupee standard that even now, for the first time, if provision were to be made for the currency of such a country, the silver standard would be the better; but that having existed for so long a period, and thoroughly meeting the wishes and necessities of the people at large, any attempt to abolish the silver for a gold currency would be unnecessary and empirical.

A more important argument against making gold a legal tender, is founded on the fact that the public debt, and all public salaries and engagements, have been contracted for on the basis of a legal tender of silver. Gold is, in relation to silver, steadily sinking in value; the average yield of the silver mines of the world is about eight millions per year, and the supply, if not stationary, increases slowly, whereas the supply of gold has increased greatly. Silver is, therefore, more valuable now in relation to gold than when the public debt was incurred, and the engagements of the country, based on the silver standard, were formed. By the amount of this difference

the property of the public and private creditor, and the covenanted servants of the government, would be confiscated. This argument has undoubtedly weighed both with the government of India, the directors, and British cabinets.

The alteration of the legal tender from silver to gold, while the tendency in their relative value continues to be what it is, would create a revolution of prices in India of a serious nature. Where gold is the standard, its increasing quantities have raised the relative value of all other commodities as well as of silver, but this change has not taken place in India, because the standard was not gold. On the contrary, the increased value of silver tends to lower prices, but the effect as yet is not appreciable to any great degree, because the influx of silver has been equal to the demand. If gold be made a legal tender, the result must be the same in India as in England—all other things being equal—an upward tendency in prices.

From these considerations it is obvious that if such a change be made in India at all, it must be wrought out with care, with a scrupulous regard to vested interests, and so as to disturb as little as possible the commerce and economy of the country.

Closely connected with the question of the existence of silver as the legal tender of India, is the subject of the importation of silver into that country. In the vulgar *parlance* of mercantile affairs the balance of trade is in favour of India. According to the principles of political economy there can, of course, be no balance of trade in favour of any country. The precious metals are commodities to be received or exported as other articles of commerce. India receives silver because she prefers that return for her exports, either from necessity or taste. If any other article becomes more valued, she will, as a matter of ordinary traffic, export her silver to obtain it, if she do not possess some other articles more in request by her customers, and which she prefers to part with. China receives silver for her tea from Europe, but she readily parts with it again for opium to India. Both nations follow, in their dealing, a common and determinate law, which must operate upon their relations with others, according to mutual necessities and means of supply. India is not rich in gold and silver, and in all ages she has placed a high value upon them. Accordingly, she has always been an importer to a large extent, so that Pliny called her "the sink of the precious metals." The eagerness of the natives of all these vast regions for gold and silver ornaments, and the few things, comparatively,

\* *Indian Misgovernment*, fourth edition, p. 233.



which they require among the productions of other countries, will account for this continued importation. That it has now reached a vast magnitude, is evident from an examination of existing documents. Colonel Sykes, M.P., a distinguished member of the committee in Leadenhall Street, and formerly its chairman, has given very particular attention to the matter.\* According to this authority, India imported in the eight years ending 30th of April, 1842, bullion to the amount of fifteen millions sterling. According to another authority,† the bullion imported during the seven years ending 30th of April, 1849, was sixteen millions. Colonel Sykes affirms that during the five years ending the 30th of April, 1854, the bullion imported reached the value of nineteen millions. In 1855-6 she received from Great Britain and the Mediterranean ports alone £9,340,664, all of which, except £37,148, was in silver. In 1857 she received from the same places £226,750 in gold, and £13,246,684 in silver. Besides these immense imports in those latter years, she received also a considerable amount from China. The total export of silver to India and China in 1857, was twenty millions sterling, the demand of China being nearly equal to that of India. This large amount is more than double the produce of silver for that year from all the mines where it is obtained. The silver received in India has been chiefly in coin, yet this vast increase to the currency has not in any appreciable manner affected prices.

Independent of the natural operation of the laws of political economy already referred to, there have been social and political influences at work in India which caused the absorption of such vast sums. The love of ornaments—of the precious metals—has always operated in that direction, but more so in seasons of insecurity. There can be no doubt that a large portion of the people of India, as well as the whole Bengal army, expected for some years a revolt on a vast scale against British ascendancy. This led to an increase in the use of bracelets, anklets, earrings, necklaces, and waistbands of silver, as it was believed to be the safest mode in which treasure could be preserved.

The habit of secret hoarding grows upon a people whose lot is insecure, and remains long after the peculiar circumstances which led to it have passed away; this has been another

\* *The External Commerce of British India.* By Colonel Sykes, F.R.S. (Read before the Statistical Society, 21st of January, 1856, and reprinted from their Journal.)

† Tables of imports and exports for the three presidencies, in the Appendix to the Commons' Reports on Indian Affairs for 1852, p. 341.

source of the absorption of silver. The expectation so widely entertained of a coming convulsion, increased this habit during the last few years, and will partly account for the little influence upon prices, and upon the circulation which these large imports created.

The political causes which have operated have aided the social influences already in existence. As compared with that of native governments, the system of the East India Company occasions the necessity of a far more extended currency. Under the former the troops were to a certain extent paid in kind, and in a great degree supported on the lands of those to whom they owed a feudal service of arms. The company pays all its servants in cash. The creation of a public debt, the interest of which has to be paid in coin, creates another demand. The remission of several millions sterling per annum from India to the home government of necessity creates a demand for coin to meet the drain, although this tribute is paid in produce. The power of these governmental operations may be gathered from the chapters on revenue already before the reader, and from the following general glance:—The receipts of the home treasury of the East India Company from the 1st of January to the 30th of April, 1858, are estimated at £5,156,023, and the disbursements at £4,296,065, leaving a balance in favour of £859,958. The disbursements for the year ending the 30th of April, 1859, are estimated at £11,186,026, being—for Indian railways, £2,511,093; payments to government, £1,474,711; annuities, &c., payable in England, £1,403,480; stores and transport, 1,099,442; loan from the Bank of England, repayable on the 1st of October next, £1,000,000; minimum amount required to be held in cash, £1,000,000; dividends and interest, £980,000; bonds notified for discharge, £653,900; general charges, £595,800; amount repayable to security fund, £315,000; and bills of exchange and homeward, &c., £152,600. To meet these disbursements there will be available £2,500,000 from Indian railway companies, £120,000 from government for supplies, a like sum from bills of exchange on India, and the estimated balance in hand, amounting in all to £3,599,958, and leaving a deficiency of £7,586,068.\*

Independent of the action of government in reference to cash payments, the funded debt, and the home tribute, there was another cause in the *modus operandi* in collecting the land revenue. This source of taxation, as shown on a former page, was transmitted from the native princes, but they very generally received payment in kind, whereas the

\* *The Times'* city article, January, 1858.



British insisted upon payment in cash. This was the secret of the sufferings of the ryots, although so lightly taxed. In the settlement of the Punjaub Sir Henry Lawrence found the desire for payments in kind one of the chief obstructions to the progress of his salutary measures. The motive was the same as actuated the ryots in India to urge the same request—viz., the fact of cash payments lowering prices. This was invariably the first effect produced by insisting upon the payment of the land revenue in rupees. The *Bombay Quarterly Review* places the subject in this light:—"An all-important step in Anglo-Indian administration was to collect the land-tax in money instead of realizing it in kind, according to the practice which had virtually, if not nominally, obtained to a great extent under native rule. The immediate and inevitable consequence of this general enforcement of money assessments was, that the amount of coin previously circulating, and sufficient for the adjustment of the limited transactions connected with revenue and commerce under the native system, proved quite inadequate for the settlement, without a derangement of prices, of the greatly enlarged transactions resulting from the British system. Under the native system the sale for cash of a small part of the agricultural produce of a district sufficed to provide for all its liabilities connected with taxation and commerce. Under the British system, on the contrary, twice, or perhaps three times, the quantity of produce had to be sold in order to provide for the same objects, owing to the whole amount of the land-tax being demanded in coin. But the supply of coin remaining as before, the effect of this increased demand for it was of course to enhance its price. The coin in circulation had to perform double or treble the work it had accomplished before. The ryot, requiring more cash to pay his money assessment, had of course to bring more produce to market, which occasioned a glut, and brought down prices. And this state of things was aggravated by the demand for grain and forage in the country markets being less than before, owing to the disbanding of the irregular force which had been kept up by the native *jagheerdars* and other functionaries of the former government, and to the increased production due to an extension of cultivation by means of these disbanded levies. Prices fell more and more, until in many cases our collectors found it to be wholly impossible to collect the full land assessment, and large remissions had to be annually made. The village grain merchants, who are also the village bankers, deprived of a sufficient market at their own doors, were compelled, in

order to find money to supply their constituents with, to seek more distant markets for the disposal of the produce left upon their hands in liquidation of advances previously made by them to the ryots. This awakened a spirit of greater enterprize and activity among the commercial classes, which was gradually communicated to the ryots, and laid the germ of that active foreign trade which now advances with gigantic strides, and has already penetrated into the remotest recesses of the interior. This collateral benefit conferred by the British plan of administration, has fairly set free the dormant energies of the people."

The influx of silver will raise the price of gold and of all other commodities in India, eventually necessitating the exportation of the surplus silver, unless the discovery of new mines elsewhere greatly increase the quantity. The efforts of France and the United States of America to displace their silver currency by gold, set free an amount of the former which sustained the large European exports to the East. Other countries, following the example of these nations, will set free a further amount of silver, which will inevitably flow in the same direction. But when the railways are completed in India, and the commerce of different parts of her territory with one another is developed, and of all India with other portions of the East, a natural reaction will gradually take place.

It has been remarked that the influx of silver to India came to a considerable extent through China, in consequence of the opium trade between India and that country. China, by her immense exportations of tea and silk, and her comparatively small imports of European and American productions, receives a large quantity of silver, and this must be taken into account in calculating the relation of the Indian demand to the supply of that metal. The general trade of China was stated in the chapter upon that country. It is here only necessary to show the present prospects of the grand staple of Chinese export, tea, which is chiefly exchanged for silver, to enable the reader to form some judgment upon the subject. On another page the opium export to China from India, which is chiefly given in return for silver, will furnish additional data for general conclusions. The following account of the character of the tea trade with China during the year 1857, from the trade circular of an eminent house in the city, furnishes the fullest and most recent information for the present purpose:—

"The course of the tea market during the past year has been checkered—the range of fluctuation fully 20 per cent.; while the result



shows an average advance of about 10 per cent. upon most descriptions of black, and a fall of from 15 to 20 per cent. on some classes of green. It opened under considerable excitement, and large speculative business ensued at enhancing prices, stimulated by the news of the burning of the foreign factories at Canton, and the prospect of the partial stoppage of exports. Shortly after the whole trade was disarranged, and almost paralyzed, by the sudden proposition to put the duty at a higher point than had been previously fixed by law; and, although this matter was subsequently compromised at 1s. 5d. per pound, the previous tone of the market was not recovered, and considerable sales were made at a material decline. On the new duties coming into full operation, and the deliveries being found to be so much larger than was expected (the duty payments in one month having been on fifteen millions of pounds), all parties showed increased confidence, and this was greatly strengthened by the confirmation of the expected large falling off of the supplies for the season of 1856-7, proving ultimately to be no less than twenty-seven millions. A demand having simultaneously sprung up for export to the United States for both black and green, a large amount of business was done at an advance of from 1½d. to 2d. per pound.

"During the next four months the fluctuations were unimportant, but prices were on the whole well sustained, the departure of Lord Elgin from China to India aiding speculation. The highest general range was, however, now attained, for, although the account of the first crop of Kisows was confirmed, and most extravagant prices were being paid in China for the new teas, under the idea that this would be another year of short supply, and that prices must consequently advance at home, the report of continued shipments led to a decline here. In October came the American crisis, and eventually a fall of 1½d. to 2d. per pound on black, and 3d. to 4d. per pound on several sorts of green was submitted to. From this there was no recovery; and as the money pressure became more and more severe, so prices further gave way (although the principal importers held their stocks altogether off the market), as the necessities of parties (chiefly speculators) compelled them to realize. Subsequently a gradual restoration of confidence resulted. Meanwhile, general business was almost suspended; the tea trade suffered less than many others, but common congou gradually drooped until sales were made for cash at 11d., and ordinary was unsaleable at 10d. per pound. There were, however, no sellers of sound on

usual three months' terms under 1s. per pound. On receipt of the telegraphic news of the expected attack on Canton a slightly revived demand took place, and during the last two days of the year transactions were reported at 1s. 0½d. and 1s. 0¾d. per pound for common congou. The imports into the United Kingdom have been 61,000,000 lbs., against 87,741,000 lbs. in 1856. The deliveries for home consumption have been 69,000,000 lbs., against 63,000,000 lbs. in 1856. The deliveries for exportation have been 9,000,000 lbs. against 6,241,000 lb. in 1856. The stock remaining on the 31st of December was 71,000,000 lbs., against 88,000,000 lbs. in 1856.

"The imports have fallen off no less than 26,750,000 lbs. as compared with last year, being about 15,750,000 lbs. short of the average of the previous five years. The deliveries show a total surplus of 8,750,000 lbs. over last year, and about 9,500,000 lbs. beyond the average of the five previous years. Of the excess, 6,000,000 lbs. was in the quantity taken for home consumption, and 2,750,000 lbs. in the exports, chiefly to the United States. The present stock, although 17,000,000 lbs. less than at the end of 1856, is still nearly equal to eleven months' requirement at this year's rate of delivery, and 5,000,000 lbs. beyond the average of the preceding five years."

Imports by India and China of European goods increase, but they are small compared with the exports of eastern produce. China indeed is a large importer from India, but that circumstance is chiefly due to the passion for opium. England does not find such a market for her manufactures in the East, as her vast imports thence would justify her in expecting. From Great Britain and Ireland the exports to Australia are nearly as great as those to the East Indies. During the year 1857, they were—to Australia, £11,626,146; to the East Indies only £11,648,341. This state of things admits of explanation. A writer who paid attention especially to the condition of the presidency of Bombay says:—"Not only the principal towns and cities, but many of the larger description of villages are abundantly supplied with European manufactures of every sort, such as the natives require. They are provided with these by a race of men who purchase the commodities at Bombay, and retail them all over the Deccan. The articles generally consist of woollens, English chintzes, knives, scissors, razors, spectacles, looking-glasses, small prints, and different sorts of hardware; but the great mass of the people have not the means, if they had the inclination, to purchase any



considerable quantity of European goods. Any surplus that remains after the immediate supply of their necessities is always expended in their festivals, marriages, and religious ceremonies." When it is alleged that not only the principal towns and cities, but also the villages, are abundantly supplied with European manufactures, it is not intended to say that any very great importation of such articles is made; but merely that the limited wants of the people are met, that there is no difficulty in the way of their obtaining such articles either from their inaccessibleness, or the want of means of conveyance to remote districts. It is admitted that the power of the natives to purchase is small, and that a taste for European articles is not yet formed among the masses, however it may partially exist among the natives of rank. Yet while the exports of India have been increasing out of all proportion to the imports, Mr. H. Green, the professor of literature at Poonah College, in his work on the Deccan ryots, represents the grand want of India to be increased export, and the chief source of impoverishment, the importation of foreign commodities. His words are :—"The great desiderata are—more varieties of industry, and, above all things, more eligible and more abundant exports. Under our rule an unheard-of portion of the revenue of the country is spent for foreign commodities. A governor, a member of council, a judge, or a collector, does not, as a native rajah or jagheerदार would, spend his income on crowds of retainers and hangers on of all kinds, creating a large demand for bajree, jowaree, ghee, and ghoor—he requires Long-Acre carriages, Arabian horses, French and Spanish wines, Parisian and London millinery, and a long list of foreign etceteras. The rich native also now imitates him in almost all these things, and even the comparatively poor one expends whatever revenue he may have, beyond what is just sufficient to supply him with necessities, in English cloth and copper, and China silver and silk. This intense demand for foreign commodities renders it of vital importance that the exports which are to pay for them—and to provide also, if we are considering the case of all India, for the large tribute which in various shapes we exact, but of which the Deccan probably pays no portion whatever—should be such as are in their turn greatly in demand among foreigners, and contain considerable value in small bulk, so as to be easily and cheaply transported. Our rule will be light or heavy in India, almost in exact proportion to the facility or the difficulty which the country has in creating a demand abroad for its products. Let us sup-

pose a native prince and nobility—such as Bajirao and the Mahratta sirdars—were to suddenly change their tastes and habits, to dismiss the swarms of Brahmins hanging about them, and the sowars, peons, ghorawallas, and troops of idle servants, to whose maintenance their revenues had hitherto been devoted, to keep but few horses, and these purchased from the Persian Gulf instead of from the valley of the Bhcemthurry, and to spend, as we do, the revenues which supported all these dependents in every variety of foreign luxury. The first effect, evidently, must be great misery to the classes thus deprived of their accustomed means of living; the second, that the money no longer finding its way through these to the grain and other provision dealers, and through them to the producers, these latter will not have it to return to their rulers as revenue—there will be a general inability to pay the former rates for land, and every symptom of poverty and distress. In the meantime, the foreign luxuries in question being at first paid for in silver, the drain of this from the province will have produced falling prices. When these have fallen low enough to make it profitable to export the rude produce of the country, the drain will stop, and the foreign goods be henceforth paid for by these greatly deteriorated products."

That the improvement of India will keep pace with her importation of useful foreign commodities in exchange for her own productions is so obvious to all who are acquainted with the principles of political economy, that it is surprising to find men of note regarding her imports of the produce of other lands a disadvantage, and her exports for specie as her real profit. The lessons of a distinguished political economist might be studied by this class of the friends of Indian progress with advantage :—"The commerce of one country with another is, in fact, merely an extension of that division of labour by which so many benefits are conferred upon the human race. As the same country is rendered the richer by the trade of one province with another, so its labour becomes thus infinitely more divided and more productive than it could otherwise have been; and as the mutual supply to one another of all the accommodations which one province has and the other wants multiplies the accommodation of the whole, the country becomes thus, in a wonderful degree, more opulent and happy. The same beautiful train of consequences is observable in the world at large—that great empire of which the different kingdoms and tribes of men may be regarded as the provinces. In this magnificent empire, too, one province is favour-



able to the production of one species of accommodation, and another province to another. By their mutual intercourse they are enabled to sort and distribute their labour as most peculiarly suits the genius of each particular spot. The labour of the human race thus becomes much more productive, and every species of accommodation is afforded in much greater abundance. The same number of labourers whose efforts might have been expended in producing a very insignificant quantity of home-made luxuries may thus, in Great Britain, produce a quantity of articles for exportation, accommodated to the wants of other places, and peculiarly suited to the genius of Britain to furnish, which will purchase for her an accumulation of the luxuries of every quarter of the globe." \*

The articles now chiefly imported by India are those which are rendered necessary or desirable by the presence of her conquerors; but the wealthy natives also consume many European products. The industrial population of India use little of the foreign articles which are set down upon her shores. The following account of her imports by Stœckner gives too glowing a picture of what, nevertheless, is substantially true:—"The imports of India comprise every single product of Europe that can be calculated to improve the comfort or promote the luxury of man in a civilized state. The raw cotton received from her is returned, after it has passed through the looms of Manchester, Preston, and Paisley, in millions of yards. Hundreds of ships from England, the Clyde, from France, and the United States, visit her ports annually, laden with hardware and cutlery, with wines, ales, hams, cheeses, woollens, rich glass manufactures, books, bronze articles, steam-engines, printing-presses, varieties of iron and brass machines, paper, hats, carriages, horses, furniture—in short, every production of nature, every offspring of the handiwork of man, excepting such articles as are only adapted to the severest frosty regions, are carried to India. The carrying trade between Europe and India is conducted in vessels of all dimensions, from three to fifteen hundred tons. The steamers which ply round the Cape, and between the Red Sea and India, carry but a small amount of cargo." The aggregate value of this commerce, thus described with so much warmth, is, so far as exports from the British Isles are concerned, not much larger than that taken by some of our thinly peopled colonies inhabited by our own race.

The exports of India are indeed surprising in their variety, and vast in value. The writer last quoted thus describes them:—"It

\* John Stuart Mill.

would be difficult in describing the produce of India, which constitutes her exports, to distinguish very minutely between what has been grown and manufactured within the vast continent, and what has been conveyed thither from the Malayan peninsula, the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, China, Persia, &c., for the purpose of being re-shipped. An enumeration alone can be given of the articles which are brought to England and carried to other lands, leaving to persons interested in such inquiries to distinguish between the absolute offspring of the soil of India, and the goods of which her ports have temporarily become the emporia. According, then, to the returns to which access has been obtained, the grand exports from India consist of indigo, sugar, cotton, saltpetre, opium, silk, rice, pepper, betel-nuts, coffee, teak-timber, tobacco, drugs, dye-stuffs, sugar-candy, cocoa-nut oil, cochineal, coir, wax, ginger, cowries (shells), shawls, tamarinds, tale, chillies: all these are undoubtedly the produce of India proper. Of the following very many may be from India, but the most part are yielded by the islands and coasts in her vicinity, and the empire of China:—Tea, ivory, lac, gold and silver filagree-work, cornelians, ghee, grain, oils, putchuck, seeds, soap, horses, sarda, cassia, turmeric, ambergris, colombo root, elephants' teeth, fish maws, sandal-wood, zedoary, coarse piece goods, nankeen, dried fruits, tortoise-shell, cinnamon, arrack, areka-nuts, wild honey, precious stones, copperas, pearls, carpets, dholl, flax, hemp, hides, horns, black salt, copper, tin, lead, wood-oil, earth-oil, dammer, silver, naptha, birds' nests, timber, rattans, gold-dust, camphor, gum benjamin, argus' feathers, kajiput oil, cloves, nutmegs, brimstone, birds of paradise, gum copal, civet, salt, rose-water, ottar of roses, sapan-wood, tutenague, shrimp caviar, cones, dragons' blood, borax, and a multitude of drugs and cotton piece goods of rude manufacture."

To state the exact quantities of all these different articles imported into Great Britain and Ireland would be scarcely possible or necessary. A return moved for by Mr. Gregson, M.P., shows that there were imported in 1856 from places within the limits of the East India Company's charter and other parts (among other articles)—542,330 lbs. of aloes, 4651 cwt. of borax (refined), 4505 cwt. of camphor (unrefined), 7,840,702 canes or rattans, 19,035 cwt. of cowries, 56,257 lbs. of cubebs, 9266 cwt. of elephants' teeth, 1288 of gum asafœtida, 70,870 cwt. of gum Arabic, 14,766 of gum shellac, and 10,975 of lac dye; 15,557 cwt. of gutta percha, 1,502,626 cwt. of raw hemp, 653,156 cwt. of raw hides. and



3,238,116 lbs. of tanned hides; 30,093 cwt. of castor oil, 192,424 lbs. of rhubarb, 32,694 quarters of rough rice, and 3,692,001 cwt. of rice (not rough or in husk); 8013 cwt. of safflower, 137,068 cwt. of sago, 387,639 cwt. of saltpetre, 1,180,180 quarters of flax and linseed, 264,920 quarters of rape-seed, and 426,183 lbs. of senna; 9,398,911 lbs. of raw silk, 601,461 pieces of corahs, choppas, bandanas, Tussore cloths, Romals, and taffeties, 34,460 lbs. of China crape shawls, scarfs, and handkerchiefs, 20,337 yards of China damask, and 18,622 pieces of Pongee handkerchiefs; 1,408,021 lbs. of cassia lignea, 119,270 lbs. of cassia buds, 781,231 lbs. of cinnamon, 1,502,315 lbs. of cloves, 14,035 cwt. of ginger, 18,112 lbs. of mace, 462,600 lbs. of nutmegs, 10,810,398 lbs. of pepper, 69,282 cwt. of block tin, 12,761 cwt. of unbleached beeswax, and 21,620 loads of teak-wood.

The year 1857, notwithstanding the war in China and the revolt in India, afforded many indications of the vast expansion our oriental commerce is destined to receive. Accounts moved for by Mr. Gregson, M.P., and published by command of the Honourable the House of Commons, show that the declared value of the British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom to the East India Company's territories and Ceylon in the year 1857 amounted to, in all, £13,080,662, against £11,807,439, £10,927,694, £10,025,969, and £8,185,695, in the preceding years 1856, 1855, 1854, and 1853. The exports of home produce to India last year included £208,288 worth of apparel, slops, and haberdashery; £337,504 of arms and ammunition; £267,733 of ale and beer; £591,183 of brass and copper goods; £171,519 of coals, &c.; £5,786,471 of cotton manufactures, and £1,147,379 of cotton yarn; for hardwares and cutlery, £218,878; for iron and steel, £1,736,440; £100,401 worth of linen manufactures and yarn; £558,954 of machinery and millwork; £160,837 of stationery; and £552,767 of woollen manufactures and yarn. Umbrellas and parasols, so necessary in an Indian climate, figure for £69,320 only, and silk goods for £10,374 only.

The articles imported into the United Kingdom from India and China in 1857, and actually entered for home consumption, included 35,965 lbs. of cinnamon, 166,981 lbs. of cloves, 24,740,162 lbs. of coffee, 31,178 quarters of wheat, 5300 cwt. of raw ginger, 162,440 lbs. of nutmegs, 3,200,956 lbs. of pepper, 1,356,410 cwt. of rice (not rough nor in husk), and 16,862 quarters of rough (husk) rice. 129,211 cwt. of sago, 90,136 pieces of bandanas, corahs, choppas, Tussore cloths,

Romals, and taffeties, 4639 gallons of rum, 1,083,118 cwt. of unrefined sugar, and 859,543 lbs. of tea. A large quantity of wool was imported, but none of it appears to have been entered for home consumption, although free of duty. The value of the above exports from England to India is not given. To China last year were exported British produce and manufactured goods to the value of £2,450,307, against £2,216,123 in 1856, £1,277,944 in 1855, and £1,000,716 in 1854. More than one moiety, amounting to £1,573,828, was composed of cotton goods, while woollens figured for £285,852, cotton yarn for £158,081, and lead and shot for £92,623. The articles imported from China to this country in 1857, and entered for actual consumption in the United Kingdom, included 82,491 lbs. of ginger, 3514 pieces of bandanas and other silk handkerchiefs, 67,071,187 lbs. of tea (increased from 57,621,231 lbs. in 1853).

The number of British ships that entered inwards (India and China) in 1857 amounted, respectively, to 696 and 88, and the number of foreign vessels (India and China) to 72 and 14. At the same time 728 British and 289 foreign vessels cleared outwards (India), and 122 English and 79 foreign vessels (China).

Such of the readers of this work as reside in London, or resort to it, and desire to have a good general idea of the commerce of India, should visit the new museum at the East India House. There specimens of the natural productions and manufactures of India are arranged in a manner to afford instruction even to the mere casual observer; to the merchant, the statesman, the man of science, and the historian, the collection must afford important information and profound pleasure. This wonderful collection had its origin in the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851, when the East Indian collection arrested the attention of every visitor by its sumptuous riches and variety. The idea of a permanent collection arose from the deep interest which the public showed in the East Indian department of the Crystal Palace of 1851. The Indian compartment in that edifice was superintended by Dr. Forbes Royle, whose labours for the welfare of British India have been so persevering and intelligent, especially in reference to the cultivation of cotton and other fibres applicable to manufactures.

The first apartment in the new museum is "the model room," the collections in which illustrate the social and industrial life of India. Specimens of agricultural instruments, manufacturing tools and machinery, are suggestive of the way in which produce is cultivated and gathered to the markets for exchange. The



model room is, however, more connected with the social life of India, presenting miniature law courts, dwellings, furniture, sepoy encampments, &c.; the other apartments are set apart for industrial objects. The first of these, which is presented to the visitor's notice, is leather; that of Madras, which is wholly manufactured by natives, is much inferior to the Bengal, where the workmen are superintended by Europeans.

Paper is another manufacture which draws attention by its variety, and the information imparted as to the material from which it is made, but not from its excellence. The gunny bags, made of jute fibre, in which rice and other commodities have been packed, are, when no longer of use for their original purposes, converted into paper by the natives, and the process displays some ingenuity. The plantain leaf and other vegetable fibres are also used for this purpose. European paper is in request for all purposes of importance, and this article is likely to become a valuable commodity.

Mat-work, basket-work, and other manufactures from fibrous materials, although they interest the visitor, are not regarded with that sense of their importance which they deserve. On another page the value of the fibrous plants of India will be examined, and the reader furnished with important information on this branch of Indian commerce.

The Indians have been long famous for metallurgy, and the museum does justice to their genius in this respect. Akin in some degree to that art is jewellery, for which, as shown in the chapter descriptive of Bengal, Benares has obtained a reputation "wide as the East." Either alone, or as mountings and settings for gems, the gold and silver-work of Benares, presented for inspection in the museum, is very beautiful, and will probably create a taste in the West for similar specimens of oriental art. There are innumerable specimens of Bengal jewellery, and some from other provinces, bangles, rings, bracelets, brooches, tassel knots for dresses, hookah mouthpieces, and many other objects of display or luxury. The Trichinopoly filigree-work is as light and elegant as that of Malta or Genoa. There are some rose-cut chains here which are perfect marvels of the goldsmith's art. So minute is the chasing of the pattern of the rose in each link, that, unaided by a magnifying power, the eye is unable to trace the delicate outline and beauty of form. There is a companion chain, also from Trichinopoly, in which the little links are drawn so close together as to be only visible on the closest inspection. It is difficult at first to believe that it is anything but a mere

length of solid gold wire, and only when examined in the hand does its perfect flexibility betray its manner of construction. There are two waistbands, consisting one of eight and one of sixteen of these fairy-like chains, which appear as bunches of golden thread, and are fastened with gold clasps, set with emeralds and rubies. From various parts of the Bengal presidency some splendid examples of native jewelled-work have been obtained, rich with "barbaric pomp and gold." There is a superb necklace of gold set with pearls and emeralds, a gold bracelet, enamelled on the inner side, and the outer thickly set with pearls and diamonds; a necklace of emeralds, pearls, and rubies; a bracelet of three rows of large diamonds, about ninety in number, with a number of curiously-formed gold and silver spice-boxes. If, however, the visitor wishes to obtain a fair idea of the extent to which jewels are worn by oriental princes, he must examine the great Runjeet Singh's portrait, painted by a native artist. Runjeet is represented as sitting at his durbar. Round his neck is a string of 280 pearls, said to be, as a necklace of jewels of that kind, the largest and most valuable in the world. This magnificent ornament has recently been presented to her Majesty. His head-dress is a perfect mass of rubies and emeralds, while on his arms is represented a cluster of armlets of jewels of apparently immense size and value, one of the finest, a noble emerald, being spoilt by having a hole drilled through it in order to thread it on to the band over which it passes. A curious contrast to these magnificent samples of oriental jewellery is afforded by the display of the rude personal ornaments of the hill tribes of Thibet. Here are enormous silver chains of great weight, and such strength as to carry heavy arms and accoutrements; with native charm rings and rough-looking bracelets, fitted in style and form to be the massive ornaments of such half-savage tribes. Conspicuous among these ornaments is a broad band of scarlet cloth, dotted with curious rough greenish stones, which look like coarse discoloured pebbles. They are, however, turquoises of the largest size and purest water, and which, though uncut and unpolished, are still of considerable value. The gems are found amid the mountains of Thibet; but the hill tribes, though aware of their being of some value, are unacquainted with the method of polishing them, and so, in the rude way we have mentioned, adopt them in their natural state as personal ornaments. The massiveness of the solid silver armlets, of which many are sometimes worn at once by the Hindoo women, go far to explain the disappearance of such immense amounts of



silver as have been imported into India and China.

References have been made, in the geographical descriptions given on former pages, to the taste and ingenuity of the natives of India and China in wood-carving and inlaying; the specimens in the museum will unfold the exquisite workmanship of the East in these departments, to many, otherwise, not likely to see it. Carving and inlaying of ivory and metals rank in the same category of works of skill, patience, and taste, and these are also so assorted in their proper compartments as to enable the beholder to examine them with minute and discriminative interest. Probably no carvings from India—not even the ivory-work of Bombay—surpass those in “pith.” This substance is literally what its name expresses; it is taken from a certain plant, and is of a most delicate white colour. It is lighter than cork. The substance is useful for common purposes, such as the “pith caps” furnished to the European and native soldiery as a protection from the sun; while the oppressive weight of other coverings for the head, which would prove effectual against the sun, is avoided. In this pith the natives execute beautiful figures: temples, shrines, tombs, palaces, are admirably represented; as are also the different castes and callings of the native population. The stone and marble-work is, in some cases admirable, but far behind the execution of our own sculptors.

Bareilly, Seinde, the Punjaub, and Cashmere, have gained reputation for lacker-work, which is produced as an article of much-prized taste and commerce in these places, for the rest of India. The specimens in the industrial rooms at Leadenhall Street are exquisitely beautiful. The number of articles made from lac in India is almost unlimited, and they are adapted both to domestic and household purposes as well as to personal ornament. The lackered ware differs from the lac-work, inasmuch as it consists only of a thin coating of the gum being laid over a wooden surface, which is subsequently adorned with the artist's designs. The reputation of Lahore for the extreme beauty of its lackered ware stands foremost among all the cities of India. The lackered or japanned ware of China differs from that of India in being formed of a succession of coats of an extremely poisonous vegetable gum, which exudes from a plant spontaneously, and is as different in its mode of production as it is in its after method of ornamentation. How the delicate effects of colour of the Indian lackered-work are produced, or by what means it is that the combination of bright glowing colours is made to

present the neutralized bloom which seems to cover the whole surface of each article, is a subject which has often engaged the attention of our artists with a view of applying the decorative principles of this ware to similar ornamental work in England. Some of these lackered coffers and caskets from Cashmere and Lahore are of rare beauty, a rose-water sprinkler from the latter city being especially interesting of its kind.

The Indian pottery resembles that of Egypt; some vessels in stone and metal are elegantly, and even classically, formed.

The Bidree-work, which consists in the inlaying of silver upon iron surfaces, is worthy close inspection. It is applied in the ornamentation of cups and vases.

The specimens of arms are curious. It is the custom of the native troopers serving the native princes in India to prepare their sharp swords from the worn-out swords of our dragoons. The steel scabbards of our men prevent their weapons from retaining the proper edge, but the scabbards of the natives tend rather to promote keenness. Long Rajpoot and short Goorkha weapons, and Santal spears, have a place in the exhibition. The old matchlock, and, what is remarkably strange, the *old revolver* musket, are to be seen side by side. Long before Colt or Adams thought of the revolving principle in firearms, it was used in the Deccan. Sir David Baird, sixty years ago, obtained, at Seringapatam, the specimen now displayed at the India-house. The frequenters of the old museum will remember the beautiful camel guns; in the new also there is a place provided for them.

In the department known as “the large room” manufacturers and political economists will find subjects of interest, and lovers of art will be no less gratified by taste in design. In the gallery of the large room raw products are set out—not only those usually imported, but such as have lately been introduced to public notice in India by men of science. On the basement of this great room the articles manufactured from these raw products are arranged. Woven work of rich variety and rare beauty is to be seen there. Muslins from Dacca, shawls from Cashmere, exquisitely delicate, tasteful alike in fabrication and design, meet the eye. The woven brocade and embroidery are beyond description elegant and attractive. The patterns on some of these works are European, but the native designs are in character with those of the remotest antiquity. M'Culloch, in his *Commercial Dictionary*, labours to prove that progress is as easy in India as in the West, and that the allegations of unchanging, or



very slowly changing tastes and talents are without foundation. The quotations made by that author to establish a view which seems rather taken up from the affectation of originality than from a proof of its soundness, do not accomplish the purpose for which they are adduced. No writer has ever alleged that all oriental minds are cast, as it were, in a mould, and that there is no modification of the thought or feeling of an oriental community. But what is affirmed is obviously true—that the spirit of one age is in the main the spirit of another; and that however diversified the circumstances of a people, and the events of a nation in the East, their characteristics remain the same, and their habits and customs retain the ancient type, even when modified by the most startling revolutions and conquests: like the sea, which ebbs and flows, is calm and clear as the light it reflects, or is tossed and broken amidst the tumults and gloom of storms, yet it is still the great sea, fathomless alike in calm or conflict—yielding obedience to the same laws, performing in nature the same functions, and exhibiting evermore, amidst all varieties of action, the same characteristics. Many a tempest of war and passion have broken over the multitudes of the oriental world, many a season of profound agitation—such as hope, triumph, fear, or fanaticism can create—has shaken tribes, kingdoms, and empires, but, after all, they settle down again into the sameness of the past, as the waves of the ocean no longer beaten by the storm. If Mr. M'Culloch had seen the East India Company's exhibition of Indian art and manufac-

ture, he would have found sufficient proof that, within the meaning really attached to such assertions, the orientalist of two thousand years ago was the type of the orientalist of to-day. The mental impression left on these textile fabrics, which are treasured as relics of the past, is the same as that which is now impressed upon the costly manufactures of Hindoostan, and of surrounding nations. This identity of style between the present and the past of the Eastern world is not incompatible with invention and improvement, but these are in a wonderful manner still made to express the same cast of thought, and the same idiosyncrasy of taste. The wings of brilliant beetles are, with extraordinary ingenuity, introduced into embroidered work; this has been a very old practice in China: the notices which have appeared in the press, of the peculiar effect of this combination as a novelty, are, therefore, erroneous.

In the room where the teas of the venerable merchants of the East India Company were periodically put up to auction, some of the more tasteful executions of Indian ingenuity are now exhibited; the room itself having been, by the skill of Mr. Digby Wyatt, transformed into an Indian temple. In proportion as the commerce and material progress of India are subjects of interest, the contents of those rooms will be objects of intelligent study. No books on Indian commerce, and no histories, can convey the vivid impressions, or afford the ample information on this class of subjects, which the inspection of these products of nature and art from our Eastern empire imparts.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### COMMERCE (*Continued*):—CHIEF ARTICLES OF INDIAN COMMERCE.

HAVING stated the general character of the commerce of British India, it is yet important to point attention to particular features of it as deserving especial notice; for amidst the great variety of Indian productions suitable to other realms, there are some of predominating importance. Several, which have not as yet become objects of general inquiry, are of such a character as to afford hope that their introduction to distant markets will tend to the advantage of the world, as well as the increased prosperity of the territory in which they are produced.

Among all the articles of Indian trade, none attracts more attention in England than

that of cotton. In a former chapter\* cotton was noticed as a production of India, and it was intimated that on a future page the subject would be more fully treated. The culture and the commerce are two different branches of the Indian cotton question. On the pages already referred to the former was noticed both as to its difficulties and advantages. In consequence of the superiority of the American grown cotton, efforts were put forth by the East India Company to introduce seeds from the United States, and cultivators from that country. This has been done for a series of years, and the result of those expe-

\* Chap. i. pp. 18, 19.



riments has been a history of failures. In some places the climate was too moist, in others too dry; one class of experiments was made where the soil was too rich, another where the soil was too poor: and although in a few places—as at Surat, and on the Ava coast—success attended the attempts to cultivate the American quality, generally they did not succeed. Dr. Royle places the impediments which exist in the climatic conditions necessary for the American species in the following light:—"The great difficulty in applying irrigation to cotton in India is that you have to deal with a plant which has been raised in the rainy season, and which necessarily has all the habits of one accustomed to moisture both of soil and climate; and yet it is one of which you must check the luxuriant growth, if you wish to have a sufficient production of flowers and fruit. This is done naturally in most plants by the heat and dryness of summer, and in Egypt, where cotton is copiously irrigated, by the dryness of the climate. But in cultivating American cotton in India you have a moist weather plant—that is, one with short roots and broad leaves—exposed suddenly to dryness, when, from the clearness of the sky and the heat of the sun, there must necessarily be copious evaporation. The Indian species, which is a moisture-and-drought-enduring plant, withstands both the suddenness and the violence of the changes, but then it only produces a short-stapled woolly cotton."\*

The Indian cotton plant (*Gossypium Indicum*, and *Gossypium herbaceum* of different botanists) grows over an extensive area of country. It thrives in hot and comparatively temperate regions, in moist soils and dry. The North American species (*Gossypium Barbadeuse*) flourishes in certain low latitudes of the United States and in the West Indies. It grows in India in various places as an exotic, but it is not suited to the climate of India, which that of no part of America, north or south, resembles. The climates of America bear, in various respects, striking similitude to those of China. In South America the species of cotton which flourishes indigenously (*Gossypium Peruvianum*) differs from that which is proper to North America, as well as that indigenously to India. In ancient Peruvian tombs cotton wool and cotton fabrics have been discovered, showing that the species which grows there is indigenously.

When the vast extent of country on the American continent yet to be brought under culture, and the enterprise of such a popula-

tion as now inhabits it, are taken into account, there does not seem the slightest prospect of India being ever able to compete with that region in the growth of the peculiar species of cotton indigenous to the American soil. Good and clean cotton has, however, been brought to market from various places in India; and it is certain that the species natural to the Indian soil can be greatly improved, and may compete with much of that exported to Europe from America, because of the low price at which it can be sold. Although it is short in staple, and not easily spun by the machines used for American cotton, yet the natives have for ages made a fine thread from it, and wrought from that thread fabrics of great beauty. Its durability and strength of fibre surpass those of the American species. It is also noticed for taking delicate dyes more readily, and for swelling in the bleaching, so that fabrics made from it have a closer texture than those made from American cotton.

The vast importance to English manufacturers of a large importation of cotton from India may be at once understood by the diminishing supply of American cotton in proportion to the demand. The consumption of cotton in Great Britain for the past five years has not exhibited that steady increase which many have imagined who have been accustomed to look only at the extension of our export trade, as indicated by the tables. Thus, our consumption of cotton, which, in 1853, reached 654,274,000 lbs., rose in 1856 to 819,375,000 lbs., and fell again last year to 735,656,250 lbs.; so that our consumption of cotton in 1857 exceeds our consumption in 1853 only by 81,282,250 lbs., while it is less than that of 1856 by 83,718,750 lbs. But while this fluctuation is observable in the actual amount of cotton consumed, there has been, for the most part, a steady increase in the average cost of the raw material, which has risen from £18,365,000, in 1853, to £26,200,000 in 1856. The total value of production of thread, yarns, and manufactured goods, for the year 1853, is set down at £56,749,300, for 1856 at £61,484,000, and for 1857 at £56,212,909; or, deducting the cost of cotton, &c., the profits upon the manufacture may be taken—for 1853, at £38,384,300; for 1856, at £37,526,000; and for 1857, at £30,012,909. In other words, the increase in the cost price of cotton (the difference between 6d., 6½d., and 8d. per lb.) has reduced the profits on the manufacture in Great Britain £858,300 in the year 1856, and and £8,371,391 in the year 1857, as compared with the year 1853.

Fears are naturally entertained of the

\* *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India.* By J. Forbes Royle, M.D., F.R.S.



increase of prices in the English market, and, in case of war with the United States, of such a failure in the supply of the raw material as would ruin the manufacture. Under these circumstances, inquiry has been made by the government, the East India Company, and the merchants and manufacturers of Liverpool and Manchester as to the prospects of increasing the import from India. Egypt, it is true, supplies a certain quantity. The French settlers at Algiers are sanguine that the colony will become extensively cotton producing; and the famous African traveller, Dr. Livingstone, believes that there are various districts which he has explored suitable to the growth of the commodity, but as yet none of these sources can be relied on.

Concerning the efforts of the French, in April, 1858, the *Moniteur* published a report made to the emperor by Marshal Vaillant, on the subject of the cultivation of cotton in Algeria, in which he communicated the decision come to by the jury appointed to award the annual prize of 20,000 f. given by his majesty, from his privy purse, to the colonist who should make the greatest progress in that branch of agriculture. The report begins by stating that the season of 1857 was very unfavourable to the cotton grounds, from the abundant rains and the lateness of the spring. On several points the land prepared for sowing had been torn up by inundations, and in others the growing plants had been washed away. In addition to this, the humidity had caused fevers, and workmen became very scarce and costly. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the extent of the cotton grounds which escaped those causes of destruction was not less than in the preceding year. The total superficies amounted to 1600 hectares ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres each), divided as follows:—Province of Algiers, 175 hectares; of Constantine, 522 hectares; and of Oran, 903 hectares. From this it appears that the provinces of the east and west gained as much as had been lost in 1857 by that of Algiers, where the cultivation of tobacco more and more absorbs ground, capital, and manual labour. The report of the jury goes on to say, that the number of planters among the European colonists had not sensibly increased, but confidence in future success was unabated. Considerably more care was evinced by them in the selection of their ground for planting, and constant improvements were being made in the mode of cultivation, irrigation, &c. The number of native planters is stated, by the report, to be steadily increasing, and last year had reached to six hundred; but there still remains much to be done, in giving them instruction in the best mode of carrying on

their agricultural operations in this branch. The jury report contains the following statement:—"There is every reason to anticipate a triumphant future in the cultivation of cotton in Algeria. Let the colonists persevere; let them adopt the use of instruments worked by animals, and every other means to diminish the cost of cultivation; let them continue to attend minutely to the selection of their seed, in order to preserve the purity of the quality, and the production will amply remunerate them for their trouble. The government, on its side, will pursue its task and continue its encouragements. Improvements and useful experiments will always be the object of its special care; and nothing will be neglected to make the cultivation of cotton enter into the habits of the people." The jury concludes by recommending that the emperor's prize of 20,000 f. with the gold medal, should be awarded to M. Colonna de Cinarca, for his cultivation of cotton at Habra, in the province of Oran, and that honourable mention should be made of other planters who had competed for the prize. It is obvious that the French emperor, alive to the importance of the latter manufacture to France, has resolved to test thoroughly the capabilities of his great African colony for the production of the staple. It would be a folly if the government of India, a country where, for three thousand years, the people excelled in the manufacture, should be indifferent, or tardy, or illiberal.

The grand impediment to the preparation of cotton in India for exportation to Europe, is the irregularity of the demand. The English manufacturers will not buy Indian cotton while they can get American at a price that will at all remunerate them; it depends, therefore, upon the supply from America whether the Indian exports sell remuneratively at Liverpool. Of the entire quantity of cotton imported into and manufactured in the United Kingdom, nearly four-fifths in quantity, and more than four-fifths in value, on an average of years, is obtained from the United States. During the five years 1851 to 1855 the proportion of the total quantity was seventy-eight per cent., and during the ten years preceding, from 1841 to 1851, it was eighty-one per cent. The American bales containing more cotton than those from other countries, the proportion may be taken at four-fifths of the whole imported. The supply from India has always been most irregular, being regulated by the price of American cotton far more than by its own quality. Whenever the supply from the United States promises to be deficient, or the demand for consumption rapidly increases, raising prices rapidly, Indian cotton arrives to supplement



the American imports. Last year (1857) the short crop in America raised the price in India to such an extent as to bring 220,000 bales more than ever had been known. This arises from the dirty state of the samples brought from India. To remedy the evil and secure a good supply, the late agent of the Honourable East India Company, in his last publication on cotton,\* was of opinion that the establishment of agencies in India by the Lancashire merchants would obviate the difficulties, and obtain a regular and clean supply, adapted to the English market. In a report† on the subject of the cotton culture in 1836, the company intimated what the work of Dr. Royle confirms in 1857, that the better adaptation of the machinery used in the spinning-mills of the north of England to the short staple of the Indian species would much promote the importation of this product at the English ports.

Mr. Mackay, a talented and enterprising gentleman in Lancashire, visited India on behalf of the cotton trade some years ago, and reports made by him to the various chambers of commerce in Lancashire substantially bear out the opinion conveyed in these pages, that the hope of improvement is in proper attention being paid to the commerce rather than the cultivation. A Lancashire merchant, in a letter dated the 18th of March, 1858, thus expressed himself on this subject:—"Since Mr. Mackay made his report to the chambers of commerce of Liverpool, Manchester, Blackburn, and Glasgow, no improvement has appeared; the Indian cotton is still irregular in quantity as well as inferior in quality. Several steps, however, have been taken since Mr. Mackay's visit to India towards a right knowledge of what is to be done. It is now admitted that attention must be directed to cotton commerce more than to cotton culture. The Indian cultivators must be left to grow their own native cotton in their own way. The attempt to cultivate the American species of cotton in India has proved a failure. British enterprise must be confined to getting the native cotton in better condition, and at a cheaper rate to the home market, where the supply will thus be both larger and more regular. The government has its part to do in improving the means of transit in India to the coast, and in, by better police, giving protection to Europeans. The chambers of com-

merce have their part to do in establishing agencies in the cotton-growing districts, for managing every operation after the growing of the crop, which is now carelessly collected, carelessly cleaned, carelessly housed, and carelessly packed. Native money-lenders and middlemen carry off immense profits, besides injuring the commerce by systematic frauds and adulterations. All this would at once be remedied by establishing European agencies for the purchase of cotton. Many years would not pass before the English market would obtain half its supply from the free labour of British India, instead of being so dependent on the slave states of America. At Liverpool in one week 1340 bales of American sold from  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $8\frac{1}{4}d.$  per lb., and 300 Surats from  $4\frac{3}{4}d.$  to  $6d.$  per lb. These Surats are suitable for spinning any hefts under No. 40, although some Indian cotton is only fit for No. 16 yarn. Indian cotton of all kinds can be sold at a profit in Liverpool for the average of  $3\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb.; so that, with the improved quality which the establishment of agencies in the East would insure, there is ample margin for a vast increase of Indian cotton commerce, independently of any improvements in its culture, to which attention has hitherto been chiefly turned."

The opinion of Dr. Royle as to the prospect of prices in England remunerating the enterprise of culture and exportation on the part of Indian ryots and English agents, and the connection of such a speculation with the probability of a total failure of supply from America through war or other causes, is thus published in his work issued in 1857:—"Alarm is justly excited in the great manufacturing district of Lancashire, and wherever much cotton is employed, at the disastrous consequences which would ensue in case of a complete deprivation of the raw material, should war, or any other difficulty, occur with or among the present great sources of cotton supply. As this is not likely to occur without some premonitory notice, directions might be sent, and the ryots induced to increase their cultivation of cotton at almost any time, because sowing takes place in some part or other of India at all seasons of the year; but few planters or merchants would venture to enter upon so extensive a speculation unless they had some security that the state of things which required their exertion would be permanent enough to reward their labour, the more especially if they knew of or had studied the disastrous results to Indian merchants in former years. Thus, in the year 1818 there were imported from India 86,555,000 lbs. of cotton, but the imports fell to 6,742,050 lbs. in the year 1822. But the

\* *Review of the Measures which have been adopted in India for the Improved Culture of Cotton.* By J. Forbes Royle, M.D., F.R.S.

† *Reports and Documents connected with the Proceedings of the East India Company in Regard to the Culture and Manufacture of Cotton, Wool, Raw Silk, and Indigo in India.*



prices had risen from  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $20\frac{1}{2}d.$  in the former, and ranged from  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$  in the latter year. Though these prices would be considered favourable enough to encourage exports in the present day. Indeed, they have ranged, in the year 1856, from  $4\frac{1}{4}d.$  up to  $8d.$  per lb. in the London market for Indian cotton." The quantity of cotton imported from India during 1856 was 466,781 lbs.; but in 1857 (from the 1st of January to the 16th of October) the imports increased, amounting to 564,666 lbs.

Some of the Lancashire manufacturers urge colonization as the best remedy for the difficulty in procuring the proper cultivation and cleaning of the commodity. Mr. Carpenter, an eminent London journalist,\* meets the objection urged to colonization on the score of climate in these lines:—"We have more than once said that it is utterly absurd to talk about the climate of India as forbidding European emigration, just as if men who settle unhesitatingly at Sierra Leone, Hong-Kong, or Belize, would shrink from a residence in Bahar or the Punjaub, or as if men could not live at their own discretion, where others are only too glad to live, in virtue of official appointments. Thousands of Englishmen take service under the company without being deterred by any considerations of climate; thousands more are now serving in the country under the royal flag. To say that independent residents could not accept the same terms is ridiculous. If British colonists cannot live in India, they will not go there, but no harm can be done by giving them the option. The true obstacles have consisted, first in the policy, and afterwards in the administration of the company, which looked upon independent settlers as the Jesuits of Paraguay would have looked upon a congregation of Baptists. At one time they succeeded in closing India to all but their own retainers, and Bengal was as absolutely inaccessible as Japan. At later periods, after the interdict had been removed, there was still the exclusiveness of a service as formidable as the caste of Hindoos themselves. An independent resident in India found himself outside a select club, which club, over and above other privileges, had the privilege of governing him. These were the conditions which made Indian colonization distasteful, and which it is now so desirable to abolish."

It is very unlikely that the company would not now feel the same objection to English settlers as cultivators of cotton, or for any other purpose, that they formerly did, the considerations which then influenced them being no longer applicable. The climate,

\* Editor of the *Sunday Times*.

however, is unsuitable to vigorous exertion on the part of Englishmen as planters; but the difficulty is not altogether insurmountable, as has been shown in the indigo plantations. The presence of adventurers and determined colonists, wherever the climate would allow, would certainly promote the object, for the Brahmins oppose innovations of all sorts, however in the interest of the people, and it requires the presence of Europeans of a resolute will and vigilant circumspection to defeat their violence and intrigues. In the cases of indigo planters this has been extensively exemplified.

Whatever may be said in favour of other fields of cultivation, India, on the whole, is for England the fairest, but it is difficult to resist the conviction, that, as soon as Indian imports reduce the price of American cotton in any marked degree, the enterprise of the United States will find means of competing successfully for the market, so as to drive out the Indian produce, and, if possible, again obtain a monopoly. As a question for the English manufacturer, this is precisely the state of things he would desire; but as a question for those whose capital might be in Indian cotton fields, such a prospect is calculated to create hesitation and doubt, and will deter many from that bold speculation so characteristic of English colonists.

Indigo is an article of Indian commerce of considerable importance. It is indigenous to India, and is supposed to have derived its name from that circumstance, its ancient appellation having been *Indica*. It was well known in a remote antiquity as a product of the neighbourhood of the Indus. The first, or "London East India Company," made large profits by this commodity, purchasing it at Agra at a shilling, and selling it in London at five shillings per pound. In consequence of the British colonists in the southern provinces of North America and in the West Indies successfully competing with the company, the latter abandoned the trade. Almost a hundred years ago the Anglo-American planters relinquished the cultivation, and the French and Spanish colonists took it up, from whom the English bought what they required.

After the revolution of the British North American provinces, the company's territories in India extending, the trade was once more revived. The directors made surprising efforts to encourage its production, purchasing large quantities from the native growers, and selling it in London at considerable loss. This was continued until the culture of the plant, and the manufacture of the dye, were understood in India, and the one could be grown



and the other manufactured with profit. It is certain that, but for the sacrifices of the company, the trade could not have taken root in the country. The directors procured information on the cultivation from every quarter, transmitting it to India to serve as a guide for the cultivators. For a great many years the result of this diligence and expenditure has been that India produces the best indigo in the world. When the manufacture became firmly established, the company ceased to have any direct connection with it.

The plantations are now in the hands of European speculators, whose success enables them in about twelve years to realize considerable fortunes. Frequently, however, failure is the result, for it is a most adventurous enterprise. Sometimes the crop is entirely destroyed by drought; at other times, by those tremendous rain-falls common to India, which, at intervals, sweep away the labour and capital of the planter beyond hope of recovery; insects occasionally destroy the plants; but the chief impediment is the villany of the zemindars, who, jealous of the planter's success, hire gangs of natives to destroy his crops; the planter hires others to defend them, and bloody conflicts ensue, sometimes disastrous to the planter, but oftener to the zemindars. It is the general belief of planters that if there were not on the part of the magistrates undue sympathy for the natives as against the planters, the zemindars would never venture thus openly to set law and order at defiance. They complain that when these instigators of aggression are sued in the courts of justice, the company's judges invariably side with the natives, and that literally there is no redress for the injured planter but such as he can find by his own hand and his own weapon, and the hands and weapons of those whom he hires at a rupee apiece to fight in defence of his property. On the other hand, the company's officers assert that the planters generally are carried away by pride of race, are ruthlessly grasping, arrogant, and violent, and ever prone to take the law into their own hands; that, therefore, it is the duty of the company's officers to protect the people from the spoliation and ill treatment of those settlers. It is difficult to determine on which side the truth lies. There can be no doubt of the cunning, fraud, and violence of the zemindars, and that the poor ryots are goaded by them to aggressions upon the planters that are unprovoked. That the planter is not defended by the police, but left by the government to his own resources, is too frequently the case. The general sympathy of the company's officers with the natives rather than with European settlers

admits of as little doubt. During the great mutiny of 1857, the strong sympathy of the civilians with the natives was frequently a subject of complaint, as leaving the wrongs of Europeans unredressed, and affording impunity to evil doers. This arises from the jealousy entertained by the company's officers of a European element in India which might compete for power and influence with them. Such a spirit has in times past given birth to injuries towards European settlers which created discontent in England, and gave occasion to those opposed to the company to denounce the injustice of its rule.

Indigo seems to a great extent to be a forced production in India. The planters generally buy up the interest of the zemindars, and compel the ryots to grow indigo. The zemindars have no equitable right to hand over the interests of the ryots along with their own, whose position to them legally, and consequently to the indigo planter, is similar to that of a farmer in England who rents under a lease. The law on this point is disputed, the planter maintaining his right to treat the ryot as a tenant-at-will, the latter regarding himself as having "a tenant-right" so long as he pays his rent, and demanding liberty to sow or plant the land he occupies with whatever he thinks may best enable him to live. The indigo planters, like the zemindars, rule with a high hand; and whatever be the law of the case, the unfortunate ryot is too feeble to insist upon the adjustment of his claims according to that standard. In this way he is subjected to much hardship.

An Indian periodical, in an able article, places the present condition of this produce, and the relation of the planters and ryots to each other, and of both to other parties concerned, in the following aspect:—"The cultivation of indigo originally was stimulated chiefly by the East India Company, which made very large advances on the produce. Mr. Bell states that the exports in 1786 were 245,011 lbs., and that it was by means of these advances that the quantities had advanced to 5,570,824 lbs. in 1810. The average amount now exported is probably about 9,000,000 lbs., the factories having been increased by the great houses, and many of them having been afterwards kept up at a heavy loss by the Union Bank—in both cases, we venture to think, at the ultimate cost of the unfortunate creditors of those houses and that bank. The current outlay now, in the purchase of seed and in labour, is, doubtless, large, and the annual average export value of the article may be henceforth stated at about two and a half millions sterling. But the export of rice from Calcutta and Arracan last year,



we believe, was much more than this, and it was raised with far less difficulty, and the profit on it to the people was vastly greater. The cultivator of indigo knows that he is engaged in a hazardous speculation, and that it is as likely as not, at the end of the season, that the yield of his land, instead of clearing off his advances, and leaving a balance of profit, will leave him in debt to the planter. Then, further, he is in the hands of middlemen, who notoriously defraud him. The number of his bundles is most probably counted amiss; and in settling accounts he has to give all kinds of 'customs' into the intervening hands. He is, in fact, 'in the books' of the factory, and is likely to remain there, *nolens volens*, for life. On the whole, then, there is a great deal in the indigo planting system as practised in Bengal, which demands inquiry, and which suggests difficult and embarrassing questions. That it is connected with a great deal of severity and injustice appears very evident; and that this must necessarily be the case (as is usually said) is a conclusion which, in our minds at least, does not excite either satisfaction or contentment. At any rate, inquiry ought not to be refused from the fear of injuring 'class interests,' and of exciting 'class animosities,' if the fact be that the opposed 'classes' are a few indigo planters on the one hand, and myriads of suffering and oppressed people on the other; or, if this ground be tenable, it must be also conceded that all the measures preliminary to the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies were objectionable, and that emancipation itself was unjustifiable."

The indigo planters have also their grievances. It appears that they have formed an association to agitate for redress. An Indian magazine thus describes the party and its claims:—"The Indigo Planters' Association numbers among its members many determined and enterprising individuals, and has the sympathy of the mercantile community. They want the permanence of their rights as Britons; facilities for collection of their rents as farmers of estates; summary processes against faithless cultivators, who receive advances for indigo, and refuse to sow; speedy justice; improved communications; bridges that will bear hackeries and elephants; and roads that shall not 'melt away.' They stand up boldly for their interests; and however impartial men may differ with them as to the remedies they demand, all must admit there is no sham in them; there can be little difference of opinion as to their straight-forwardness." The *Calcutta Review* of September, 1857, draws a strong contrast between

the planters and the zemindars in favour of the former, alleging that the latter, having formed an association to look after their interests, had presented in all their proceedings an absence of generosity and justice, and established themselves (as probably Lord Cornwallis intended in his famous settlement they should do) as the landed interest and *protectionists* of Bengal.

The exportation of rice has become a vast trade within a few years, as may be seen from the reference made in the foregoing extract, and this branch of commerce is likely to enlarge upon a scale never hitherto contemplated. The consumption of rice in Europe is increasing very much, especially in the British Isles and France.

The friends of India also hope that wheat will become a source of profitable export. The wheat-producing districts of India have not yet felt the advantage of superior cultivation, nor of good roads and railways, when those portions of the country are opened up by such means, wheat will become an important export, for India may produce much of the quantity which the importing countries of Europe require.

Linseed, mustard, and other seeds, form together not only an important item in Indian commerce, but an increasing one, and at a ratio which justifies the conclusion that at a period not remote this will become a far more valuable export. This is the more likely, as the trade is altogether modern.

Coffee, although at present grown to more advantage in Ceylon, is becoming gradually an important export from continental India. It will, however, be a considerable time before the trade on the mainland in this commodity rivals that of Insular India.

The tobacco plantations are extending, and an export of the produce has been established, but there is no prospect of the quality competing with that of America. Several of the company's civil servants have given attention to its improved culture.

Borax is imported extensively into India from Central Asia, and is exported again to Great Britain, to other parts of Europe, and to the United States.

When noticing the natural productions of India, it was shown that tea is indigenous, and that the plants imported from China under the auspices of the East India Company have thriven. Since writing that chapter reports have reached London of the extension of the tea plantations in the Punjab, and of the favour with which the natives of India regard that grown at Kumaon. It will be very long before India is prepared to export tea on a very large scale,



notwithstanding the extraordinary progress of its culture, and the probability that it will speedily become one of the most valuable articles of Indian produce. The natives, especially in the tea-growing districts, are acquiring a taste for it which will create a home market for all that is likely to be grown for a long time, however rapidly the plantations may be extended. The Kangra tea is in great request for native use, selling at a rupee, and even more, per lb. The cultivation of the good qualities is at present so profitable, and the desire to procure it, both in India and from foreign countries, is so great, that there can be no doubt of a widespread extension of the plantations. An acre of tea plants at present yields an average return of 300 lbs., which, at a rupee per lb., would bring £30 per acre. The imports of all kinds, taken together, fall very lightly upon the cultivator, the East India Company nourishing the cultivation by every practicable indulgence. The capital at present required for a tea plantation is comparatively very small. At some period, perhaps less remote than at present seems likely, India will be a competitor with China in the growth of the plant, even if not so soon a rival in the exportation of the leaf. Should war with China, the progress of civil strife in that country, a blight upon the Chinese tea-fields, or any other unexpected event, occur to interfere with its exportation thence, the production of the plant in India would be so greatly stimulated, that it might soon become an exporting country on a considerable scale.

The reports which reached England by the April arrivals in 1858 indicate that interruption to the tea trade, or diminished production in China, are not such improbabilities as a few years ago might be supposed. The following is a review of the trade made at Hong-Kong in the middle of March:—

Export from Hong-Kong, Macao, and	lbs.
Amoy, from July the 1st, 1857, to March the 10th, 1858 . . . . .	6,400,000
Fouchow, from July the 1st, 1857, to March the 7th, 1858 . . . . .	18,850,000
Shanghai, from July the 1st, 1857, to March the 5th, 1858 . . . . .	21,850,000
Total . . . . .	47,100,000
Canton, from July the 1st, 1856, to March the 10th, 1857 . . . . .	17,400,000
Fouchow, from July the 1st, 1856, to March the 7th, 1857 . . . . .	19,300,000
Shanghai, from July the 1st, 1856, to March the 5th, 1857 . . . . .	15,900,000
Total . . . . .	52,600,000

In the *Times'* city article of the 8th of May, 1858, the following statement appeared,

throwing additional light upon the subject of Indian tea exportation:—"The annual meeting of the Assam Tea Company took place this morning, Sir W. Baynes in the chair, when the report was adopted unanimously, and a dividend declared for the past year at the rate of nine per cent., being one per cent. more than in 1856. The report mentioned that during the late disturbances in India it had been deemed advisable to insure the company's tea, at one period worth £50,000, at a high premium, to cover all risks. Active assistance was afforded to the naval and military force sent to restore order in the province, and it is stated that, while the native servants cheerfully assisted in promoting that object, the independent contractors for cultivating the lands uniformly held aloof, or sympathized with the disaffected.\* The crop of the season 1857, estimated at 700,000 lbs., has produced 707,101 lbs., which is expected to realize £64,817. The crop of the present season will probably amount to 765,000 lbs., which, at a similar valuation, will yield about £70,125."

In a previous chapter, treating of the productions of India, sufficient was said of sugar, both in its relation to cultivation and general trade. The free admission to England of American sugars checks the Indian exportation. Although the British public set a higher value upon the latter than formerly, yet they have not acquired a taste for Indian sugar, and the richer saccharine produce of the cane of the West Indies commands the market.

The magnitude of the opium production, and of the traffic, have been referred to elsewhere, both in this chapter and that which states the productions of the Indian soil. Its commercial effects in relation to China, its influence upon the exchanges, and upon the European silver drain, have been incidentally noticed. The following occurs in a recently published number of an Indian magazine:—"The trade in opium has grown, and is likely to grow on. The question of government connection with it is much misunderstood at home, and is sometimes argued, as though the government here could, if it chose, suppress its cultivation by prohibitory laws. This, however, we fear, is impossible, and the government monopoly therefore, in so far as it operates as a restriction, both on the cultivation, and the use of the drug in this country, is a very important

\* It may here be observed, *en passant*, that the spirit displayed by the zemindar class throughout India towards the British government is illustrated by this experience of the Assam Company. The commerce and productions of India will no doubt be influenced by the general disaffection of this class.



benefit. The case in China wears a very different aspect. The smuggling of opium in armed vessels, in connivance with the Chinese officials, who are bribed and corrupted, and the consequences to myriads from the use of the drug, render the traffic only second to the slave trade (if, indeed, it be second even to that) in iniquity and cruelty. But whether it could be suppressed, save by such a combination of all nations as is directed against the slave trade, is very doubtful. The only practical remedy that we know in our own country, and among ourselves, is for public opinion to deal with these opium traders as it does with pests and nuisances to society, who are living by pandering to the vilest passions, and accumulating wealth, by means on which the curse of God must certainly rest for ever. But very different has been our conduct. We have boasted of our enlightenment, and of our 'forbearance' to the Chinese, and have sneered at their barbarism and folly; while our Christian gentlemen, honoured and exalted in society, have been using means to poison them by thousands for filthy lucre's sake; and not a few, who have called themselves Christians and Englishmen, have been parties to that atrocious system of slave dealing, which annually consigns thousands of entrapped Chinese as hopeless slaves to Cuba, and as worse than hopeless slaves to the Peruvian guano islands. In truth, no offence more disgraceful than the conduct of multitudes of English traders to the people of China has been committed in the annals of commerce.

"The present war with China is likely to end as the first did, in an enormous increase of smuggled opium, or perhaps the traffic will be still further stimulated by the importation being legalized.\* Since the last war the import of opium into China has increased from twenty to more than seventy thousand chests, and this war will doubtless lead to a further expansion of the traffic."

The following statements in reference to the opium trade are correct, and will furnish the reader with a general view of its character commercial and morally:—

Opium, which in Europe is one of our most valuable medicines, but which in China feeds a depraved taste, is manufactured from the juice of the white poppy, a small quantity of which is grown in Turkey and Persia, and also in China, but it is cultivated to the greatest extent in India, both in the British dominions and in the independent native states. The process of cultivation and manufacture may be shortly described. The finest

soil is required for the plant. The seed is sown in November. The preparation of the ground, and the subsequent weeding and watering, require much attention. The time for collecting the juice is in February and March. The poppy heads are then cut or scratched with a sharp instrument, and a milky juice exudes, which becomes brown in colour and thick in consistency by exposure to the sun and air, and is carefully collected by the farmer and his family. This is the crude opium. In Bengal this is delivered by the small farmer to the agent of the East India Company. It is then prepared under the inspection of these agents for the China market. The principal districts in which the poppy is grown are Patna, Benares, Bahar, and Malwa, from which the different kinds of drug derive their names. In Bengal it is grown exclusively for the government, under severe penalties for any infraction of the laws. It is understood also to be a forced production, which could not be entered upon with profit to the farmers but for advances in money made by the government. This point is disputed; but the poppy has undoubtedly occupied some of the finest land formerly used for indigo, sugar, and other produce.

The opium is prepared by the government agents for the China market by rolling it into large balls, covered with a coating of opium paste and poppy leaves, so as to exclude the air; it is then packed in chests (forty balls to a chest), and transferred to the government warehouses at Calcutta, where the drug is put up to auction at the government sales, of which there are four each season, at intervals of a month, commencing with December or January. At these sales the drug sells at prices varying from seven to sixteen hundred rupees a chest, containing 116 lbs. weight, and yielding a profit to the government of from £40 to £120 per chest. Their total revenue from this source, including a transit duty on the Malwa exported from Bombay, has now reached £4,000,000 sterling, and is estimated in Lord Dalhousie's minute at £5,000,000 sterling for the year 1857. Malwa opium is that grown in the independent native states. It must all pass through Bombay, where, in order to keep down its production, it is charged with a duty of four hundred rupees (£40) per chest.

The merchants in India purchase the opium either on their own account, or for mercantile houses in China or elsewhere, and it is then shipped in fast-sailing vessels capable of carrying from five hundred to a thousand chests. Of late years the monthly steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company have carried cargoes of the drug to China.

\* Virtually, it is legalized already; opium is as freely imported, and almost as openly, as if a proclamation of the emperor sanctioned it.



The quantity thus imported into China from both sides of India now exceeds seventy-five thousand chests, roughly estimated at £8,000,000 sterling. A portion also goes to Singapore for consumption throughout the islands of the Eastern Archipelago.

On arrival in China (say at Hong-Kong), the opium was at one time transferred to large receiving ships stationary in the harbour, but of late years it has been stored largely on shore with the permission of our authorities. From thence supplies are forwarded in small schooners and other fast-sailing craft to different points on the coast, according to the demand.

At these coast stations there is no other trade carried on but that in opium. The drug is transferred from the small schooners to ships permanently anchored there, and the local Chinese government makes no attempt whatever to interfere, as it is enriched by the bribes or fees of the native dealers. These dealers come off in boats to purchase the opium, bringing silver in payment; but if the station be the outer anchorage of one of the free ports,—such as Shanghai, Fouchow, Amoy, or Canton,—the sale is usually made on shore in exchange for silver or Chinese produce, and an order given on the ship for delivery of the quantity sold.

The opium being thus conveyed into the country by the native dealers, it undergoes a process of boiling down to fit it for smoking. This reduces the weight one-half, so that one chest of the drug yields only half a chest of the smokeable matter. It is then retailed at smoking-shops, or purchased by the wealthier classes for use at home. The laws against smoking are now so completely in abeyance, that the smoking-shops in the free ports are almost as numerous as our own public-houses. Although this freedom from legal restraint exists, there is no question that the moral feeling of the Chinese government and people is against the indulgence, and it is this which contributes in some measure to keep down the consumption.

Let us now trace, as shortly as possible, the course of this trade. Before the year 1800 only a small *legal* trade in opium was carried on with China, but in that year the drug was made *contraband* by the Chinese government. This was done in consequence of a memorial from a leading statesman, who makes it a “subject of deep regret that the vile dirt of foreign countries should be received in exchange for the commodities and the money of the empire, and fearing lest the practice of smoking opium should spread among all the people of the inner land, to the waste of their time and destruction of their property,” he

requests that “the sale of the drug should be prohibited, and that offenders should be made amenable to punishment.” In spite of this, the annual importations rose gradually from two thousand chests in 1800 to five thousand in 1820. Till 1820 opium had been mixed up with the legal merchandize at the port of Canton, but in that year the authorities again became alarmed at the extent of the traffic and obliged the merchants to give security that no opium was on board before the ship could discharge her cargo at Whampoa; this led to the storing of it in receiving ships at Lintin, at the mouth of the Canton River, and this system continued to the year 1834, when the importations exceeded twenty thousand chests. During the period from 1820 to 1834 occasional collisions took place between the native smugglers and the Chinese authorities, arising out of disputes as to the amount of fees, but none occurred between that government and the British receiving ships.\*

In continuing this narrative we quote from Williams' *Middle Kingdom*:—“Towards the close of the East India Company's charter, in 1834, the contraband trade in opium, off the Bogue and along the coast eastward, had assumed a regular character. The fees paid for connivance at Canton were understood, and the highest persons in the province were not ashamed to participate in the profits of the trade. The attempts to sell it along the eastern coast had been mostly successful, and almost nothing else could be sold. . . . The increasing demand at Namoa and Chinchew (on the coast), led to the frequent dispatch of small vessels, one taking the place of another, and finally to stationing receiving ships there to afford a constant supply. The local authorities, finding their paper edicts quite powerless to drive them away, followed the practice of their fellow-officers at Canton, and winked at the trade for a consideration. It is not, however, right to say that the venality and weakness of these officers invalidated the authenticity of the commands they received from court; however flagitious their conduct in rendering the orders of none effect, it did not prove the insincerity of the emperor and his ministers in issuing them. By the year 1834 the efforts of the local authorities to suppress the trade resulted in a periodical issue of vain prohibitions and empty threats of punishments, which did not more plainly exhibit their own weakness in the eyes of the people than the strength of the appetite in the smokers.”

The opium vessels are all well armed, but chiefly as a precaution against pirates, which swarm on that coast. Their being so well

\* *The Opium Traffic.*



armed, however, was doubtless calculated to deter and overawe the contemptible Chinese navy, had the mandarins been disposed to attack them; but although there has been more than one serious tragedy in conflict with pirates, there does not appear to have been any actual encounter between the opium vessels and the authorities *on the coast*.

During the years 1837 and 1838, however, attempts were made by some British merchants to smuggle the drug into Canton, which led to serious collisions and disturbances *on the river*. Captain Elliot, her majesty's superintendent of trade, took measures, along with the Chinese authorities, to put a stop to these highly irregular proceedings on the part of a few, and these measures proved effectual. But meanwhile the imperial court at Peking was organizing plans of a much more extensive kind to annihilate the whole trade, and to stop the smoking of the drug. A Chinese statesman of the name of Heu Naetse sent up a memorial to the emperor, praying that opium might be legalized, as the best method of dealing with an unavoidable evil. Two other statesmen, Choo Tsun and Heu Kew, memorialized the emperor in favour of an opposite course, requesting that the existing laws should be put in force with the utmost rigour.\*

The prohibitory councils prevailed with the emperor; and although these measures utterly failed, it has been well said by a writer in the *North British Review*—"No man of any humanity can read, without a deep and very painful feeling, what has been reported of the grief, the dismay, the indignation of men in authority, and the emperor, on finding that their utmost efforts to save their people were defeated by the craft and superior maritime force of the European dealers, and by the venality of their own official persons, on the coast."

The prisons were soon crowded with victims, and death by strangling was inflicted in several instances on smokers and native dealers. An imperial commissioner, Lin, was sent to Canton to proceed against the foreign merchants. On his arrival there, in March, 1839, he immediately put the merchants under arrest, compelled them, through her majesty's superintendent of trade, to deliver up the whole of the opium then on the coast, amounting to 20,283 chests, and formally destroyed it by mixing it with lime and salt, and casting it into the sea. For some months after this opium was almost unsaleable, and the prohibitory measures against smoking it were so effectual, that the

consumption fell to less than a tenth of what it had been.

The war which ensued, although it arose out of the seizure of the opium as the immediate cause, really sprung from one more deep-seated and more remote in point of time. This was "the arrogant assumption of supremacy over the monarchs and people of other countries claimed by the Emperor of China for himself and for his subjects, and our long acquiescence in this state of things." The war thus commenced in 1840, and concluded in August, 1842, however, decided not only the superiority of the British arms, but convinced the imperial court that further attempts to put down the opium trade were vain. Thenceforward the laws against smoking became more and more lax, whilst the trade, nominally contraband, went on with fewer restrictions than before. At the present time the trade has assumed all the importance of an established recognised traffic, and the merchants engaged in it, including nearly the whole foreign community in China engaged in commerce, shelter themselves under the plea of the sanction given to it by the British government, and the alleged insincerity of the Chinese in desiring to prohibit it. In China itself also the growth of the poppy has been extending, with the connivance of the local authorities. The quantity thus grown is not positively known, but it was stated on good authority as ten thousand chests so far back as 1847. It is inferior to the Indian drug, and is used for mixing with it.

Of late years the fibrous plants of India have been extensively cultivated, under the auspices of government, for purposes of commerce. Several new species have been discovered, admirably adapted either for export as raw produce, or being first subjected to certain processes of manufacture. Assam is particularly prolific in these descriptions of commodities. In Bijnore, Upper Assam, hemp is made by the natives from the *sunu* and *sunny* plants. Good flax has been gathered near Meerut. Gunny bags, in which cotton is exported, has of late been made from this fibre. The upper provinces of India are peculiarly adapted for the growth of flax; that of Seharunpore has been pronounced equal to the produce of the north of Ireland. From time immemorial flax was grown in India for the purpose of expressing oil from the seed; but of late attention has been directed to it for the fibre. Still India exports rather substitutes for flax and hemp than those commodities.

The extent to which we have hitherto been dependant upon Russia for these fibres may be

\* *What is the Opium Trade?*



5 vols



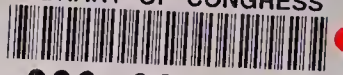








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